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Thesis Title: Newspaper Editorial Cartoons: Where Art, Rhetoric and Metaphor meet Reality

Abstract

Operating as a form of visual news discourse, editorial cartoons hold a unique commentary position within the news agenda. Utilising artistic and rhetorical devices, cartoon illustrators provide supplementary (and sometimes alternate) viewpoints on current news events; their visuals becoming frames for organising social knowledge in addition to capturing the essence of issues or events. By doing so, audiences are presented with “a number of different condensing symbols that suggest the core frame of any issue portrayed” (Gamson and Stuart, 1992, pg. 60).

This thesis reflects upon the evolution of editorial cartoons as a genre of socio-political commentary. Scrutinising a corpus of images taken from the 2010 British General Election, the study outlines the aesthetic, communicative and rhetorical features which enhance the form’s position within visual imagery; highlighting their capability in adapting to societal, political or aesthetic change. Drawing upon the works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Herrmann (2013) and Ritchie (2013), the thesis also illustrates how a conceptual approach towards editorial cartoon metaphors can amplify the forms’ convergence/divergence with the news agenda of its host publication. Lastly, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses within a unified case study framework will highlight the capacity of editorial cartoonists to provide autonomous perspectives on evolving news events.

Newspaper Editorial Cartoons: Where Art, Rhetoric and Metaphor Meet Reality

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
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By
Benjamin Guy Barker

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For my family

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INTRODUCTION

The Power of Cartooning

Most people, irrespective of age, are familiar with the cartoon form, from singular panel funnies to graphic sagas witnessed in novels and manga around the world. Typically, cartoons are “drawings executed in an exaggerated style for humorous and satirical effect” (OED, 2016). Such imagery has the capacity to amuse, deliver pointed critique or provide contemporaneous social commentary. It is the succinctness by which these message are transmitted, however, which enshrine the form as an integral medium within the realm of communication. The study of cartooning in a communicative context was legitimised by artists whose sketched lines summarised complicated events, articulating messages which “[painstakingly] encapsulate those metaphorical 1,000 words into a single picture” (Davies, 2004, pg. 6). The humorous, cultural and societal outrage such forms generate highlights the cartoon’s capacity to act as barometers of political freedom in societies (Sandbrook, 2010, pg. 26), reflecting “cultural attitudes and values, and record and perpetuate many commonly held beliefs” (Mazid, 2008, pg. 443).

These particular visual artefacts can generate brief barbs of criticism which emphasise the weaknesses of their chosen subjects, frequently outpacing news articles which articulate similar commentary. Purveyors of cartoons see themselves as forms of permanent opposition within the political landscape, with Rowson (2009, pg. 153) alluding to his art as “a type of voodoo, doing damage to someone at a distance with a sharp object”. Whilst cartoonists can exploit their position for their own personal benefit “at the expense of the rest of us” (Lamb, 2004, pg. 42), such claims are countered by Peter Brookes in his summary of his role as cartoonist for the *Times*:

It simply doesn't make sense to go out of your way to praise a politician; you've got to see the reality behind what [they] are saying. It sounds pompous to say that you're looking for the truth behind appearances, but that's what it's actually about. You are trying to make sure that a particular point of view gets across, and even though you are not always spitting venom, you need at least to be as acerbic as you can (Brookes in Benson, 2007, pg. 9).

This thesis accepts Brookes' position, adopting the view that cartoons can be treated as critical artefacts fashioned to illuminate societal deficiencies. In so doing, they illustrate or comment upon political statements and activities in line with Mazid's earlier assertions; confirming existing reader opinions and prejudices with humour as a secondary consideration. Whilst any topic concerning the human condition can be the focus of cartooning, Steadman (in Benson, 2007, pg. 10) suggests that the "mothers of satire [in the shape of] oppression, deceit and injustice" generate the most potent weapons for cartoonists to wield against their intended targets. If produced by the same cartoonist over a long period of time and located in a specified section within their host newspaper, such factors can contribute to the forms' continual development of core ideas and themes and, in turn, enhance their persuasive capacity upon readerships.

Qualifying Cartooning in an Editorial Context

It is important to differentiate why this thesis embraces the term 'editorial cartoon' instead of other derivatives such as 'newspaper cartoon' or 'political cartoon'. Newspaper cartooning refers to images defined by their medium of publication. However, the evolution of electronic communication and migration of newspapers onto websites and blogs has rendered this term obsolete. Political cartooning, by contrast, can be articulated as

illustrations or comic strips containing political or social messages; their creators employing specific devices to get their message across.

Whilst similar to the political cartoon, editorial cartooning is more applicable when such images are situated within the section of newspaper designated for editorial opinion where the two realms share a similar viewpoint. In preferring the term 'editorial', this thesis asserts how the medium of publication is not the cartoon's defining adjective. Rather, its expression of argument or opinion becomes its primary descriptor. It is through comedic conventions that editorial cartoons reinforce communal consensus, enabling audiences to actively classify, organise and interpret what they see or experience about the world at a given moment in meaningful ways. In this sense, 'editorial cartooning' channels the discursive possibilities for making sense of social phenomena, legitimising the grounds upon which topics can be raised or impeded.

Editorial cartoons facilitate the structural organisation of knowledge through "metaphoric entrapment", obscuring anything else which makes sense (Mumby and Spitzack, 1983, pg. 166). Such a sentiment suggests these images possess an ability to signpost preferred meanings, outcomes or consequences which the cartoonist believes may result from the activity, issue or event being depicted, thereby fulfilling a myriad of roles (Wittebols, 1991, pg. 263). Used in tandem with editorial commentary, the cartoon supplies additional discourse functions: contextualising timely topics (Greenberg, 2002, pg. 181), elaborating and commenting upon current events, or "articulating specific political messages from an ideological perspective" (Steuter and Wills, 2008, pg. 11). According to Edy (1999, pg. 73), editorial cartoons provide a window through which implied versions of the past can be examined vis-à-vis present conditions, generating media accounts of the

repercussive effects of social phenomena upon societal history. Consequently, editorial cartoons can assist researchers to appreciate how visual discourse conveys social experience, alongside the subjectivities and identities of political subjects, their relations and the field in which they existed (Purvis and Hunt, 1993).

Research Aims/Questions

In conceiving editorial cartoons as being able to construct individualised arguments towards particular topics, themes, actors and events, the thesis proposes to examine their rhetorical capacity in greater detail. Using a case study approach, cartoons surrounding a singular political event will be analysed to ascertain the devices employed by practitioners in constructing visual narratives. These images will then be compared with editorial and newspaper discussions to identify the extent of convergence or divergence across a variety of elements, ranging from front page photograph to First Leader.

To address these aims, a number of research questions will be answered:

RQ1: What political communication functions do editorial cartoons perform during an electoral campaign?

RQ2: How do editorial cartoons draw upon artistic, rhetorical and metaphoric devices in order to represent real people, issues and events in an electoral campaign?

- SRQ1: How are artistic techniques such as the grotesque and caricature deployed by editorial cartoonists?
- SRQ2: What types of rhetorical devices are employed by editorial cartoonists, and to what effect?

- SRQ3: What are the metaphorical limits of editorial cartoons?

RQ3: What are the most appropriate models [or methods] for analysing the content of editorial cartoons?

RQ4: To what extent do political cartoons reflect the editorial content of the newspapers in which they appear?

The Current State of Cartoon Research

The research landscape surrounding cartoon studies is expansive, owing to the form being situated at the apex of visual and verbal communication. The broad spectrum of pathways has enabled researchers to pursue disparate analyses across a series of waves. Formative studies by Streicher, (1965, cited in Benoit, Klyukovski, McHale and Airne, 2001) and Morrison (1969) examine the communicative function of cartoons by highlighting their unique features. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) focus on the rhetorical form of editorial cartooning with Cahn (1984) and Wigston (2002) considering the form as tools for communication, the latter analysing their educational role in the fight against Aids in South Africa. Researchers such as Bivins (1984) analyse the form's content, with their role in public representation being explored by Baldry and Thibault (2006) who build upon Handl's (1990) identification of central themes which represent citizens and parties.

Researchers in the second wave focus upon the visual power of cartoons to reflect social and political issues in society. Morris (1992, 1993) explores the power of cartoons in the democratic process alongside the extent of their visual rhetoric. Delporte (1995), Feldman (1995) and Edwards (1997) analyse the form in the context of satire, symbolic

themes, image, metaphor and narrative; using case study analyses to highlight their claims. Colin Seymour-Ure (2001) assesses the relevance of cartooning within the changing British press landscape as newspaper formats shift away from physical to digital, with Olaniyan (1997) undertaking a similar exercise towards African newsprint. On visual rhetoric, El Refaie (2003) examines the use of visual metaphors in cartoons whilst Connors (2007) scrutinises cartoons in relation to popular culture in an electoral context.

A final wave of researchers scrutinise cartoons in terms of their depictions of social representations, Edwards and Ware (2005) focusing on how the form represents public opinions within campaign media. Han (2006), Najjar (2007) and Eko (2007) collectively examine the construction of identity within cartoons in relation to individuals, groups and nations. The presence of Ideological viewpoints in cartoons is explored by Mazid (2008) with Townsend, McDonald, and Esders (2008) considering their role within political commentary in debates. El Refaie (2009) examines the multi-literacy and interpretative capacities of cartoons across domains, working with Kathrin Hörschelmann (2010) to further analyse the responses of young people towards politicised forms of cartoons. More recently, Richardson, Parry and Corner (2011, 2013) analyse the cartoon's capacity for visual destruction during an election alongside its use in cataloguing unpredictable electoral phenomenon. Lastly, Roberts (2015) pinpoints the communicative roles and function of the cartoon in an electoral context by reflecting upon earlier iterations of the form.

This outline of theoretical development suggests that, whilst considerable research exists on the subject of cartoons, scant focus has been afforded towards the artistic, rhetorical and metaphoric devices employed by editorial cartoonists in creating layered narratives. Furthermore, minimal attention has been paid towards how these devices are

deployed to demonstrate the capacity of editorial cartoonists to converge with discussion in their host newspaper. This thesis will address the absences highlighted above by applying quantitative and qualitative methods of transcoding cartoon content and form in order to assess the extent of variation seen across different newspapers and cartoonists. The quantitative approach will subsequently establish convergence/divergence in terms of themes, topics and actors in the cartoons versus other newspaper elements, with the latter evaluating convergence/divergence in terms of how particular themes, events, actors and opinions are addressed in cartoon form.

Outline of Chapters

The thesis is organised into nine chapters. **Chapter One** explores the extent of connectivity between editorial cartoons and political communication, outlining how waves of technological development created scope and limitations for future theoretical development. The concepts of political communication are then applied to the realm of editorial cartooning, with assessment made of the editorial cartoon's role and function within a politicised context. **Chapter Two** will showcase the historical evolution of the editorial cartoon over two millennia, from grotesque art to visual satire. The metamorphosis of the form from "low" to "high" art demonstrates how a variety of extensions have been applied to editorial cartoons to allow the form to perform a series of functions, ranging from decoration to discussions of virtue within the subject. An outline of the cycle of criticism and acceptance related to the form will demonstrate how the art of cartooning has shifted from being attacked to becoming a method for attack.

The variety of rhetorical devices available to editorial cartoonists when deploying their messages to audiences will be examined across **Chapters Two and Three**. Six particular devices will be discussed in detail to indicate how cartoonists amplify messages, create original art with alternative meanings, generate theoretical gaps for readers to address individually and create parallel coding systems and languages. These chapters will address the academic divergence of opinion over the dominance of visual or verbal text when guiding audiences towards a particular meaning. Assessment will also be made of the stylistic devices employed to tease out salient information from otherwise ridiculous imagery. Owing to the intrinsic importance of metaphor in the creation of information, Chapter Three will examine this device in greater detail to show how the form is deployed by cartoonists to create semantic relationships between topic and cartoon vehicle. A discussion of metaphoric frameworks of analysis will additionally illustrate how the interpretive lens applied to such images can be expanded to elucidate greater meaning than that preferred by the cartoonist.

The context of analysis will be outlined in **Chapter Four** alongside the methodological approach selected to undertake the study. A brief outline of the normative British political system will be contrasted against the circumstances surrounding the 2010 British General Election to highlight how events challenged the “Westminster model” of governance in a manner unseen in the history of British peacetime government. A contextualisation of the British press industry will highlight the four newspaper groups selected for analysis, introducing the thirteen regular and guest editorial cartoonists featured in the study.

The main thrust of analysis for this thesis is located in **Chapters 5-8**. Each chapter is structured in a “bound” case study format to address the research questions posed by the author. The case studies will present a concise news chronology of each phase of the election cycle to anticipate themes, topics, events or political actors which could appear in each cartoon corpus. The presentation of findings will then be divided into two sections; a quantitative tabulation of the frequency of appearance of cartoon content across a variety of news elements, and qualitative discussions of the cartoon form through use of examples. Each case study will demonstrate the artistic, metaphoric and rhetorical devices presented across **Chapters 1-3**, highlighting how these amplify the socio-political commentaries of editorial cartoons and their thematic convergence or divergence with host newspapers.

Drawing together the principal discussions of the wider thesis, the concluding chapter will address the research questions and outline limitations and future avenues for study. The conclusion will present the argument that editorial cartoons perform an integral role in newspaper discourse, their visual commentary supplementing (or sometimes challenging) editorial narratives and summarising complex personalities and policies through a cartoon format. By doing so, the chapter will encapsulate the shift of editorial cartooning from “low art” grounded in deformity into a complex, communicative vehicle wherein art, metaphor and rhetoric meet reality.

CHAPTER ONE: Editorial Cartoons as Political Communication

To frame the thesis and communicate the importance of editorial cartoons during an electoral context, it is necessary to reflect upon their evolution and underlying function as a genre of socio-political commentary. Sitting at the juncture between state and corporate interest, Strömbäck and Kiouisis articulate the overarching vision and idealised outcomes of political communication to be:

the management process by which an organisation or individual actor for political purposes, through purposeful communication and action, seeks to influence and to establish, build, and maintain beneficial relationships and reputations with its key publics to help support its mission and achieve its goals (Strömbäck and Kiouisis, 2011, pg. 18).

With this in mind, the chapter evaluates the achievements of contemporary political communication theory, chronicling how waves of technological development created scope and limitations for future theoretical development. The concepts of political communication are then applied to the realm of editorial cartooning, its proponents identified as active participants engaged in an ongoing battle against censorial-minded adversaries. Lastly, assessment will be made of the editorial cartoon's role and function within a politicised context and how, despite initial disdain, it became intertwined with political and communicative developments.

Evolution of Political Communication

Academic Footings

The process of political communication is intricate. Its practice represents the 'disjuncture' between cognitive and affective processes governing political attitudes and behaviours (Karpf, Kreiss, Nielsen and Powers, 2015, pg. 1891); the ensuing outcomes shaped by distinct yet interlaced factors. The process is comprised of: multi-level social systems; political and media organisations; political and journalistic communicators; varyingly involved citizens; and surrounding political cultures. By acknowledging changes within these constituencies in tandem with technological advances, the process is seen to continually evolve. In doing so, it retains a capacity to transcend society, "reaching into the numerous spheres of organisation and activity which politics can affect" (Blumler, 2015, pg. 426). According to Blumler, political communication pivots on the structured yet volatile politics-media axis by acknowledging the interdependencies and interactivities between institutions which are shaped by different purposes and logics; its practices intimately normative towards the stated aims within a democracy, however articulated.

Swanson indicates how studies of political communication are shaped by:

[politicised] practitioners and explained by scholars as the product of a well-understood dynamic between political actors and parties on one hand, and mainstream news media on the other; both soliciting the attention and consideration of the public (Swanson, 1999, pg. 205).

These dynamics established an elite commentariat; citizens from similar social strata deemed suitable to participate in the national political dialogue. Whilst dismissed by Hall,

Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978) as “accredited witnesses”, such journalists did produce considerable degrees of cross-media “consonance” (Noelle-Neumann and Mathes, 1987). Their news agendas and conceptions of the news audience stemmed from entrenched social values and perceptions of the world at large, Lichtenberg articulating how a “great range of opinion and analysis outside the narrow mainstream rarely [saw] the light of mass media” (1990, pg. 103). Despite conflicting aims and opinions, the process yielded many convergent themes and materials to explore. Whilst such elites were useful linear transmitters from political sources to mass audiences, the interpretive filtering applied circumscribed political reality, communicating instead personalised conceptions of salient governmental issues of the day.

The late 20th Century witnessed a paradigmatic shift in political communication. Whilst retaining hierarchical notions of uniform mass exposure provided by specific media outlets, the expansion of digital technologies created parallel networks with greater viewing and listening choices through the proliferation of: providers; channels; news platforms; messages; and equipment in people’s homes and (eventually) on their person. A description of the state of coexistence between such divergent spheres is provided by Jay Blumler:

In [the former], citizens were limited to receiving, observing, absorbing, considering, or ignoring politics; in the [latter], they had many more opportunities to address each other, politicians and mediating journalists. One was more centripetal, the other more centrifugal in thrust (Blumler, 2015, pg. 427).

Within this context, a plethora of theorems exist which address the complex linkages and philosophical differences arising from this new communicative landscape. Kenski and Jamieson (2015) devote almost a third of their publication to presenting differing theories of

political communication, ranging from hypotheses derived from television dominance to those conceived in the digital age; all striving to be applicable, adaptable and contemporaneous to the political climate. A brief assessment of specific theories encompassing both periods will illuminate their osmotic capacities, achievements and weaknesses.

First Wave 'Foundation' Theories: A Diminishing Post-War Legacy?

Since 1945, debate has ensued over the effectiveness of political communication upon the populace. An initial 'limited effects' model was superseded by a more robust notion of how political actors and audiences were dependent on news media for their portrayal of politics (the idea of the commentariat outlined earlier). Three cognitive theories are associated with this progression:

- *Agenda-setting theory*: McCombs and Shaw (1972) and Iyengar and Kinder (1987, pg. 63) postulate upon the relationship between issues frequently covered in the media and what audiences consider important. This theory relies upon memory-orientated models of information processing, assuming how audiences form attitudes based upon considerations most salient when making decisions (Hastie and Park, 1986). Such judgment and attitudinal formation correlates with agenda-setting due to the "ease in which instances or associations" can be recalled (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973, pg. 208).
- *Priming theory*: An adjunct of agenda setting, this theory holds that, as an issue tops media agendas, voters are encouraged to evaluate competing parties and politicians in terms of past performance records or present positions on the issues concerned.

- *Framing theory*: Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Scheufele (1999) collectively maintain that news interpretations are more elaborate and potent than the issue itself, becoming tools to present issues efficiently and accessibly and playing to audiences' existing cognitive schemas (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). This theory concentrates upon the mode of presentation required to reduce the issue's minutiae, assigning appropriate ways to influence audience understandings of political reality in light of any media constraint (Gans, 1979; Entman, 1993).

Displaying the characteristics and ways by which journalism 'constructs' politics, the organisational and interpretative foci of these theories retains enduring importance, formalising boundaries to public discourse and being influential in what they exclude. These foundational theorists highlighted how the news directs audience attention towards short or long-term problems, substantive or strategic understandings of political controversy, and thematic or episodic versions of current issues through alternative means. In a broad sense, these theories outline how the media, if not telling audiences *what* to think, tells them what to think *about*.

The evolutionary pathways of such theories provide an insight into the role of communication in power conflicts and the wider conceptualisations of news. One can witness how politicians and other opinion advocates strive to influence not only each other but the wider public, in addition to guiding journalists as to how to read public opinion. These theories additionally substantiate journalism's contribution to democracy, Weaver noting that "unless journalists and the mainstream news media report about certain

problems and issues, they will not receive much attention or resources from the public or policy makers” (2015, pg. 94).

However, Blumler (2015, pg. 428) believes these formative theories are outdated owing to the degree of compartmentalisation regarding message impact upon receivers. Whilst acknowledging their statistical significance in correlating media and audience agendas, he posits how such filtration processes contribute to an exaggeration of their claims. Furthermore, if the communicative realm maintains its current expansive trend, the practical challenges of establishing such effects will prove insurmountable to future practitioners. Blumler’s viewpoint is at odds with Bennett and Iyengar (2008) who claim instead that such proliferation could signal the return of a “minimal effects” model last seen in the pre-war era, the idea of examining ‘impact’ making little sense if researchers are compelled to encompass the diversity and fragmentation of offline and online message senders.

The Politics-Media Axis

The currency of these Foundation Theories persists through an upswing in public mistrust and scepticism about the effectiveness of political campaigning. Collective assumptions of audiences actively assimilating messages and determining courses of action were proved accurate; their reactions reinforced through media criticisms of politicians and portrayals of crisis, conflict and failure. Such negative messaging has generated an underlying alienation towards politics and collective mistrust in government, contributing to a media malaise which Bennett and Manheim (2001), Kavanagh (1995), Scammell (1995) and Wring, Green, Mortimore and Atkinson (2005) all highlight. Further research concerning the politics-media axis highlights its component elements (Bennett, 1990), variation across

polities (Swanson and Mancini, 1996; Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2012; Pfetsch and Esser, 2012), evolution over time (Zaller, 2001) and consequences for media content and audience reception (Schulz and Mazzoleni, 1999), in addition to scrutinising the media as a political institution in itself (Cook, 1998).

Contemporaneous theorists indicate a need for revisiting the forces which contribute to the widening of the elite-populace gap in politics, Mazzoleni, Stewart and Horsfield (2003, pg. 1) proposing examination of the role of the news media in encouraging “the growth of neo-populism in contemporary democracies”. Of relevance to this thesis is John Keane’s (2013) theory of “monitorial democracy” where powerholders across all institutional spheres are perceived as being besieged by new-media critics for alleged abuses and shortcomings in their roles, contributing to a flourishing of “new muck-raking”. Taken in concert, such developments highlight the idea of alienation as a frameable media variable worthy of examination.

The politics-media axis is exhaustively chronicled by researchers, spurred on by innovations in campaigning techniques which are geared towards promoting party agendas to voters through the mass media. Whilst Harrop (1990, pgs. 277-291), Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) and Bennett and Manheim (2001) do not share a singular frame of terminology, all identify similar consequences in the development of the relationship. These include: paucity of information; narrowing of political discourse; elevation of perceptions of political reality over objective ones; increased negativity and reliance on attack campaigning; and heightened politician-journalist conflict engendering cynicism towards both spheres. Zaller’s embryonic theory of product substitution (2001) develops this further,

positing how journalists maintain professional autonomy by turning the tables upon modern news management tactics; instead carving out stories under their full control.

Who cracks the whip in such a symbiotic relationship? Proponents of both fields attempt to justify one's superiority over the other. Bennett (1990) hypothesises how the media "indexes" the spectrum of views propagated within elite public communication; open debate generating diverse media coverage, consensus producing singular perspectives. However, Blumler argues such indexing theories should be re-evaluated in light of the communicative evolution following Bennett's hypothesis, highlighting the reduced polarity between the realms and increasing challenge from "a host of cause and campaigning groups, bolstered by the availability of newer-found online communication channels to put across their political concerns" (2015, pg. 429).

By contrast, Esser and Strömbäck (2014) suggest an inversion of such relationships, alluding to how long-term processes of mediatisation applied to politics facilitate greater media influence. They posit how the media's conceptualisation of the world at large contributes to its dominance over politics and society, enabling it to gravitate towards autonomy and the development of media "logics" to which political actors must respond. The pair further conceive how the logics of the media percolate into the political infrastructure itself; shaping its policy and publicity outcomes.

Such ideas are beneficial in identifying sources employed by political participants, particularly when tailoring publicity to journalistic news values or cultures during intense periods of campaigning; notably elections. However, caution should be made of over-emphasising Esser and Strömbäck's claims, owing to their homogenisation of political actors and expectations of a uniform response by such individuals. Schulz (2014) contends there is

no such thing as universal media logic, with technological development enabling politicians to bypass mainstream gate-keepers and define the relevance of political issues on their own terms. Esser and Strömbäck's acceptance of media proliferation additionally conceptualises an audience no longer dependent on mainstream journalistic provision, instead cherry-picking news sources at a touch, click or swipe. Consequently, mediatisation theory is yet to reconcile itself to the multiplicities of interaction occurring between the realms of media and politics nor the varying consequences such exchanges create.

Comparative Analysis

The 21st Century has provided a 'third way' towards understanding political communication; Pfetsch and Esser (2012) outlining a "heuristic model" of key features amenable to comparative analysis. The trajectory of development in this field is notable; Hallin and Mancini (2004) and Brüggemann, Engesser, Buchel, Humprecht and Castro (2014) developing typology and modelling structures which correlate media institutions and politics across four dimensions; applying these to eighteen Westernised political communication systems. As a consequence, a comparative foundation exists which formalises the similarities and differences in political communication and journalistic cultures across borders.

As with mediatisation theory, some cautionary notes need to be made. Whilst in awe of the abundance of data such analysis provides, a danger exists that the unique contributions afforded by comparative scholarships to political communication analysis is at risk of being extinguished. The temptation for researchers to compare under-researched countries against those with known communicative baselines has not always been resisted. Furthermore, academic enquiry of this type concentrates upon advanced Western

democracies, leaving comparative research practitioners open to charges of cultural imperialism. Whilst Hallin and Mancini (2012) progress a typology for non-Western cultures, such research can only come to fruition if executed by scholars rooted in individualised praxis. Similarly, the decision to designate the nation state as the main unit of analysis in comparative research remains questionable in light of theories concerning the globalisation and trans-nationalisation of political communication.

Second Wave Communication Theories: Analogue Thinking in a Digital World

In tandem with the rise of new media, the late Twentieth and early Twenty First centuries have seen developments of four theoretical foci which attempt to address the genesis of digital communication. These theorems concern voice, the role of actors and divergence of holistic and normative perspectives.

Voice

Addressing the first of these, it is evident how 'voice' is separated into theories concerning those afforded greater expression and those given the opportunity to challenge elite domination of communication access. Conversely, a body of thought surrounds the consequences for democracy in light of an outpouring of vernacular discourse that online communication facilities and characteristics inspire.

Four theories about the former have been conceptualised, underpinned by differing systemic foci. Suggesting how hyperlinks within web-mediated technology expedite the communicative and networking abilities amongst those within formerly marginalised groups, Turow and Tsui (2008) outline a technologically-driven media concept identified as 'hyperlinked societies'. They argue how such innovations not only expand the base of

information available to users, but provide deeper cognitive engagement with topics and issues of personal interest.

A more sociologically-driven analysis of connective action is preferred by Bennett and Segerberg (2013), taking account of the proliferation of single-issue cause groups, user inclination to make choices according to personal identities, circumstances and life-styles, and the enhanced capacity for political mobilisation. They posit how motives for collective political association intensify as personally expressive content is shared, recognised and repeated by others via the Internet. The 'viral' nature of their action subsequently constitutes a collective political action without the traditional tenets of organisation or command structure. According to Bennett and Segerberg (2013, *ibid*), these networks possess capacities to transcend barriers to political coordination, giving rise to "connective action" by movements that harness the unvoiced, instead of existent constituencies.

Criticisms can be made that these theories say more about the communication processes involved than the likely determinants of outcomes. Attempting to rectify this, Pfetsch, Adam, and Bennett (2013) introduce the notion of 'spill-over' media effects which amalgamate theories from both waves of communicative thinking. They develop a framework which scrutinises conditions as to how challenger online communication agendas spill over into traditional mass media agendas, with a corresponding effect witnessed upon influencing public opinion and politicians' policy agendas.

A more comprehensive integration is attempted by Chadwick (2013) in his conceptualisation of a hybridised media system. In his view, research should move beyond dichotomous thinking about 'old' and 'new' media, owing to the fact contemporary political communication involves a multi-level weaving and blending of structures, actor

involvement, media logics, production processes, content and consumption. In doubting whether such integrated systems can exist, Blumler posits how hybridisation could generate multiple benefits instead, notably:

[the] replacement of the news cycle by a political information cycle; changed power relations between elites and non-elites; a partnering of “old” and “new” journalistic voices; and multiform attention to political communications by audiences (2015, pg. 432).

However, the drawbacks of such systems need to be addressed, notably the anonymity or lack of personal consequence for those transgressing norms of discursive decorum. Additionally, a continual questioning of elites through everyday interaction could, as Tilley and Tarrow (2008) acknowledge, be seen to have opposing consequences; such forums fostering political mistrust on a micro level and engendering a system of “contentious politics” at a macro level.

Addressing the opposite side of the oral divide, Katz, Ali and Kim (2014) identify potential pathways for enriching democratic dialogue via online communication. Notionally termed “deliberative democracy”, they produce a typology of conversation modes which assess their contributory functions towards wider democracy. However, Fishkin (1997) acknowledges how the idea of deliberation depends on how it is organised, with Coleman and Blumler (2009) maintaining that deliberative channels must be articulated in accordance with the state’s policy-making apparatus to be effective. Without such guidance, Katz (2015) suspects that deliberation will have “nowhere to go”, becoming an empty chamber.

Theories of Actors' Roles

Few innovations have been suggested towards theorising the responses of political participants in the unfolding technological environment. However, a consensus exists regarding the current communicative phase being shaped by news fragmentation; creating differing forms of party-voter interaction dictating the styles of political campaigning. Gibson and Rommele (2001) articulate how a point of departure exists in the qualitative difference of politician attitudes to new media to that of the “professionalised advocates” discussed earlier. In this vein, they propose how a “party centred theory of campaigning” could prioritise online fora in maximising organisational outcomes, creating a cycle of continual innovation.

As discussed earlier, First Wave theorists forensically scrutinised the role of the journalist. However, the digital era has contributed to a reappraisal of their role in numerous pieces of empirical research, much of it in a descriptive manner. In spite of this, three important theoretical perspectives on journalists have emerged in recent times. Shoemaker and Vos (2009) outline a comprehensive theory of journalism’s gatekeeping function, with Hanitzsch (2007) proposing an elaborate theoretical baseline for the conduct of comparative research into journalism cultures. Additionally, researchers such as McChesney (2014) theorise about the insidious consequences of an increasingly commercialised media, both old and new, in the digital era.

Turning attention to the wider demos, Lang and Lang (1983) refer to the public as passive “bystanders” merely observing events; able to formulate an opinion yet powerless to implement it. Since then, the public’s role in political communication has demonstrably changed; perpetually in evolutionary flux due to the limitless means of media interaction

and the platforms to do so. Countering this has been a wave of studies dedicated to establishing a suitable typology of their emergent role within democracy. Livingstone's (2013) identification of a paradigmatic shift from mass communication to participation is notable, laying the groundwork for other scholars to conceptualise how the demos engages, accedes and navigates their way between media platforms and the interconnections they foster.

A noted weakness across literature in this discipline concerns the tendency for scholars who, despite correctly diagnosing the need to theorise from the public's perspective, deviate into discussion of the audience as a generic construct rather than an empirical entity. Coleman and Moss (2014) develop an innovative means to remedy this. Rather than employing a 'top-down' perspective as to how the media chooses to fulfil audience appetite for information, they favour a 'bottom-up' approach, identifying entitlements that citizens perceive should be provided by political communication. Employing focus groups, these entitlements are identified to include:

[a] rational decision-maker; [being] able to evaluate political claims; feeling part of a societal debate; communicating with and being recognized by one's representatives; and being able to make a difference (Coleman and Moss, 2014).

Taken in concert, Blumler and Coleman suggest a theoretical vacuum remains within each media participant:

The present day political communication process is more complex than was its predecessor, more riddled with cross currents and facing many of its actors with more choice and uncertainty (Blumler and Coleman 2013, pg. 177).

As a result, it is necessary to research the impact of such ambivalence amongst all actors within democratic political communication systems, noting any disservices made by past theorists. van Broekhoeven (2014) notes how approaches to the media employed by politicians towards the public may not always be single-mindedly calculative and manipulative. Similarly, politicians could actively regard the pursuit of politics as a vocation in Weber's (1919) sense, invoking qualities of passion, proportionality and responsibility. Furthermore, journalists may be conflicted between pursuit of their civic informational role and of their duty to chase ratings. Lastly, members of the public may feel compelled to both follow *and* ignore the communication of sundry political claims and arguments made by the media.

Holistic Perspectives

The seminal holistic approach embraced by political communication scholars is that of Habermas' (1989) notion of "the public sphere", allied to modified approximations of his wider Communicative Action theory (1984, 1987). The former conceives a space between state and market in which political discourse occurs. Conversely, the latter articulates a framework of ideal speech conditions essential for such discourse to achieve a common understanding of goals; notably freedom to argue, entitlement to speak and absence of coercion or censorship by organised agencies.

Such a system enhances the thought of "deliberative democrats", creating a core baseline for theorists to assess the public opinion process more generally. However, Habermas' theoretical construct ignores a core truism of political communication in that attempts to realise political ideals *always* involve a struggle against powerful forces of realism and inertia. Whilst acknowledging his contribution to the monitoring and evaluation

of ideas circulated within society, Habermas' concept appears outmoded, ignoring root conflicts that exist between communicators entrenched in the real world.

A contemporaneous pathway derived from analyses of adaptations within emergent political communication is evidenced in Bennett, Freedon, Hussain and Wells' (2013) concept of digital media and youth engagement. They posit how established political and media institutions saw their authority decline in postmodern, post-bureaucratic societies. With the erosion of traditional civic engagement, opportunities for digital participation proliferated, giving rise to a new political communication order and contributing to a "participatory digital media culture [as fundamental as] earlier transformation[s] of civic engagement" (Bennett, Freedon, Hussain and Wells, 2013, pg. 134). Such a theory acts as a springboard into new lines of intergenerational research based upon axes of institutional authority, citizenship and communicative use. However, its predisposition towards homogenising the communication preferences of young people ignores the wider demos, in addition to underestimating the endurance of institutions and being heavily reliant upon an idealistic vision of the future participatory democracy.

Normative Perspectives

A plethora of normative analysis and appraisals of media systems and processes has been cultivated by political communicators and journalistic scholars. Key theories arising from the First Wave include Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1956) four theories of the press and Denis McQuail's continuing discourse identifying norms suitable in assessing political communication in public interest terms since 1992. Much of this work concentrates upon a cohesive group of values deemed necessary in liberal democracy such as free expression and diversity, irrespective of whether these are accomplished or not.

By contrast, the onset of new media facilitates a quantum leap in thinking. Discussions now study hitherto unexplored constructs within democracy itself, notably transparency, civility, inclusiveness and the sensitivity of employing communication techniques. The Twenty First century has also witnessed a reintegration of participation back into the wider normative discourse. Consequently, theorists are able to pick and choose the norms they deem suitable for study, generating conflicts on the worth and deficiencies of each; notably Stromer-Galley (2015) versus Katz (2015) on the inclusion of “deliberation” (Kenski and Jamieson, 2015). Parallel to this is the emergence of more philosophical theorems which encompass multiple normative perspectives such as Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White (2009) and Althaus (2012).

In spite of their ubiquitous nature, the influence of normative perspectives upon communication theorists appears to be minimal. Though media organisations have been known to commission academic reviews of their output, their focus has been towards a targeted area of concern, primarily that of impartiality. Consequently, a niche exists for diverse, normatively-minded scholars who acknowledge that, as democratic values evolve, so must research to bridge the communicative gap.

The Politicised Role and Function of the Editorial Cartoon

Having outlined the state of research with political communication, attention now turns toward how cartoons function as political communication, particularly in times of elections. Gombrich ([1963] 1994, pg. 127) highlights how the effectiveness and functionality of editorial cartoons were jointly dismissed by historians and political communication scholars on purely aesthetic grounds, a by-product of their origins in caricature and low art outlined further in Chapter 2. Burke (2010, pg. 436), however,

believes the aesthetic quality of an image should not diminish its value as a communicative artefact. Instead, he suggests they assist researchers to reconfirm assumptions of historical politics in a given era in a comparable fashion to the use of textual sources. In adopting this premise, the essential communicative feature of an editorial cartoon is not *what* it says but *how* it is being represented (Duus 2001, pg. 966). Outlining the form's capacity to condense claims or create mini-narratives about putative problems, Greenberg hypothesises how cartoons serve to reinforce taken for granted meanings of the world.

In so doing, editorial cartoons provide metalanguage for discourse about the social order by constructing idealisations of the world, positioning readers within a discursive context of meaning making and offering readers a tool for deliberating on present conditions. Cartoons frame phenomena by simulating the problem in question within the context of everyday life and in the way they exploit universal values as means of persuading readers to identify with an image and its intended message (Greenberg, 2002, pg. 182).

To achieve the objective of informing and persuading readers to accept certain ideas, editorial cartoonists rely on artistic techniques such as caricature to produce simplified situations, pretentious, powerful and corrupt characters, or objects designed to represent more complex issues. The technique of caricature and its artistic origins within the wider realm of the grotesque is discussed later in Chapter Two. Parallel to this are the range of communicative and rhetorical devices such as words, images, symbols captions, parody, metaphor and humour employed to make messages more vivid. Such elements empower editorial cartoons with feelings of sympathy, sorrow, guilt, resentment, bitterness, anger,

joy or laughter; emotions often complemented by surprise, contradiction, ambiguity or paradox. These features will be discussed in a formal context in Chapter Three.

Asserting how no other arm of political communication criticises the government, societal and public figures “as well as editorial cartoonists do”, Lamb assesses their function to be comparable to that of investigative journalists, “afflicting the comfortable and comforting the afflicted” (Lamb, 2004, pg. 238). In this sense, the editorial cartoon observes and highlights topics and themes considered unsuited for comment by the host newspaper or guest contributors yet, in the editors’ view, provide a viewpoint worthy of inclusion. Whilst editorial perceptions of the cartoon as a safe space can justify “attempts to portray what the newspaper comment section tries to avoid” (Lawate, 2012), Lamb’s viewpoint allows the thesis to define the societal role of editorial cartooning as that of presenting critical arguments which demonstrate the villainy of people and institutions which hold more socio-political power than others. In turn, such images construct arguments from an outsiders’ perspective, “seeing a world that is unjust, immoral and in need of reform” (Lamb, 2007, pg. 718). It should be noted, however, that the notion of editorial cartoonists as outsiders is deceptive owing to their employment and loyalty towards a host newspaper, outlined in greater detail in Chapter Four.

According to Daniela Chalaniova (2011, pgs. 7-8), the positioning of editorial cartoons within newspapers has a significant impact. She believes their considered editorial placement enables them to become “powerful public opinion stirrers”, enhancing their functionality in addressing otherwise taboo subjects. Such perceptions are not new, with Shultz and Germeroth (1998, pg. 230) addressing how cartoons liberate researchers from having to scrutinise news audiences when focusing upon contentious subject matters.

A noted example, cited as the catalyst for the resurgence in research of editorial cartoons as instruments of political communication (notably Campbell and Shapiro, 2007; Mazid, 2008; Muller, Özcan and Seizov, 2009; Klausen, 2009 and Hansen, 2011), lies within the publication of cartoons representing differing conceptions of the prophet Muhammad by the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005. Whilst international outrage was sparked by the lack of clear contextual explanation for their use, the aggregated research highlighted above posits how these cartoons paved the way for other editorial teams to pursue the subject matter of Islam further, the images being reproduced by newspapers across fifty nations in the ensuing three year period and the highlighted ideas explored in greater detail by the French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* in 2011. The fatal consequences experienced by the editorial staff of the latter publication in January 2015 provide a tragic counterpoint to Lawate's claims of the form as a "safe space".

Lastly, the functional worth of editorial cartooning is not restricted to its capacity for criticism. Highlighting the forms' propensity to quantify phenomena, Medhurst and DeSousa, (1981), Morris (1993) and Seymour-Ure (2001) all hypothesise how editorial cartoons can integrate common cultural reference points to construct classification systems; detailing reader responses across a broad spectrum of values, beliefs and predispositions. Of relevance to this thesis is the manner in which scholars embrace intensified scrutiny of the editorial cartoon within the case study framework, studying one particular phenomenon as it develops in depth. According to Swanborn, such methods can isolate an occurrence within a specific context, yielding greater detail than classification studies and providing "an appropriate way to answer broad research questions and [supplying] a thorough understanding of how the process develops" (2010, pg. 3). Such approaches are evidenced

in academic analyses of presidential campaigns (Conners, 2014), social movements (Castellinio, 2015), economic and geographical disasters (Talalay, 2013 and Stewart, 2015) and the coverage of civil and cross-border wars (Wozniak, 2014 and Elmaghraby, 2015).

Editorial Cartoons and the Electoral Process

In line with the thesis' focus upon analysis of a general election campaign, the chapter now considers the separate roles and functions editorial cartoons take within the context of the electoral process. Miller (2015) outlines how a political campaign affords ample opportunity for editorial cartoonists to generate visual "takes on candidates and issues that run the gamut of the policy spectrum". Richardson, Parry and Corner (2013, pg. 60) similarly correlate the desire of political candidates to promote their characters and identities in elections alongside the subversive, distortive and exaggerative impulses of cartoonists during the same period. Such bountiful circumstances lead Colin Seymour-Ure to highlight three "golden purposes" such images should ideally serve:

[Firstly] they should monitor the progress of the campaign, reflecting the activities of participants. [Secondly] they must interpret the campaign, setting it in context and evaluating it. [Lastly] the cartoonist can offer approval or disapproval; in which case they become participants themselves, most obviously on the side of a particular party (Seymour-Ure, 1986, pg. 170).

Sani, Abdullah, Abdullah and Ali (2012, pg. 156) propose two further "golden purposes"; communicating and persuading audiences to embrace a more favourable perspective when perceiving a familiar topic from a different viewpoint, and providing

rational arguments for making public opinion to bring about positive change in society. Such purposes are not new in the context of elections, as will now be discussed.

Role

Matthew Roberts (2015, pg. 377) articulates how the “hastily drawn and quickly printed” editorial cartoon has lent itself to the frenetic nature of campaigning since Victorian times. With much of the party literature produced prior to or during the early stages of the electoral cycle, the editorial cartoonist is galvanised to respond instantaneously to campaign developments occurring at the constituency level on a daily basis. The speed by which “the political lampoon evolves from the artist’s mind, drawn upon stone and printed in the course of 24 hours” during election campaigns is underlined as early as the 1876 British General Election (*Star*, 29/08/1876, cited in Roberts, 2015, pg. 377). Such a premise remains today; the form aided by evolutions in communicative technology discussed earlier in this chapter.

Outside the scant numbers preserved and retained as collectors’ items, the majority of editorial cartoons are comparable to other news elements in newspapers in having a time-limited shelf-life. Highlighting their ephemeral nature, Richardson, Parry and Corner (2013, pg. 59) articulate how such images make “elliptical references” to topical subjects and news events which may otherwise be difficult to appreciate in subsequent months and years. This would suggest visuals emerge in parallel with occasions and evaporate just as quickly into the ether. However, in contrast to front page news elements and comment sections vying for reader attention, the illustration concentrates upon a limited number of strands connected to a singular issue, event or personality. As a result, an editorial cartoon produced in an electoral context can be perceived as “all point and no padding” (*Pall Mall*

Gazette, cited in Roberts, 2015, pg. 377), allowing creators to make an obvious assault on their subject matter “from the front, not a covert attack from the rear” (Mumford, 2001, pg. ix).

Editorial cartoons can also be conceived as vehicles reflecting and magnifying the sense of drama and excitement surrounding the electoral process. In the event of an unduly protracted campaign, they additionally supply a welcome relief to the weariness of a long, drawn out contest. Reflecting on the landmark 1880 British General Election (the first to encompass a four-week canvassing period), the *Hull Packet* extolled the virtues of the editorial cartoon, pronouncing the impossibility “of the exciting details of an election to be carried on without the latent humour of the masses, in some measure, [being] appealed to” (1/4/1880, cited in Roberts, 2015, pg. 377). The research corpus provides a notable example of the cartoon’s capacity towards such relief in the shape of Morten Morland’s “Teed Off” seen in Figure 1. Encapsulating the lack of voter engagement with the respective party campaigns, Morland resituates the election within a golfing scenario; the voters fuming on the side-line over the unsportsmanlike behaviour and lack of headway made by the three party leaders.



Figure 1: *Teed Off...* (Morland, *Times*, 12/4/2010)

The cartoon additionally serves to link aspects of popular culture with formal politics, comparable to the manner in which political parties adapt themselves to mass politics. Roberts indicates how a successful political cartoonist is able to “take some passing incident in our humdrum life which has excited popular feeling or laughter and apply it to a political situation” (2015, pg. 378). The association of elections to sporting events such as horse races, boxing matches or a marathon provides examples of cultural devices being utilised by cartoonists to serve a number of electoral purposes.

Figures 2 and 3 highlight Peter Schrank’s efforts to construct an electoral visual in the context of the London Marathon, overlaying the sights and spectacles of the race upon the manner in which electoral campaigns operate to engage a wider spectrum of potential readers. The inclusive and empowering nature of sport aids in emphasising the festive and communal nature of elections, the electorate able to participate as spectators or marshals, if not necessarily as runners., The use of a sporting analogy additionally underlines the competitive nature of politics in a way that emphasises fair play and the need to abide by the rules of the race in order to complete it.



Figures 2-3: Editorial cartoon overlay of Virgin London Marathon onto 2010 British General Election (Schrank, *Independent on Sunday*, 25/4/2010)

Cultural analogies can likewise be utilised during elections to lampoon the strength of politicians, particularly in political cultures which evaluate the character of politicians in terms of political prowess. Figures 4-5 illustrate Christian Adams' pastiche of Michael Caine's character of Harry Carter in *The Ipcress File*, superimposing the cultural artefact onto the initial stages of David Cameron's 2010 electoral campaign as Conservative leader. The disproportionately sized head and use of oversized glasses serve to parody Cameron, making him appear incongruous (when compared to Carter) and absurd in his efforts to present himself as a "cool" leader. The emphasis placed upon Caine's catchphrase similarly denotes Cameron as the *only* Conservative candidate known to the wider electorate, ridiculing Conservative figures not depicted in the same image. Chapters 5-8 will

demonstrate other stock devices employed in lampooning political strength; notably the cross-dressing, infantilising and anthropomorphising of party figures.



Figures 4-5: Editorial cartoon overlay of The Ipress File press photography of Harry Carter onto David Cameron (Adams, Telegraph, 09/4/2010)

The form and content of editorial cartoons alert readers to a facet often ignored in accounts of electoral politics, the centrality of the candidates themselves. Whilst academic studies ordinarily present elections as expressive of underlying social cleavages (notably class, gender, education and age), these interpretations are revisionist in nature, eschewing the fundamental role personality plays in discussion of the candidates during the campaign process. The later analysis chapters will show how electoral campaigns still hang upon issues such as the consistency of individuals, personal rivalries and on climbing the greasy pole. With this in mind, a further function of electoral cartoons can be posited in that of humbling politicians, thus reinforcing the popularity of the medium.

In rounding off this section, O’Gorman (1992, pgs. 84-85) highlights how elections temporarily invert normal social hierarchies to facilitate the ingratiation of politicians with the electorate, albeit in a circumscribed manner. It can be supposed that electoral cartoons

perform a similar act in visualising such inversions, placing political leaders in impossible or implausible situations which underline their weakness and dependence upon the electorate. Even the most venerable or independent-minded politician fails to escape the cartoonists' ire in such circumstances.

Function

In light of the above, what specific functions do editorial cartoons perform? Roberts believes such visuals work on several levels in order to appeal to a spectrum of people across a variety of contexts. These range “from Victorian semi-literate passers-by who glanced at them in print shop windows” (2015, pg. 381) to technophiles who have the time, education (and online subscription) to devote close scrutiny towards the cartoon form; teasing out the various levels of meaning. It is essential to stress how electoral cartoons are not just for those in the know, instead forming a part of mass culture which historically appeals across an array of social groups. This is a fundamental consideration for this thesis as British political parties are compelled by the exigencies of the electoral system to construct broad-based constituencies of support, discussed later in Chapter Four.

A justification can be made that the pre-eminent function of editorial cartoons during elections is that of appealing to the masses through a variety of widely recognizable characters, tropes or symbols. An example of such reliance can be seen in Steve Bell's incorporation of Father Christmas, the Tooth Fairy and Christmas Fairy alongside Margaret Thatcher and Norman Tebbit in Figure 6 to highlight the mythology of both groupings. The additional inclusion of Cameron and William Hague and their parodic blending into balloons which mimic their appearance confirms Bell's opinion of the pair as political lightweights reliant upon the mythical Thatcherite guard for support, alongside his summation of the

fanciful nature of the Conservatives' 'Big Society' campaign theme for the general election (discussed further in Chapter Six).



Figure 6: Untitled (Bell, *Guardian*, 01/4/2010)

According to Gombrich ([1963] 1994, pg. 136), the incorporation of generic signs enable cartoonists to visualize and simplify complex situations for the benefit of the reader. Whilst some knowledge of current affairs is required to 'read' cartoons, detailed knowledge is not a prerequisite to grasp the basic meaning of the image. Cartoonists have, however, been prepared to challenge audiences by raising the level of cultural knowledge required, as Mumford (2001, pg. xi) highlights. He outlines how the editorial cartoons of David Low involved disparate subjects such as the Greek philosopher Diogenes and Rodin's sculpture 'The Thinker', assuming *Guardian* readers would be familiar with such high cultural references. Similar techniques will be seen across Chapters 5-8, with images serving to initiate new generations of readers (and voters) into the cartoonists' political and cultural processes. In light of the thesis' focus upon a cartoon corpus derived solely from broadsheet newspapers, notice should be made of Richardson, Parry and Corner's (2013, pg. 61)

criticism of the elitist tendencies of such publications when considering later interpretations of these particular editorial cartoons.

Roberts (2015, pg. 381) highlights a crucial function of Victorian editorial cartoons retained by contemporary cartoonists. Examining the characterisations of by-election electoral cartoons, he identifies how 19th Century political parties were keen to forge connections between policy, politician and everyday life in immediate, striking and realistic manners; a task ideally suited to cartoons of the age. To facilitate this, a favoured device was that of juxtaposition, the use of contrasting depictions of the same image in order to highlight potential outcomes. Figure 7 illustrates the work of a lithographer employed by Conservative MP John Roebuck to create cartoon portraits of Sheffield at the time of the 1868 British General Election. Two contrasting futures for the city are juxtaposed; one visualising the Sheffield populace under Roebuck's representation, the other under that of his Liberal rival.

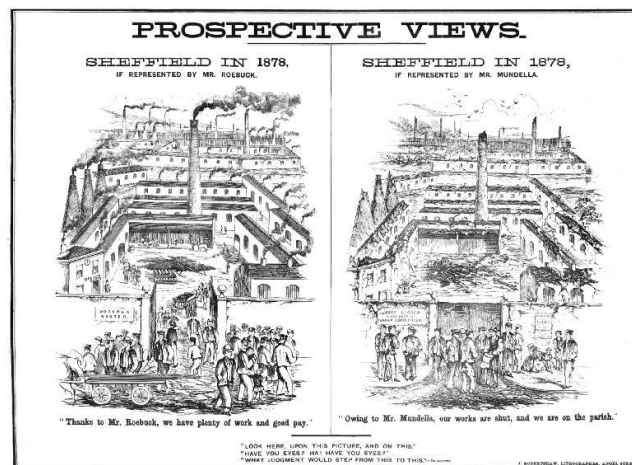


Figure 7: *Prospective Views (Roebuck, c. 1868, cited in Roberts, 2015, pg. 381)*

Roebuck's tenure is represented by an image of well-clothed, well fed and industrious workers employed in maintained factories in the left-hand image. By contrast,

the image on the right exploits Roebuck's knowledge of his rival's commercial affairs in the United States and Europe to imply the risk of industrial decline and the stigmas accompanying such action, namely unemployment and the reliance of constituents upon charity. Although intricately designed to convey a targeted message to voters, Roebuck's cartoon failed to prevent his subsequent defeat. Whilst this method of juxtaposition does not appear within the research corpus, Steve Bell continues to uphold this tradition; notably in Figure 8 where he contrasts Tony Blair against the convicted Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. By making this linkage, Bell strives to remind audiences of Blair's record in office during the Iraq War whilst being feted by European leaders as a potential candidate for the Presidency for the European Council.



Figure 8: *Spot the Future President of Europe* (Bell, *Guardian*, 27/10/2009)

A further function of the editorial cartoon is that of providing audiences with allusions of explanation, integrating contrast, analogy and reduction to visually hypothesise the cause and effect of any political action taken by party, politician or (in its broadest sense) the voter. Figure 9 demonstrates how Nicholas Garland attacks the idea of tactically

or consciously voting for the Liberal Democrats on the eve of the 2010 British General Election. To do this, he visualises the analogy of the Frog Prince, the story of a princess kissing a frog in the belief that the amphibian will transform into a handsome prince; resulting in the requisite fairytale ending. By *reversing* the analogy, Garland creates an allusion of explanation that, were Labour to be re-elected, voters who succumbed to the allure of Clegg failed to countenance the probability of a Labour victory through their actions. Applied across a diptych format, the overall cartoon combines to paint Clegg as someone who will break the electorate's heart and disappear into thin air, leaving something unexpected and more unpleasant behind.

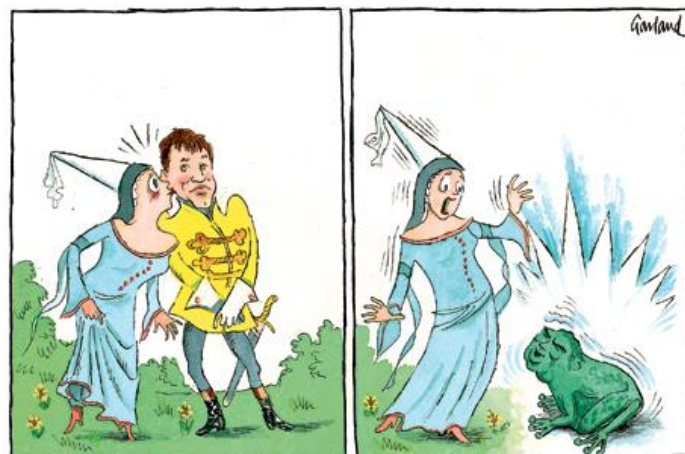


Figure 9: Untitled (Garland, Telegraph, 5/5/2010)

A final function of the editorial cartoon is the manner by which cartoonists turn abstractions into tangible realities. When such abstractions are visualised, Gombrich ([1963] 1994, pgs. 128-132) believes the ensuing image is imbued with greater measures of reality, immediacy and simplicity for audiences to comprehend. Notable examples are provided by Chris Riddell throughout the corpus. In Figure 10, he abstracts the Conservative party's nebulous plans for National Insurance and Inheritance tax cuts as mere scribbles on the

back of envelopes, visualising the lack of preparation taken to cost the plans before their announcement in the opening weeks of the campaign. Similarly, Figure 11 abstracts the right-wing press through the visual manifestation of Cerberus, a mythical triple-headed beast cited in Greek mythology as guarding the underworld (controlled by the Conservatives in this image) and chasing away those who dare to enter. In a comparable fashion to David Low, Riddell anticipates *Observer* audiences to have cultural knowledge in tandem with awareness of the political developments occurring in that weeks' election campaign, notably the roll out of the 'Big Society' in Figure 9 and the media onslaught against Clegg in Figure 10.



Figure 10: Untitled (Riddell, *Observer*, 11/4/2010)



Figure 11: Untitled (Riddell, *Observer*, 25/4/2010)

Concluding Remarks

In outlining the political function of editorial cartoons, the discussion concurs with Richardson, Parry and Corner's (2013, pg. 68) assessment of the editorial cartoonist's role and function as that of establishing a direct, often cruel, treatment of political persons and events. Such capacities are accrued through the layering of linkages with news elements which generate "colour reporting" such as First Leaders or regular/guest columnists which are, in turn, individually crafted to fashion personalised commentaries with an immediacy and vividness of their own; particularly during the electoral process. Rather than reconciling competing opinions within the host publication, the cartoonist's strategy is one of confronting the reader with the spontaneity of their visualisations with "the [subjective] judgments and perceptions that went into constructing the final representation" being teased out through repeated readings (Richardson, Parry and Corner, 2013, pgs. 68-69). Such techniques will be evident in discussions concerning the 2010 British General Election corpus outlined later in Chapters 5-8.

CHAPTER TWO: Editorial Cartoons as Art and Design

This chapter explores how the editorial cartoon has been artistically and semantically developed into a medium suited for the transmission of political and cultural messaging. The discussion is divided into two distinct parts, the first highlighting the origins of British editorial cartooning from the European traditions of grotesquery and caricature, the second examining the verbal and visual mechanics contained within such images. Taken in concert, these arguments will enable readers to pinpoint the societal, technological and linguistic forces which have shifted the cartoon from mere aesthetic into attack art worthy of inclusion within editorial sections of newspapers. Part One now contextualises the cartoons' structural evolution from primitive, absurd creations into the form's current iteration of providing astute political commentary.

Part One: The Art of Editorial Cartoons

Grotesque Art

As an artistic form, grotesquery is thought to have its nascence in Rome. Some of the earliest designs connected to the style are attributed to Fabullus, an obscure artist commissioned by the Roman emperor Nero to decorate the interior of the Domus Aurea. Within this ornate space, Fabullus would create absurd frescoes which evolved from mimes, Saturnalia and festivals celebrating nonsense and irrationality. According to Geoffrey Harpham, these images consisted of:

Graceful fantasies, symmetrical anatomical impossibilities, small beasts, human heads, and delicate indeterminate vegetables, all presented as ornament with a

faintly mythological character imparted by representations of fauns, nymphs, satyrs and centaurs (Harpham, 1982, pg. 26).

Fabullus' designs were considered by contemporaries to be neither extraordinary nor revolutionary. In maximising his talent, however, he unwittingly produced one of the finest specimens of early grotesquery with Barasch outlining how his images aimed to "please the fancy and eye rather than instruct the soul" (1971, pg. 18). Nero's patronage helped to secure wider recognition for the art-form, elevating it to a symbol of luxury admired and coveted by the Roman populace (Boethius, 1960, pgs. 116, 126). Classical artists and writers, however, condemned the technique's lack of order and clarity. The heralded recorder of Roman architecture, Marcus Vitruvius, was particularly disdainful of the form, devoting entire sections of his treatise *De Architectura* to denounce its decorative purpose:

On the stucco are monsters rather than definite representations taken from definite things. Such things neither *are*, nor can *be*, nor have *been*. The new fashions compel bad judges to condemn good craftsmanship for [its] dullness. How can a reed actually sustain a roof or [a] candelabra the ornaments of a bagel...or how can flowers and half-statues rise alternatively from roots and stalks? Yet when people view these falsehoods, they approve rather than condemn (Vitruvius, 1436 [1934], pg. 105).

Vitruvius perceived the proliferation of the art form as manifestation of the decline of Roman art. A similar concern was echoed by the poet Horace, expressing the absurdity of grotesquery in a series of contrived verses:

If a painter wishes to join a horses neck to a human head.
And to place varied plumage on limbs brought together helter-skelter.
So that a woman beautiful in her upper parts.
Should terminate hideously in black fish.
Who could avoid laughter? (Horace, 1640, Verse 1-8)

Taken in concert, Vitruvius and Horace's remarks are emblematic of scholarly consideration of the grotesque as a perversion of classical standards of art. In exaggerating and distorting 'proper forms' of nature, the form had created deceitful elements of likeness not found in the real world, warranting revulsion of all its manifestations. Such derision persisted until the fall of Rome; the art-form marginalised and forgotten within decaying ruins.

Renaissance

A renewed interest across the European continent in the fifteenth century towards ancient art and architecture led to the technique being christened for the first time. Harpham outlines how craftsmen and painters preparing to decorate the Vatican rediscovered Fabullus' frescoes when accessing the neglected Domus caves. Their designation of the artist's ancient work as grottesco or grottesca (derived from the Italian noun for caves) would serve to become "a mistake pregnant with truth, for although the designs were never intended to be underground, nor Nero's palace a grotto, the word [was] perfect" (Harpham, 1982, pg. 27).



Figure 12: Panel from the Raphael Loggia at the Vatican

In Fabullus' work, the craftsmen recognised an ornamental style which was replicable to their particular needs. Raphael's adornment of the Vatican Loggias, shown in Figure 12, is a noted example of such reproduction. Although Raphael's concept mirrors Fabullus' 'perfect art', he juxtaposes Christian narratives with pagan representations to transform the style towards his personal aesthetic. Harpham suggests that the Loggias signified an elevation in the lowly status of the grotesque, as "never before had grottesche (sic) been applied to such a large or important surface area, never before had an ornament stood so independently" (Harpham, 1982, pg. 29). In a comparable fashion to the patronage of Nero, Papal endorsement of the form saw the grotesque regain its once-held prominence; spreading throughout continental Europe and contributing to a semantic shift

in the word itself as it incorporated the various imitations which it spawned (Vasari and Serlio, [1537-1611] 1996-2001).

The individual particularly responsible for the positive perception of Renaissance grotesque was Giorgio Vasari, a proponent of the classical principles of art yet perceiving reproductions of the form by Raphael and Michelangelo as “divine [and] beautiful, imaginative fantasies” ([1550] 1998, pg. 213). To him, the Renaissance represented an era of artistic liberation in which painters, sculptors and architects “excavate[d] out of the earth antiquities” which could enable them to achieve artistic perfection (Vasari, [1550] 1998, pg. 81). His sentiments represent a recurrent theme throughout the history of the grotesque as the form’s capacity towards subjectivity and innovation continued to prevail over the natural order of rule and reason, supplying an enduring rationale for its popularity amongst artists and editorial cartoonists.

In spite of Vasari’s advocacy, contemporaries still perceived grotesquery as low art; the classical principles of Vitruvian order being reinforced and artists dissuaded from utilising the form. Barasch notes how Leon Battista Alberti’s seminal handbook *On Painting* attacked the degree of liberalism offered by grotesquery in an unwitting manner, “advising painters to study literature as well as mathematics, drawing and optics, in order that they might give their work 'historical' accuracy” (1971, pg. 27).

Caricature

The acceptance of the grotesque, in tandem with a standardised definition of its artistic components, allowed the form to be embraced by other emergent art mediums. One such avenue was caricature, derived from the Italian term *caricare* (meaning “to load”). The

technique is defined by Moores as “distorting the physical features of its subject” (2015, pg. 2), imbuing them with “judgmental and critical content, intended to address a specific problem” (Sarigul 2009, pg. 3). The employment of caricature by contemporary editorial cartoonists warrants further discussion with their persistence in loading cartoons with exaggerated features moving beyond artistic choice towards a form of political calculation, comparable to marksmen arming their weapons before attack (Navasky, 2013, pg. 28).

There is no clear consensus as to the nascence of caricature. Whilst some researchers date its origins to 1360BC when anonymous artists skewered Queen Cleopatra’s husband Akhenaten (Moyle, 2004), others such as Gombrich (1978, pg. 129) are inclined towards the form as rooted within the Olympians of ancient Greece. Victor Navasky offers an alternative viewpoint by suggesting true caricature was conceived as late as 1676, highlighting Bernini’s sketch of Pope Innocent XI and the artists’ assertion of no individual being above ridicule (Navasky, 2013, pg. xix). Recent archaeological discoveries have, however, helped to develop a potential timeline which suggests caricature predates such assertions (as well as the grotesque itself) by over five millennia.

Figure 13 shows a line drawing by Neolithic man discovered in modern-day Libya which depicts an animal headed creature with a giant penis. The illustration could be considered a formative attempt by cave dwellers to create caricatures using the materials available to them. Corroborating Gombrich’s claims, Figure 14 illustrates how caricature spread to continental Europe as the art form was appropriated by Olympian and Roman citizens to make politicised statements about their way of life or outsiders who visited their cities; namely in the form of graffiti. The identification of such an image at Pompeii

(preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius) serves to situate Figure 13 as artistically polar to that of the grotesquery generated by Marcus Fabullus.



Figure 13: Rock Drawing from Ti-n-Lalan, near Fezzan, Libya (c. 5000BC)

Figure 14: Pompeiian caricature of a peregrinus (non-citizen) (c.79AD)

Although the form's origin remains open to dispute, the technique itself can be attributed to the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). Whilst Renaissance artists continued to pursue Vitruvian ideals of order and beauty, Da Vinci was keen to comprehend the emotions displayed in his subjects. Key to this was his belief that humans visibly displayed life experiences through facial contours. Da Vinci's experimentation with exaggerated physiognomic features serves to make his drawings comparable to the caricatures seen in contemporary editorial cartoons. Many of the traditions associated with the grotesque are evident in Figure 15, Da Vinci creating a technically well executed portrait which celebrates his subject's deformities whilst integrating core caricatural dimensions.



Figure 14: *A Grotesque Head (Da Vinci, 1502)*

Stimilli (2005, pgs. 41-42) outlines how Da Vinci's initial antithesis towards beauty was expanded in the works of Annibale Carracci (1560-1609), the artist resisting the prevailing norm to generate art considered fashionable and aesthetically pleasing. Hoffmann (1957) details how Carracci strived to look behind the masks of his subjects in order to reveal their true being; creating a "counter art" based upon selection and synthesis. Examples of his crooked, rudimentary portraits are seen in Figure 16, the illustrations harking back to Roman rather than Renaissance art. In spite of their crude nature, Carracci's designs capture the way in which nature impacts upon the human condition; generating impressions of the subject which are more striking than mere portraiture.



Figure 15: *Sheet of Caricatures (Carracci, c. 1595)*

Defending his departure from the artistic consensus displayed by his contemporaries, Carracci wrote:

Is not the caricaturist's task exactly the same as the classical artists? Both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance. Both try to help nature accomplish its plan. The one may strive to visualise the perfect form and to realise it in his work, the other to grasp perfect deformity, and thus reveal the very essence of a personality. A good caricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself (cited in Navasky, 2013, pg. 28).

In pursuing "the lasting truth", Carracci supplies a justification for caricature to be validated as a discipline of high art comparable to that of the grotesque. Mosini notes in his preface to Carracci's works that, just as Vitruvius was right in advocating the search for ultimate beauty, so too was Carracci in seeking its antithesis, "una bella, perfetta deformità" [the beautiful, perfect, deformity] (1646, cited in Stimilli, 2005, pg. 41). According to Gombrich

and Kris (1940), such validation dispelled the conventional wisdom of the individual's representational image being determined by 'magical' forces. As Da Vinci and Carracci broke the Vitruvian mould and received acceptance by their peers, artists across Europe were empowered with freedom to deviate from previously prescriptive tenets of classical imagery and to make their visuals 'funny'.

Synthesis

The synthesis of caricature and grotesque for political effect was first witnessed in Martin Luther's crusade against the teachings of the Catholic Church. Acknowledging his role as the unwitting 'creator' of editorial cartooning, Navasky (2013, pg. 29) highlights the artificial enhancement of Luther's status through the proliferation of caricature across Northern Europe. To amplify his Reformist messages to the illiterate masses, Luther commissioned illustrations from a myriad of artists; a practice not dissimilar to that of newspaper proprietors with in-house cartoonists. To accurately situate the theologian's role within the evolutionary cycle of cartooning, discussion turns toward artists who incorporated Carracci's foundational premise within their subsequent work.

According to Parton (1877, pgs. 236-237), one such painter credited with influencing Luther is Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516). Bosch expanded Carracci's theory of imperfection to incorporate an awareness of the brevity and misery that was occurring through religious unrest at the time. By depicting fantastical monsters which could exist in the realms of the imagination, the artist conceptualised his inner thoughts of the turmoil into visual reality. The remnants of Bosch's triptych *The Ship of Fools* (displayed in Figure 17) depict how the artist believed the populace had been duped by the superstitions and idolatries imposed by the Catholic Church; its clergymen instead engaging in sinful practices which undermined

the core tenets of their religion. Parton believes a caricatured version of this painting brought back from a pilgrimage to Rome inspired Luther to embrace the form in his commissioned artwork (1877, *ibid*).



Figure 17: *The Ship of Fools* (Bosch, c. 1490-1500)

The technique was diversified further in the works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c.1520-1569). Whilst Bosch conceptualised personal demons, McPhee and Orenstein (2011, pg. 6) articulate Bruegel's desire to caricature instead the foibles of mankind. Figure 18 illustrates how the Dutch empire's Golden Age led to a concentration of wealth within the city of Antwerp, corrupting citizens and debasing their morality. To conceptualise such sentiments, Bruegel is seen as anthropomorphising his subjects into vessels which contain money; personifying the populace's single-minded quest for self-gratification. The true irony of the image, however, is masked; the artist profiteering from such greed in an artistic and commercial sense. As Luther exposed the shortcomings of religion, so too did Bruegel to commerce, the latter inspiring cartoonists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to

maintain such excoriation of wealthy and powerful individuals; notably culminating in Thomas Nast’s cartoon of ‘Boss Tweed’. The visual techniques of anthropomorphism and personification will be discussed later in Chapter Three alongside their frequently neglected rhetorical counterpart, zoomorphism.



Figure 18: *The Battle of the Moneybags and the Strongboxes, or, The Fight Over Money*
 (Bruegel the Elder, c. 1570)

Whilst the works of Bosch, Bruegel and Luther constitute substantive progress in the theoretical and practical applications of caricature, the form’s artistic development remained aligned to that of Italian art. Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593), a sixteenth century contemporary of Bruegel, was fortunate in gaining access to Da Vinci’s sketches and notebooks in order to advance his own technique. Werner Kreigeskorte (2000, pg. 30) notes how Arcimboldo painted “rather odd, abstruse and fantastical” artworks which were

subsequently bequeathed by a succession of Hapsburg rulers. Contrary to Luther's heretical intentions, the Hapsburgs realised such images could be employed to political advantage if presented in the form of gifts. Such understandings saw the emperors commissioning Arcimboldo to recreate popular artworks which would entertain courtiers and diplomats alike whilst amplifying the positive ideals of their empire in a covert manner. Figures 19-26 which illustrate the artist's series of artworks entitled 'The Four Seasons and Elements' are of particular relevance.

Kriegeskorte (2000, pgs. 24-27) additionally describes how Arcimboldo's optical illusions and artistic mimicry were encoded with an "abundance" of metaphoric, allegorical and symbolic references. Chapter Three highlights how editorial cartoonists continue to uphold such practices today. In Arcimboldo's case, such communicative devices allowed audiences to appreciate thematic commonalities in his series when viewing the artwork as pairs, as presented in this thesis. As each profile addresses its counterpart, the artist introduces the idea of dialogues occurring between the seasons and elements such as: "air and spring are both hot and wet"; "summer is hot and dry, like fire"; "autumn and earth are cold and dry"; and "winter is cold and wet, like water". Whilst art historians such as Adolfo Venturi maintain Arcimboldo's work was "guided" by Da Vinci's grotesquery (cited in Kriegeskorte, 2000, pg. 35), Geiger believes such images additionally introduced the idea of the bizarre into the caricatural sphere, "discovering beauty in ugliness and vice versa" (1960, cited in Kriegeskorte, 2000, pg. 32).



Figures 19-26: *The Four Seasons and Elements (Arcimboldo, c. 1566-1573)*

Export

Discussion now turns towards the role of François Rabelais in his export of the art-form to Germany, France and England. According to Benno Geiger (1960, cited in Kriegeskorte, 2000, pg. 36), the French author’s fantastical novels (1532-1564), detailing the adventures of Gargantua and Pantagruel, “cracked the satirical whip at everyone and everything like no one before him”. As his manuscripts were translated into corresponding languages, publishers strived to employ local artists in order to illustrate Rabelais’ tales. Whilst such actions diluted the Italian origins of caricature, the spread of grotesquery’s core principles across regional and state boundaries created new and particular forms of the art.

Addressing each of the nations in turn, the celebrated satirist Johann Fischart chose Tobias Stimmer (1539-1584) to illustrate Rabelais’ manuscripts for Germanic readers.

Although his allegorical style echoed that of Arcimboldo, Stimmer incorporated artefacts which would expand the character of the subject beyond the human aesthetic, referencing earlier works by Bosch, Bruegel and Hans Holbein. The subsequent illustrations gave rise to a parallel art movement divergent from the Italian ornamental style (commonly referred to as Diablerie), as well as a Germanic form of grotesque ('groteske'). Figure 27 highlights how Stimmer's macabre form established connectivity between the grotesque and monstrous which amplify the faults of his intended subject, Pope Gregory XIII. In synthesising the Pontiff with the Gorgon Medusa, the artist creates an anthropomorphic vision of physical impossibility yet still recognisable and emblematic of the Catholic Church's flaws.



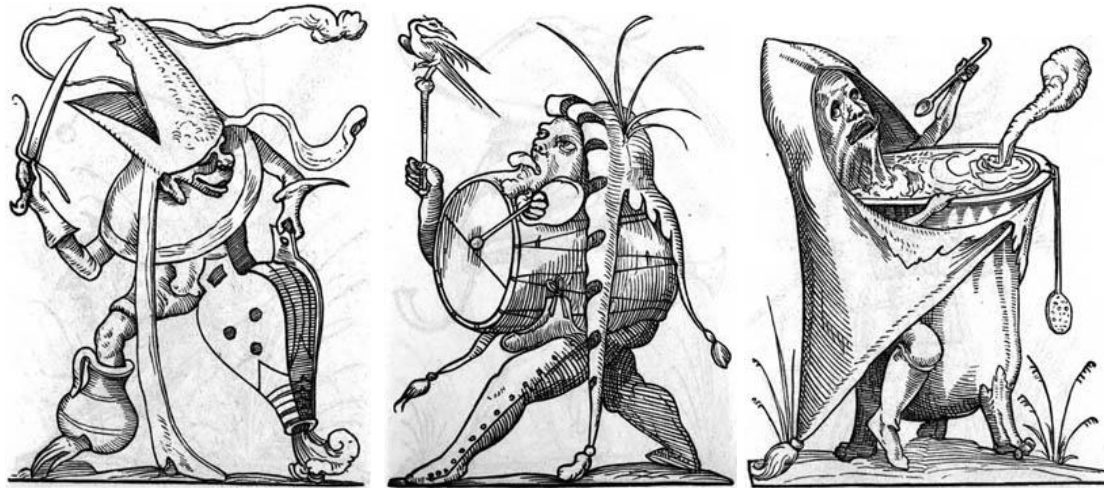
Figure 27: *Medusa's Gorgon Head (Stimmer, 1577)*

In the context of France, Parisian printer Richard Breton would collaborate with the engraver François Desprez (c.1520-c.1570) to exhibit the fanciful clothing of Rabelais' characters, giving rise to the version of grotesquery known as 'crotisque'. Desprez's inclusion of "exotic curiosities" broadened the scope of the grotesque further by incorporating physical objects such as bellows, cauldrons and ewers to distinguish the social

classes of the characters. José de Olañeta outlines how Desprez achieves “anamorphosis” in his figures, juxtaposing contraries to reveal their secrets and shames:

Many are deeply expressionless, even those laughing do so bitterly or at most smile slyly. Quite a few hide their face or even lack it, and their most human part is replaced by objects which imprison them and leave them brainless. These bodies are radically uncomfortable in their uncertainty, with spectacularly self-destructive tendencies, as if only suicide or autophagy could get them out of their tortured bodies (de Olañeta, 2011, online citation).

Desprez’s illustrations, seen in Figures 28-30, renounce the Italian veneration of the perfect form. His designs strip the human of its dignity, breaking the classical Great Chain of Being which locates mankind’s form as being one step below its Creator. By erasing physical boundaries, de Olañeta highlights how grotesque embraces hybridity, allowing “living flesh to be intertwined with objects and machines” to create a by-product which was “a blasphemous emblem of God’s inexperience” (de Olañeta, 2011, *ibid*). Charles Philipon and Honoré Daumier would notoriously utilise grotesque in the nineteenth century to depict Louis Philippe as a deformed pear, signifying his ineffectiveness as a ruler. Such anthropomorphic traditions remain relevant to contemporary editorial cartoonists, discussed further in Chapters Seven and Eight.



Figures 28-30: Illustrations from the Droll Dreams of Pantagruel (Desprez, in Rabelais, 1565)

Whilst cited as inspiration for satirical luminaries such as Francis Bacon, John Donne and Ben Johnson, Elizabeth Chesney (2004, pgs. 67-68) notes how Rabelais' manuscripts were largely ignored by English audiences and artists, receiving no substantive translation until 1653. The English perceived French, German and Italian grotesquery as 'foreign' art unworthy of consideration. Their demonic interpretations of the form instead came under the term 'anticke', a phrase associated with "skeletons [that] performed the dance of death [with] the grinning skull of death itself" (Barasch 1971, pg. 42). Such definitions resonate with Clark's description of how English society at the time "associated the underworld with the shadowy, the chaotic and the unnatural" (1991, pg. 19). The sense of shame associated with the grotesque in English culture is highlighted by Hall ([1548] 1965) and Spenser ([1590] 2007, pgs. 46 and 51), both authors detailing how Catholics and Puritans alike sought to declare the form as a corruption of man's knowledge.

In the absence of Rabelais' manuscripts, John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* ([1598] 2010) would be the first English publication to identify linkages between Italian grottesca and English anticke. An accreditation by Sir Henry Wotton ([1624] 2008) subsequently

defined the art form, proposing the common artistic definitions known today and paving the way for grotesquery to supersede anticke. From the outset Wotton identified how the roots of anticke lay in Fabullus' designs, substantiating European critiques of Albertian and Vitruvian perspectives of the age. In contrast to the responses made by Dutch, French and German artists however, Wotton advocated a means by which grotesquery could be accommodated *within* the English artistic discipline. He believed that, providing the external appearance of an art form remained simple and harmonious, designers (and artists) should be afforded total artistic licence so long as it was divinely inspired.

Such a permissive perspective, particularly within a nation in the midst of religious unrest, was highly controversial. Barasch (1971, pg. 62) details how clergymen such as Herbert, Hall and Tillotson expressed strong moral objections, fearing such accommodations would perpetuate licentiousness and deceit rather than expressing truth. However, societal accidence to Wotton's liberal viewpoint (and the wider grotesque form) would come from the unlikeliest of sources. Comparable to the tacit approvals of Nero and the Vatican, Hall ([1548] 1965) describes how elaborate anticke scenery began to appear within the masques of royal courts, validating the form as suitable for appraisal by the Establishment. Whilst courtiers readily consumed the imagery, they were unprepared for the artistic turns caricature and grotesquery were about to take.

Attack Portraiture

The detailed etchings of Jacques Callot (1592-1635) underline the shift in tone undertaken by caricature during the seventeenth century. Using an etching needle, the French artist perfected the technique of swelling or tapering lines in order to amplify minute details, creating expansive imagery which would bedazzle audiences. Jed Perl (2013, online

citation) highlights how Callot's images embraced "life's sweetness and bitterness with even-handed genius", creating the means by which to comprehend the world at large. Whilst these etchings mainly incorporated contemporary scenes and events, it was the artists' ridicule of public figures of the period which contributed to the next iteration of caricature, christened by Simon Schama (2015, pg. 102) as attack portraiture.

Whilst traditional caricature had favoured the subject's likeness, attack portraiture would integrate core features from the Germanic and French traditions of grotesquery to create dis-likeness. Schama (2015, *ibid*) outlines how the new form strived to ridicule rather than flatter, performing a public duty of "taking down the vain and pretentious". In Callot's hands, likenesses previously constructed to secure favour and popularity mutated into jokes or horrors comparable to those seen in the illustrations of Desprez. Such degenerative cycles can be seen in the work of contemporary cartoonists as they chart the rise and fall of political, sporting, cultural and economic leaders.

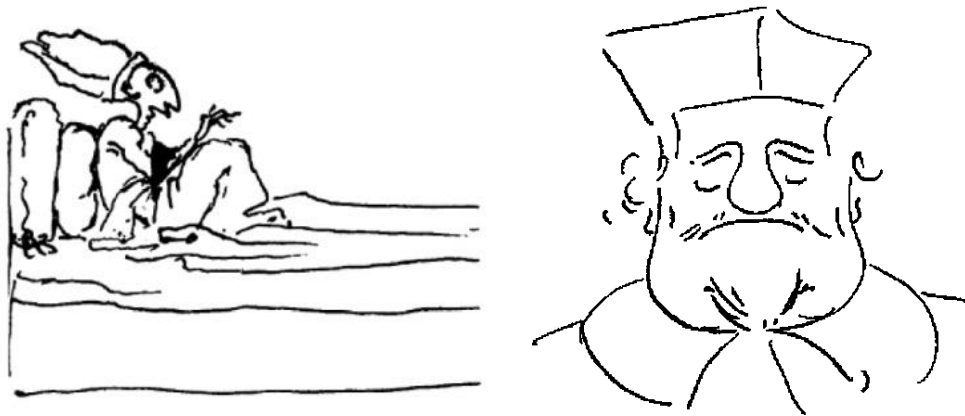
Callot's caricatures are divided into three forms of graphic attack: demonic; realistic; and fantastic. The first (seen in Figure 31) denotes those possessed by demons in a manner comparable to English anticke. The second (Figure 32) references the artists' nomadic existence across Lorraine, Rome and Florence; incorporating peasants, deformed individuals and paraphernalia associated with grotesque festivals. The final form draws upon stock characters derived from Callot's awareness of the *commedia dell'arte* tradition performed by Italian travelling troupes; in the case of Figure 33, the cowardly duo of Scaramouche and Fricasso. Whilst such attacks could be perceived as prototypes for cartoons which stereotype social groups, Perl believes Callot's light-hearted approach reveals a cheerful acceptance of the beautiful *and* ugly in seventeenth century society, glorifying each

individual as “a complete personality” with their “surface features always reflecting [their inner] substance”; a concept resonating with that of Da Vinci and Carracci (2013, *ibid*).



Figures 31-33: ‘Demonic’, ‘Realistic’ and ‘Fantastic’ Subjects (Callot, c. 1620s)

Whilst Callot connected grotesquery with the ridiculous, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1660) and Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755) both developed the technique of abbreviation by sketching their subjects in a two-dimensional manner. Kremers and Reich (2014, pg. 16) describe how such methods “reduced appearances to [their] cogent features, arranging them in an ornamental figure which worked with symmetrical correspondences”. The authors hypothesise how, once such imagery had been seen by an audience, such features cannot be erased from consciousness, even when supplanted by official portraiture. Bernini’s interpretations of Pope Innocent XI and Cardinal Borghese, shown in Figures 34-35, generated lingering perceptions of the pair of which neither could overcome; a foretaste of the power of caricature.



Figures 34-35: *Pope Innocent XI and Cardinal Scipione Borghese (Bernini, 1676 and 1650)*

By contrast, the eclectic talents of Ghezzi's were sought by young aristocrats and gentry journeying to Rome as part of their European 'Grand Tour'. To such travellers, their portrayal in caricature was perceived as a rite of passage, providing them with their first 'official portrait' to take home and use as evening entertainment. Such affluence and societal status afforded these particular individuals the ability to enjoy caricatures as "intellectual experiments", providing them with dialectic counterparts to their features in fine art, in addition to bolstering their egos (Kremers and Reich, 2014, *ibid*). The recurring patronage of prosperous elites enabled Ghezzi to become the first professional caricaturist, the myriad of images he created spreading his name and fame across Europe (McPhee and Orenstein, 2011, pg. 5).

Political Cartoons

Kenneth Baker outlines how the amusing and scurrilous nature of Ghezzi's attack portraiture impressed the Duchess of Marlborough; Figure 36 representing an early example of her efforts to import the art form to Britain. The illustration emblemises the Duchess' determination to find an artist capable of caricaturing Lady Masham in a less than flattering light; her rival "covered with many sores and ulcers". The caricature was subsequently

intended to be gifted to Queen Mary II with the aim of giving the monarch “a slight idea of her favourite” (Baker, 1995, pg. 8).



Figure 36: *Caricature of a Lady with a Fan (Ghezzi, c. 1700-1720)*

Central to the communicative powers of caricature was the exaggeration of topics which the artist (or, in Lady Marlborough’s case, the patron) wanted to highlight. No subject or person was considered taboo, enabling illustrators to encompass the ugliness of someone’s features to the deviancy of those in political or religious office. These formative caricatures can be considered ‘political’ in seeking to shape the opinion of viewers through a variety of artistic, cultural and psychological techniques; distilling events to facilitate comprehension from a particular perspective.

One of the first identifiably ‘political’ cartoonists was Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708), an artist tasked by William of Orange to repeatedly caricature his regal and religious rivals on the European continent, often employing a pseudonym in his riskier images. Figure 37 illustrates how de Hooghe sidestepped French censors by staging his image of Louis XIV

within a futuristic timeframe, sticking to the rules of not distorting or deforming the person or the position itself. In framing the Sun King within the context of the then-future solar eclipse of 1706, the artist presents the French monarch as a sad, gloomy and pitiable 'sun' whose reign is coming to an end. The image similarly ridicules Louis' private life by pillorying Madame de Maintenon, his chief mistress, for engaging in deviant behaviour with someone considerably older than herself.



Figure 37: *Louis XIV as Apollo led by Madame de Maintenon, (de Hooghe, 1701)*

The development of 'political' cartooning within a British context is entwined with the political evolution associated with the office of the monarch's leading Minister. According to Baker (1995, pgs. 9-10 and 23-29), the appointment of Robert Walpole as First

Lord of the Treasury (at the times considered the 'prime' office of state) supplied engravers with a figure of prominence necessary to test out their credentials as purveyors of social matters. Unlike other statesmen, Walpole placed significant personal currency in his ability to coerce the House of Commons to support his plans. Whilst effective in times of financial or national panic, Walpole's levying of unpopular taxes on the populace left his governance open to criticism, particularly as the statesman continued to reinforce his status through grace and favour. Baker outlines how the Prime Minister's actions fulfilled the engravers' chief requirement of finding an identifiable "public figure of hate" to blame for the state's ills. With one eye towards the commercial value of their work, these illustrators positioned themselves to take aim at the most powerful man in England.

Two artists prepared to visually confront Walpole were George Bickham (1706-1771) and William Hogarth (1697-1764). Baker (1995, pgs. 10-11) describes the former as Britain's first 'political cartoonist', selling his prints for sixpence to the political elite who congregated within coffee houses of the City and Central London. Those who viewed the cartoons could be considered to be individuals 'in the know'; influential in judicial, financial or royal circles and unable to ignore their visceral messages. By contrast, Navasky (2013, pg. 55) details how the bourgeois and vulgar sides of London and her politics were incorporated by Hogarth to create new, popular fashions in art which sated the decorative appetites of the public.

Figures 38 and 39 illustrate Bickham and Hogarth's determination in confronting Walpole and his shortcomings. The First Lord's revelry in his nickname as 'The Great Man' is deconstructed by Bickham in the former image, the artist utilising irony to highlight the chaos and despair engulfing Walpole's later years as Prime Minister, the maelstrom in the

background being created by his own hand. The latter image by Hogarth is more interesting insomuch as it *flatters* Walpole, the artist recognising his control over Royal patronage and his influence over the Treasury. The caption beneath serves to corroborate the visual sentiment, highlighting how “whosoever went out, or whosoever came in, passed beneath and with idolatrous reverence lift up their eyes and kissed the cheeks of the postern” (Hogarth, 1740, Figure 38). Coupled to the inscriptions on the hoop, the engraver is pointing out the vices of those entering or who are in control of political office, namely vanity, folly, venality and corruption.

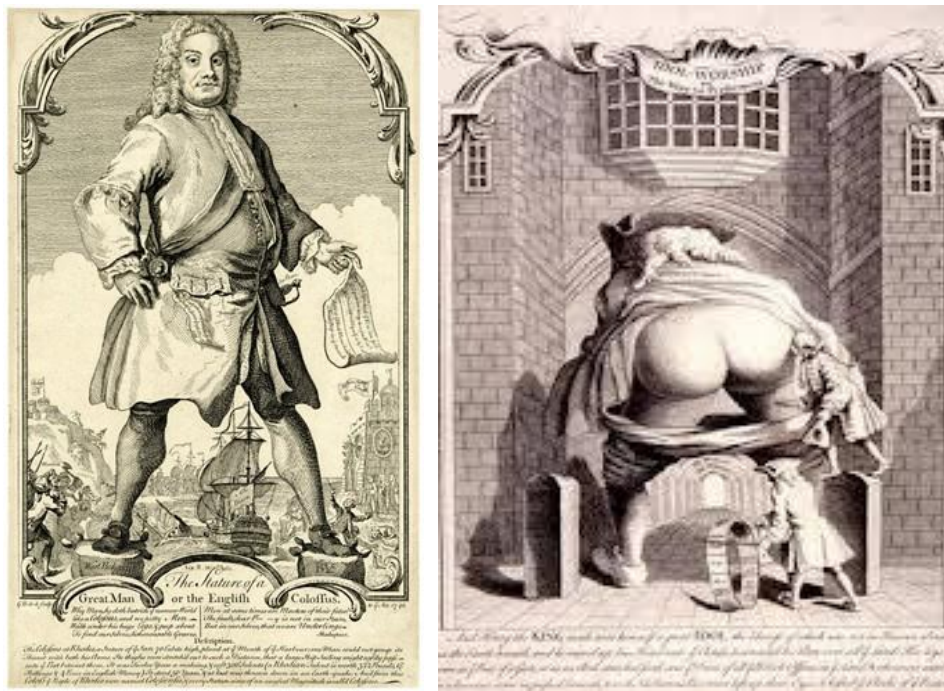


Figure 38: *The Stature of A Great Man, Or, The English Colossus* (Bickham, 1740)

Figure 39: *Idol Worship, Or, The Way to Preferment* (Hogarth, 1740)

Confronted with such attacks by often anonymous artists, Walpole retaliated by arresting print sellers who were legally obliged to identify themselves at the bottom of each print, incarcerating them for a short period. Instead of outright censure, however, the Prime

Minister commissioned his own prints which depicted him in a flattering light; an early example of manipulating the media to political advantage. Figure 40 illustrates Walpole's direct response to Bickham, turning the tables on the opposition by claiming to be 'the true patriot' of the state and directly challenging detractors who had sought to claim the title for themselves. The image further demonstrates how 'political' cartoons were now becoming communicative artefacts, used by national statesmen to encourage or extend political battle.

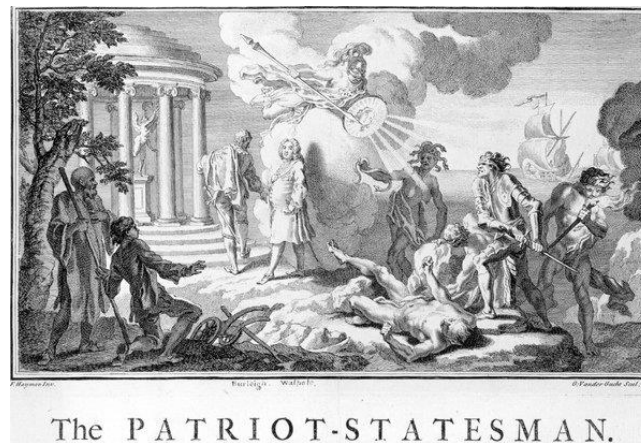


Figure 40: *The Patriot Statesman* (Van der Gucht, 1740)

Visual Satire

The downfall of Walpole in 1742 saw cartoonists despair at the gulf which now existed between the fallen 'Colossus' and the political pygmies attempting to follow in his footsteps for the next twenty five years. Baker (1995, pg. 11) outlines how the insignificant actions of these 'prime' ministers failed to generate the 'big figures' cartoonists required to underpin their art, many artists returning to their study of societal (rather than political) ills. The paucity of images, however, established a truism of editorial cartooning which holds

today, namely that “the greatest insult for [any political figure] was to be ignored [by cartoonists of the age]” (Baker, 1995, *ibid*).

Stephen Bury and Andrew Mellon (2016, online citation) identify a number of factors contributing to the resurgence of British cartooning in the latter part of the 18th Century: the turbulent reign of George III (1760–1820); the nascent freedom of the press; and vulnerabilities in European monarchies as a consequence of the French and American revolutions. Such events triggered a series of constitutional crises which cartoonists would exploit to the full, capitalising upon the eagerness of politicians to snap up their illustrations and their willingness to bribe artists and publishers in order to keep unflattering depictions out of the public eye. Christened as the “greatest English caricaturist” (Baker, 1995, pg. 58) and the creator of the epitome of Englishness “John Bull”, James Gillray (1756-1815) embodies the visual satire movement of the age, his images across Figures 41-42 presenting Pitt the Younger (the pre-eminent Prime Minister of the age) in a variety of poses. Figure 41 details the politician’s willingness to utilise royal patronage in order to facilitate his plans in office. Produced six years after the former, Figure 42 indicates a more favourable representation by the artist of the Prime Minister, Pitt crushing Parliamentary opposition and acting as master of the wider political landscape. The visual contrast between the two images is a direct consequence of the Prime Minister electing to bribe the cartoonist with a guaranteed state pension in return for favourable portrayals. Whilst Gillray appears to conform to the statesman’s wishes, the cartoonist has the last laugh by placing the coat of Arms of the Speaker’s Chair right at the centre of Pitt’s groin.

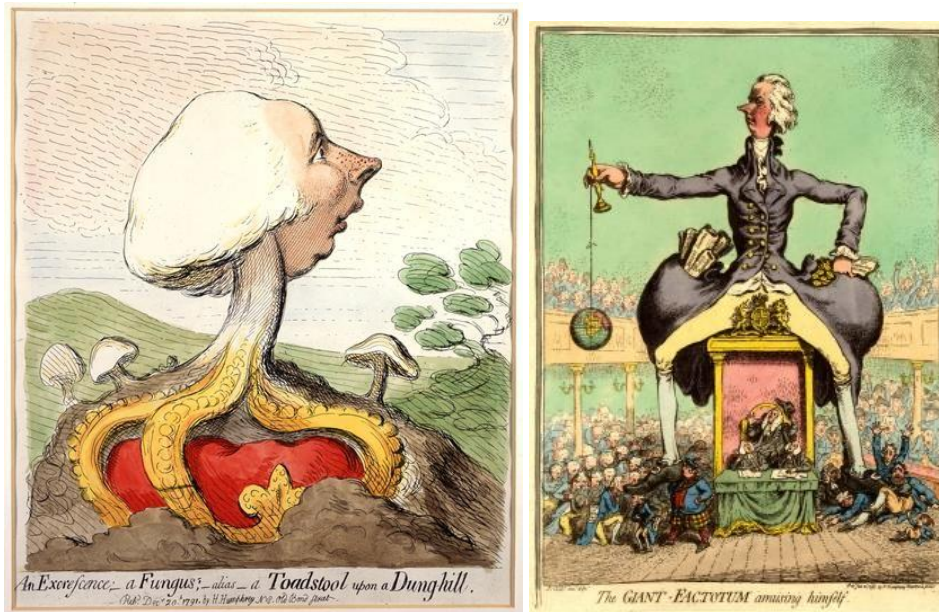


Figure 41: *An Excrescence-A Fungus Alias A Toadstool upon A Dunghill, (Gillray, 1791)*

Figure 42: *The Great Factotum Amusing Himself (Gillray, 1797)*

Gillray's work coincides with a number of technological and artistic developments occurring at the turn of the 19th Century. The patronage of print shop owner Hannah Humphrey empowered the engraver-turned-cartoonist to generate images on a daily basis, setting the trend for cartoonists having to produce "prompt, relevant comments on the events of the day" in order to maintain a living (Baker, 1995, pgs. 58-60). Graeme Tytler (1995, pg. 294) additionally outlines how Lavater's systematisation of physiognomy in 1789 concentrated artistic focus upon the notion of a subject's mental and moral virtues being revealed by facial features and gestures, revisiting earlier ideas highlighted by Da Vinci and Carracci.

However, it was the evolution of etching (a technique whereby images were engraved, inked and replicated as art artefacts) which was to propel coverage of politics away from elite audiences toward the bourgeois and illiterate masses, serving to expose the

follies of leading statesmen for all to see. A beneficiary of such technological advancements was Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827) a caricaturist favoured by royalty for his ability to “employ the full vocabulary of the stand-up comic” such as puns, double-entendres and the plain ridiculous (Mountbatten in Heard, 2013). Whilst the artist’s work was ordinarily beyond the price range of the working classes, Rowlandson was commissioned to produce Figure 43 as part of a propagandist pamphlet against French revolutionary ideas. Allied with an innovative marketing strategy deployed by the Crown and Anchor Society, the etching technique enabled the print to be made widely available across the nation, available for bulk purchase and discounted to encourage the pamphlet’s circulation amongst citizens. Rowlandson’s technique of contrasting British and French liberties could be posited to be a forerunner of the type of political propaganda produced by politicians such as John Roebuck in Chapter One.



Figure 43: *The Contrast*, (Rowlandson, 1793)

Philippe Willems (2010, pg. 6) additionally accredits Rowlandson with popularising the practice of micro-narratives. This technique sequentially situates images within a singular frame in order to generate a wider narrative. Figure 44 chronicles how the

cartoonist transforms Lady Archer into a ravishing damsel through a series of prosthetic and cosmetic enhancements. The cartoon serves to demonstrate Lavater's physiognomic effect, illustrating how insecurities of the subject toward her appearance are manifested into the actions taken to conceal her age and haggard appearance, conceptualising the individual as an unvirtuous person. Rowlandson's unusual sequencing of the images is additionally at odds with the normative Western reading direction of an image, creating an inconsistent pictorial syntax which juxtaposes with the attached strapline.



Figure 44: *Six Stages of Mending a Face* (Rowlandson, 1792)

As etching evolved into lithography and wood engraving, the proliferation of illustrated magazines and newspapers would supersede the print and coffee shops which had served cartooning for over a century. Although the advent of the railways would spread the publications outside of the capital city, the emergence of Victorian morals demanded greater censorship of visual content. Such impulses led to a new breed of cartoonist keen to formulate more genteel forms of humour and propriety; John Doyle (1797-1868), John Leech (1817-64) and Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) all contributing to the satirical magazine

of the age, *Punch*. Bury and Mellon (2016, online citation) detail how the willingness of these artists to show restraint was in marked contrast to events taking place in France, with cartoonists such as Honoré Daumier and Jean Grandville censored and imprisoned for their non-conformist stance towards the French monarchy. Daumier's technique of parodying King Louis Phillippe into the form of a pear (highlighted in Figure 45) is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

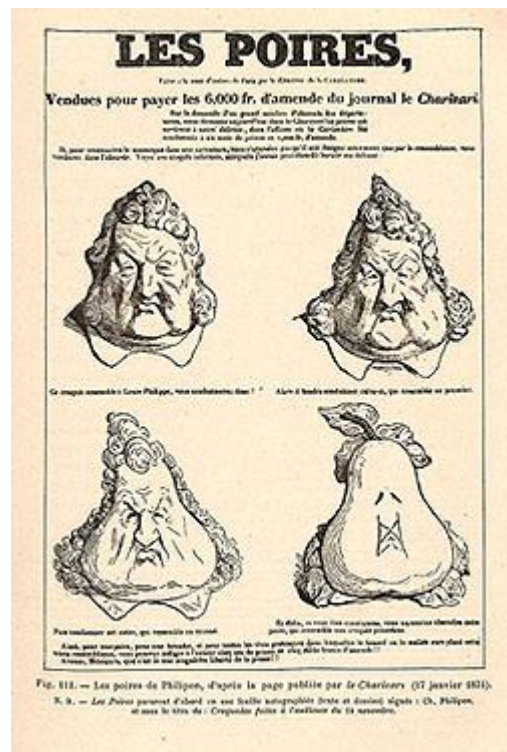


Figure 45: *Les Poires*, Honoré Daumier (c. 1831)

In stark contrast, the 20th Century would see cartoonists such as David Low (1891-1963), Gerald Scarfe (1936-) and Ralph Steadman (1936-) reintroduce the savagery of Gillray and Rowlandson into the style of editorial cartooning known and appreciated today. Whilst now regularly employed across a variety of newspapers and periodicals, these artists were expected to be ideologically in step with their host paper, Low's images being the

exception to the rule. Colin Seymoure-Ure (1967, pg. 439) details how the cartoonist was vociferously criticised by Lord Beaverbrook throughout his employment at the *Evening Standard*. Despite such private censure, the proprietor still elected to defend Low's work in public, irrespective of the cartoonist's separate opinion to that of the right wing positioning of the paper. Such divergences between editorial content and cartoon will be seen in the later analysis of electoral cartoons detailed across Chapters 5-8.

Part Two: The Design of Editorial Cartoons

Part Two now examines the reciprocal points of reference between words and images, in addition to the artistic techniques employed by cartoonists to construct their commentaries. The discussion will explore the degrees to which editorial cartoons duplicate redundant information from texts or whether the words of a cartoonist supply additional information to imagery, as Barthes (1977, pg. 38) believes. Consideration is also given towards identifying the stylistic devices they employ in creating sophisticated word-image fusions which serve to elaborate the material qualities of words further.

The Relationship between Image and Word

As the Pompeiian graffiti in Figure 14 demonstrates, words and images have been purposely paired in cartoon designs by artists for thousands of years. However, such seemingly simple associations of text and visual “never [fully] enjoy a one-to-one relationship” (Caple, 2013, pg. 122). According to W. J. T. Mitchell (1994, cited in Nelson and Shiff, 1996, pg. 47), divisions in academic opinion exist over which form dominates the relationship and how such relations should be quantified. From a holistic viewpoint, images are often analysed as standalone artefacts for their representational, interactional and

compositional meanings, with scant attention paid towards their dependence upon words. Conversely, scrutiny of the rhetorical value of words understates how images extend meanings or deviate completely in order to facilitate deeper understanding of the wider subject.

In light of this, word-image relations has become shorthand for the divisions within the “basic human experience of representations, presentations and symbols” (Mitchell, 1994, cited in Nelson and Shiff, 1996, *ibid*), with Bateman (2014, pg. 5) conceiving both forms as engaged “in a competitive struggle for dominance”. However, Kornalijnslijper (2016, pg. 1) believes how, in spite of such tensions, a harmonious coexistence can be found within certain mediums, with linguistic messages appearing as titles, captions and comic strip balloons alongside visual artefacts. According to Jay Lemke (1998) such combinations are beneficial, owing to their potential in facilitating multiplications of meaning. Through careful placement and identification of similar properties the value of such combinations can generate greater insight for audiences than that accrued if observed individually. In light of this, Bateman (2014, pg. 6) highlights how words are “multiplied” by images to generate comprehensions greater than the sum of their parts. Such relationships will be evident in the later analysis chapters where words and images within editorial cartoons combine in the retelling of particular news events to create new, multi-semiotic texts.

The Sensory Structure of Signs

According to Asmadi Noer (2015, pg. 1197) audiences do not communicate through words alone, relying upon combinations of dialogic forms to assist them in their production of meaning. Echoing the views of Piaget and Inhelder (1971), Noer pinpoints the image as

being integral to such processes. Images are defined in an academic context as “representations or likenesses resembling the mental experience of something not immediately present to the senses, often involving memory” (OED, 2016). Such a definition suggests a capacity for images to activate dormant sensory stimuli in the audiences’ subconscious, effecting mental images related to hypothesised meanings. Several types of imagery which can assist in such processes are outlined by Peter Sheehan (1990), each connected to a branch of the human nervous system. These specifically include: ophalmoception (sight); audioception (sound); gustaoception (taste); olfacoception (smell); and tactioception (touch). Of relevance to this discussion is that of visual imagery, the idea of viewing an artefact which in turn generates a mental image.

White (2012, pgs. 147-162) reiterates Roland Barthes’s (1977) enduring hypothesis of images being tri-dimensional in structure when communicating meaning. Such ideas harmonise with Saussure’s (1916 [1983], pg. 67) earlier outline of visual signing which is composed of *signifiers* (the form the sign takes), *signified* (the concept represented) and the *sign* resulting from their agglomeration. According to Chandler (2007), this visual signing model has become more materialistic than Saussure’s original psychological conception with the signifier now commonly interpreted as a physical form of the sign, in line with Sheehan’s sensory assumptions. Figure 46 illustrates Saussure’s dyadic model to demonstrate the subconscious processes triggered when audiences encounter a singular image, in this instance a tree. Chapters 5-8 will later demonstrate how editorial cartoonists manipulate these structures to create images containing a multitude of signs, with some having their concepts mutated to incorporate political ideas.

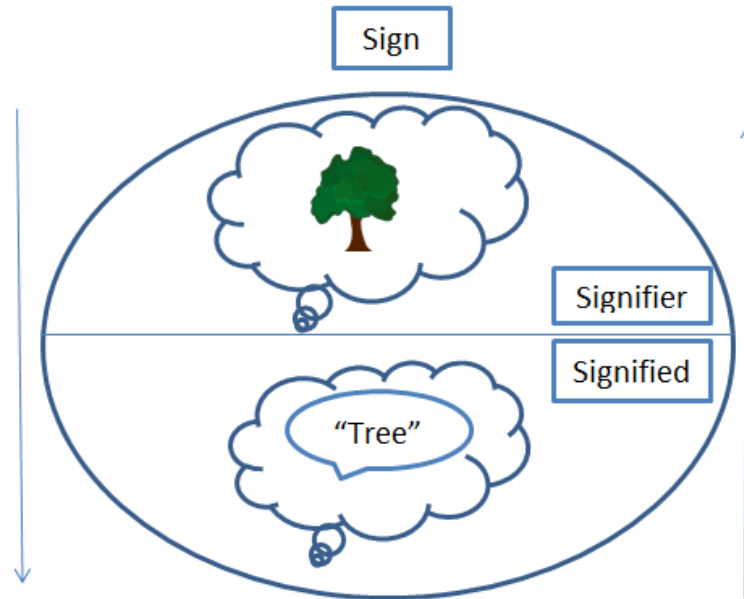


Figure 46: Saussure's Sign Model (Chandler, 2007, pg. 15)

Visualising the Verbal

As will be seen in Chapter Three, cartoonists are able to employ both caricature and artistic metaphor in order to communicate “shrewd, complex, multi-layered narratives [which] words can express only with great difficulty” (Gilmartin and Brunn, 1998, pg. 536, cited in Mazid, 2008, pg. 447). According to Chalaniova (2011, pg. 6) and Muller and Özcan (2007, pg. 287), such measures enable editorial cartoons to articulate viewpoints considered too harsh, too extreme, politically incorrect or nonsensical if verbalised and communicated orally or in print. To facilitate such outcomes, John Berger (2006, pg. 681) believes audiences suspend logics of argumentation in favour of an associative approach towards image understanding developed in childhood to facilitate linguistic comprehension. As a consequence, it is useful to examine the stylistic devices (or “tools of the trade”) at the cartoonists’ disposal through which narratively salient information is derived from surreal, absurd and outrageous imagery, the type of which seen in the later analysis chapters. It is

necessary to point out that this discussion does not outline a definitive list of such devices, endeavouring instead to illustrate those pertinent to the research corpus which, when combined, serve to create more expansive texts for a visual.

Protagonist

Daniela Chalaniova (2011, pgs. 6-8) catalogues a series of basic word-image devices integral to narrative construction within visual imagery. Of these, the most obvious is that of the choice of protagonist, artists assigning prominent figures with a particular visage based upon appearance and character. Once allocated, this representation tends to persist, requiring little additional qualification. If additional affiliations or interests need to be associated with the protagonist, logos, flags, signs or commonly recognised symbols are incorporated nearby or onto the protagonist themselves; approaches seen in the earlier works of Bickham, Hogarth and Gillray. The later analysis chapters highlight how contemporary cartoonists endeavour to compose a stable visage of Liberal Democrat politicians such as Nick Clegg. Martin Rowson's conception of Clegg's facial features across Figures 47-50 display how the cartoonist progresses from a generalised appearance to an angular caricature superimposable onto his chosen humour vehicle, that of Pinocchio.



Figures 47-50: *The Progression of Nick Clegg’s Cartoon Visage* (Rowson, *Guardian*, 12/4/2010; 17/4/2010; 23/4/2010; 1/5/2010)

According to Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters (2014, pgs. 491-492) image creators can also utilise the techniques of framing and angling with visuals to encourage audience alignment with one protagonist over another. Outlining such processes as part of a process of “spatial attachment”, Murray Smith describes how the narration can either:

Follow the spatio-temporal path of a particular character throughout the narrative, or divide its attention among many characters; each tracing distinct spatio-temporal paths (Smith, 1995, pg. 142).

Semioticians such as Kress and van Leeuwen ([1996] 2006) further assert how the notion distance can correlate to personal relationships within imagery. An intimacy between protagonists can be depicted through close-ups whilst a mid-ground placement of characters can imply an element of distancing. Images incorporating wider perspectives beyond the mid-ground hypothesise impersonal or non-existent relationships between those identified. Later analysis in Chapters 5-8 will demonstrate how editorial cartoonists utilise a mixture of distances in order to convey a plethora of protagonist relationships.

The use of eye contact by image creators similarly generates a multitude of verbal meanings. Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters (2014, *ibid.*) outline how protagonists portrayed as looking directly at audiences can be posited as demanding a reaction from them. Conversely, an absence of ocular engagement invites critical analysis. Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters additionally hypothesise how perspective can additionally formalise protagonist-audience power relations, with the angle of viewpoint dictating the degree of control wielded by either side. Cumming (2009, pgs. 26, 29) subsequently describes the types of polarised visuals which can arise, ranging from the full frontal which “invites the purest form of reciprocity” akin to the protagonist giving a direct address, to the profile which completely detaches the subject from the audience; compelling them to undertake third-person analysis.

Composition

A further device wielded by artists lie within the composition of imagery which operated across creative and formatting domains. Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006, pg. 177) identify how composition in the creative sense can be subdivided into a series of interrelated systems. The first of these is *information value* whereby elements are placed in particular thirds of an image to supply key cores of knowledge. The second is *salience* wherein elements are situated to attract audience attention through positioning in the foreground or background and denotation through sharper or muted tones. Lastly, the absence or presence of a *framing* system serves to “disconnect or connect elements of the image, signifying that they belong (or do not belong) together in some sense” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, *ibid.*). When layered together, Chalaniova (2011, pg. 7) posits how such systems are able to divulge critical meaning information to audiences, notably relationships

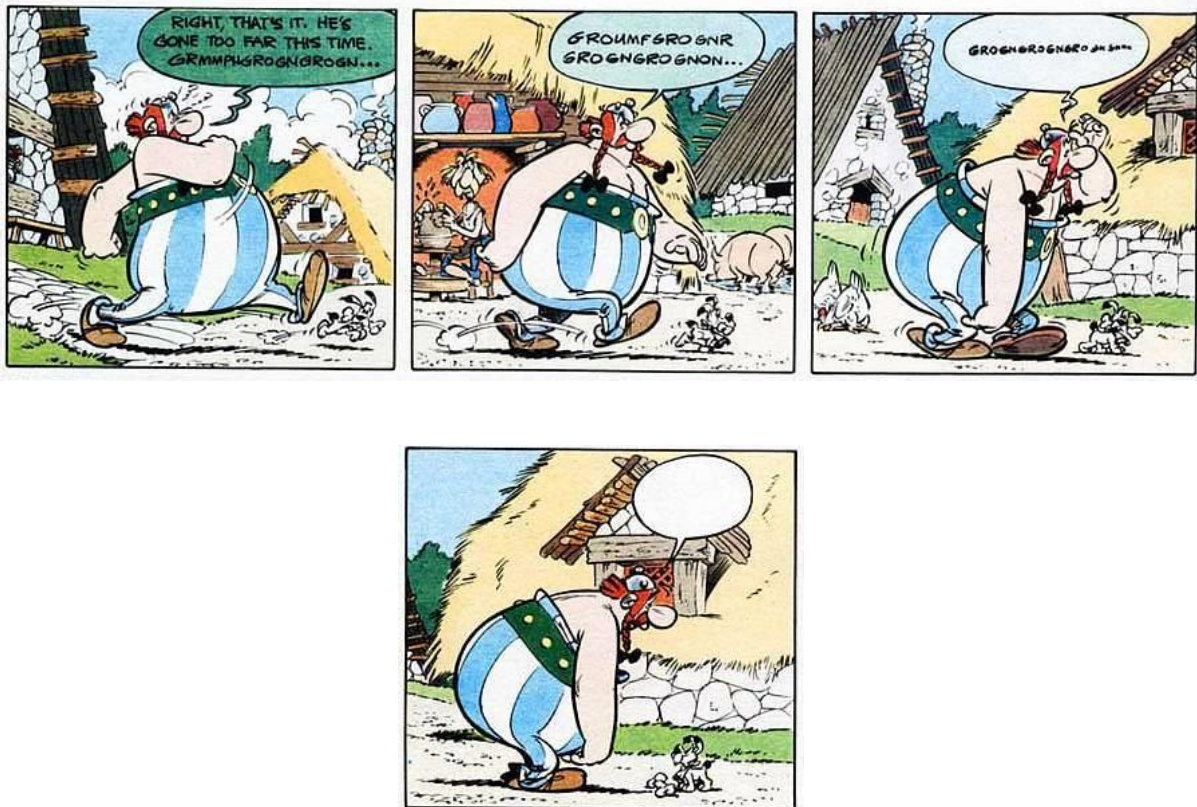
between given elements, the importance of the person or object occupying the “sweet spot” of the image, and the irrelevance of those positioned outside of it.

According to Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters (2014, pgs. 487-489) the composition and positioning of images in the formatting sense “can resemble that of a paragraph or a sentence in prose”. They highlight how visuals are typically presented in panel forms: quadrilateral in shape; sized in accordance with the editors’ wishes; captioned; and edged with straight, black borders. A variance in any of these parameters can signify alternative interpretations of meaning being effected, Will Eisner (1985, pgs. 44-50) positing how cloud-like or wavy lines can denote a dream scene or flashback. Should multiple images be visible on the same page, the possibility exists for creators and editors to interrelate them, allowing stylistic play to take place and creating a visual rhythm which accompanies any associated text; an idea pursued in embryonic form by Arcimboldo. As Dittmar (2008), Groensteen (2007), Schneider (2010) and Wolk (2007, pgs. 181-202) attest, the minutest of alterations in the makeup and temporality of an image can result in a fundamental shift in the audience’s perception of meaning.

Speech Bubbles

A core device which Serafini and Moses (2015, pg. 309) believe can be manipulated to convey a spectra of meaning is that of the speech bubble. Forceville, Veale and Feyaerts (2010) outline five variables associated with this graphic convention: *form* (the shape of the bubble and its tail); *colour* (an absence or presence of signalling an emotion or mental state); *tail-use* (signifying the speaker); *deviant fonts* (emphasising a pronouncement or amplifying/weakening the message); and *non-verbal material* (use of punctuation, mathematic or computer stylistics). An alteration in any parameter results in a mutation of

the textual message. Serafini and Moses (2015, *ibid.*) additionally describe how bubbles containing large, bold type and thick, jagged outlines can be reclassified as scream bubbles in order to denote anger or shouting by a given protagonist. Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters (2014, pgs. 492-493) similarly highlight how coloured speech bubbles in notable *Asterix* comics (the type of which displayed in Figures 51-54) can denote shifts in protagonist mental states to audiences. It should be pointed out however that, once an image creator establishes a speech bubble “norm” particular to them, the number of such variables can be infinitely multiplied.



Figures 51-54: *The Shifting Mental State of Obelix from Anger to Remorse charted in Coloured Speech Bubbles (Goscinnny and Uderzo, 1972, pg. 18)*

In a similar vein the content presented in speech bubbles can be decoded for meaning, Chalaniova (2011, pg. 7) outlining how creators often bestow protagonists with a

strapline or modicum of dialogue to associate their visual content with an event or idea. These types of dialogue typically result in the generation of a punch line fulfilling the humorous element of an intended meaning, outlined further in Chapter 3. Other dialogic devices found in speech bubbles include: *synonyms* (words with the same or similar meaning); *homonyms* (words that either sound the same but have different meanings, or sound the same but have different spelling); *metonymy* (where speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated); and *synecdoche* (where part of the speech is substituted for the whole and vice versa). Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters (2014, pgs. 493-494) additionally outline how the use of *onomatopoeia* can generate linguistic phenomena suited to the expression of sound in visual images, Joost Pollman (2001) comparing the conceptual process to that of “inventing phonetics”. The skilful inclusion of any of these elements can enable image creators to visually signpost similarities between entrenched archetypes, events or slogans, enabling their audiences to fully contextualise the image under scrutiny.

Colours and Pictograms

The final device considered in these discussions concern the aesthetics deployed by image creators to represent consensual meanings. Sonnier and Dow (2001) and Singh (2006, pg. 785) both indicate how the use of colour can catalyse visual association with senses and sensations, directing audiences towards idealised responses to particular images. Palmer and Schloss (2010) articulate how audience colour preferences are “hardwired” during cognitive development; particular colours evoking connections with comfort and home, others denoting detachment and loneliness. In view of this, it can be seen how editorial cartoonists exploit an arsenal of colours to supply greater nuance to their messages, inviting

audiences to make up their minds based upon the most fleeting of glances. Whilst the use of colour will be assessed in the research corpus, it is necessary to heed the cautions of Chalanoiva (2011, pg. 8) and Singh (2006, pg. 786) against the embracement of a stable interpretation of colours, both indicating how audience responses can vary across cultures, genders and ages.

By contrast, the stylised phenomena of pictograms are more stable, cartoonists developing personalised systems in order to convey universal meanings. Gasca and Gubern (1994 [2001], pgs. 312-411) highlight a plethora of pictographic techniques deployed to depict the psychological condition of protagonists such as stars, musical notes and lightbulbs. Such images can be purported as operating in a similar fashion to the colouring of speech bubbles outlined earlier, in the sense that multiple combinations can appear inside or outside the speech bubble itself. Finally, non-mimetic graphic elements can also contribute narratively salient information in the form of visual lines or “pictorial runes” (Kennedy, 1982). These enable image creators to visualise elements otherwise inferred from other information sources. Figure 55 illustrates Charles Forceville’s efforts to catalogue a universal inventory of pictorial runes; conveying a spectrum of protagonist motions, emotions and mental states and operating in a similar manner to pictograms. Individualised representations of these will be discussed in the later analysis chapters.

						
Speed lines	Three types of movement lines	Droplets	Spikes	Spiral	Twirl	Popped-up vein

Figure 55: Forceville’s Inventory of “Pictorial Runes” (Forceville, 2011, pg. 877)

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has highlighted the development of grotesque/caricature from low art to high art, transitioning from mere decorative and illustrative purposes into cultural objects worthy of critical appraisal. The politicisation of the form in a British context is highlighted as having evolved in tandem with the role of the Prime Minister in the eighteenth century, ebbing and flowing according to the stature of the office holder and serving to colour the visual medium of political satire known today. An overview of the reciprocal points of reference between words and images, as well as some of the graphic techniques employed, highlight how the cartoonist can elaborate points of commentary in subtle yet effective ways. Chapter Four will profile the artistic and semantic styles of editorial cartoonists employed by broadsheet newspapers in the research corpus, assessing the extent of influence by their predecessors upon their creation of targeted personae and the manner in which these contemporary cartoonists highlight the weaknesses and foibles of established and emergent political actors.

CHAPTER THREE: Editorial Cartoons as Rhetoric

As Chapter Two highlights, the editorial cartoon should not be considered a solely aesthetic art form. Highlighting the willingness of contemporary cartoonists to incorporate signs or symbols which relate to political events, Jairos Kangira and Jemima Mungenga (2012, pg. 110) articulate how visual rhetoric is instrumental in the coordination of audience response, cultivating and developing cartoon language. In accepting this viewpoint, a variety of rhetorical devices available to editorial cartoonists when communicating messages will now be outlined. Whilst by no means exhaustive, five particular devices pertinent to this thesis are highlighted to demonstrate how editorial cartoonists amplify messages, create original images imbued with alternative meanings, generate theoretical gaps for readers to address and incorporate parallel coding systems and languages within seemingly simplistic imagery.

Intertextuality

As one of the main foci of this thesis is the extraction of meaning from editorial cartoons, it is necessary to discuss the rhetorical form of “intertextuality” and its application within wider society. According to Walter Werner (2004, pg. 64), human experience is now more visual and visualised than ever before, existing in visual cultures which “divide the present from the past”. This has resulted in the creation of a society “visually saturated [by the] relentless traffic of images, often borrowed from diverse times and places and patched together in ever changing ways” (Werner, 2004, *ibid*). Rick Salutin (2002, pg. 15) similarly hypothesises how audiences are exposed to “far more images of reality than [those] of actual landscapes, personalities or violence”. Even when presented with media extremes such as natural disasters, terrorist attacks or general warfare, he believes such events

“cannot seem to stand [alone]” without some degree of viewer processing inside an image framework, as if audiences were watching the key scene of a Hollywood blockbuster (Salutin, 2002, *ibid*).

In light of such statements, visual images could be conceived as holding an integral role in the shaping of identity, the enhancement of commerce and, *in extremis*, the provision of substitutive realities for individuals. Editorial cartoons share a similar range of functions in framing events, issues and values of relevance to the collective readership of a host newspaper. Such illustrations not only entertain, inform, disturb or cajole audiences, but additionally suppose the heroes and villains within a given frame. To this end, an appreciation of intertextuality will demonstrate how editorial cartoonists enable readers to interpret broader society, thus enhancing their individual experience.

In the Eye of the Beholder

In the face of such wide-reaching applications, Kunz (2014, pg. 15) outlines how intertextuality has become “a broad and fuzzy [theoretical] term”, particularly in an era of post-modernist research. Building upon linguistic concepts devised by Saussure ([1916] 1983) and Bakhtin (1981), Julia Kristeva (1980, [1967] 1989) is widely attributed as the first philosopher to establish the term. Summarising her ideas from a literary standpoint, Graham Allen (2000, pg. 1), establishes how readers obtain meaning through the twin processes of reading and interpreting text. Such processes of extraction point towards underlying frameworks which reside within text, underpinned by linguistic codes, cultural modes and relations (Kunz, 2014, *ibid*). The ensuing decoding of messages occur by virtue of such texts building upon established traditions of previous knowledge; either literary or non-literary. In this vein, intertextuality (in a literary sense) is the process by which readers

alternate between networks of writing, each comprised of texts, words and phrases that exhibit multiple meanings at all times (Allen, 2000, pg. 12).

Intertextuality should not be considered a phenomenon residing solely within the literary realm. Saussure ([1916] 1983, pg. 16) highlights how the use of semiotics underpins studies concerning “the life of signs within [wider] society”. According to Barthes (1977, pgs. 146-147), text can likewise be re-purposed as “a multidimensional space in which a variety of [ideas], none of [which] original, blend and clash” to produce images containing agglomerated coding systems. Such comments lead Allen (2011, pg. 169) to outline how intertextuality is evident in “virtually all cultural and artistic productions”, making it possible for audiences to conceptualise parallel “languages” that reside within cinematic, artistic or architectural forms. In this sense, editorial cartoons can be hypothesised as texts which “constantly talk to each other, as well as talking to other arts” (Allen, 2011, pg. 170).

According to Werner (2004, pg. 64), intertextuality additionally “operates through the eye of the beholder” with viewers (or readers) interpreting “what they see in light of what surrounds or is referenced [by the visual]”. Evans and Hall (1999, pg. 11) indicate how images require reference to alternative sources of context, in a similar fashion to discursive interactions whereby nuances are accumulated from discussion specifics, notably narrator, context, response and tone. In light of such referencing systems, John Berger (2008, pg. 29) believes image meanings can shift according to “what one sees immediately besides or what comes immediately afterwards”, with authority being distributed throughout the context in which it appears. Such ideas chime with Kristeva’s (1984, pg. 37) formative assessment of intertextuality “as a mosaic of quotations” which absorb and transform as the varying pieces interact.

Focusing particularly on the medium of newsprint, Lister (in Wells, 2004, pg. 324) proposes an intertextual model whereby images communicate across multiple contexts. He demonstrates how photographs can speak to constituent elements which make up the newspaper through “text, title, caption, layout and even the [viewpoint] of the publication itself”. In so doing, visuals are able to alter their meaning as they circulate within mainstream and radical press. Whilst the thesis will demonstrate how editorial cartoon display similar interactive processes with their host publication, it should be acknowledged how their use of a singular frame precludes any sense of narrative progression, making Lister’s framework unsuited for analysis. To that end, a global assessment of the types of intertextuality available to illustrators is beneficial to demonstrate how each of these is suited for application within editorial cartoons.

Appropriate ‘Mode’

Frank D’Angelo (2010) outlines six modes of intertextuality considered relevant towards describing the relationships between (and amongst) text and image: adaptation; retro; appropriation; parody; pastiche; and simulation. Parody and pastiche are individually discussed later in this chapter in greater depth, both displaying “integrated structural modelling processes which revise, replay, invent and trans-contextualise previous works of art” (Hutcheon, 1985, pg. 11).

Of the remaining four modes, Hoesterey (2001, pg. 10) conceives adaptation as “the modification of artistic material transposed from one genre to another”. Whilst Sanders (2006, pg. 26) suggests adaptation necessitates a relationship with “the informing source-text or original”, Linda Hutcheon (2006, pgs. 21, 33) believes mere association is sufficient due to the capacity of audiences to superimpose one medium onto another. According to

D'Angelo (2010, pg. 34), adaptation is associated with the transference of literary works into the filmic format, often extended to other medium changes such as "Broadway musical into film, comic book into movie, board games into video format and so forth". The key criterion for successful adaptation lies within understanding which medium best serves the reconfiguring intent of the adaptor, acknowledging how some mediums are "better at telling things", others at "showing things better" and particular formats being "better at interacting" (Hutcheon, 2006, pgs. 24-26, 35). In view of this, the adaptive potential of editorial cartooning is geared primarily towards the simplification of theoretical ideas that subsequently can be recast in the visual domain.

In contrast, retro relates to the application of texts and images with "idealised longings for the past" (D'Angelo, 2010, pg. 35), often "pre-packaged and sold as commodities" (Wilson, 2005, pgs. 21, 30). According to Hutcheon (1989 cited in Brooker 2003, pgs. 180-181), such nostalgic approaches are not mere yearnings for past idylls but instead are re-presentations of the past "in a self-conscious, parodic and critical way". In so doing, retro demonstrates how visual and texts can be constructed as narratives rather than being self-evident 'histories' or unmediated truths. Stuart Sim (2005, pg. 297) describes how the form's process of "re-appropriation and re-contextualisation" can invoke ironic attitudes towards the earlier styles highlighted by the emergent product. Such ideas confirm Grainge's (2002, pgs. 55-56) viewpoint of retro being a highly commercialised cultural practice which "borrows from the past without sentimentality, quotes without longing and parodies without loss". Consequently, retro is beneficial in supplying audiences (and researchers) with a means of ideological and cultural mediation between the past and the present.

The third mode is that of appropriation. Julie Sanders (2016, pg. 34) outlines the presence of a theoretical overlap between adaptation and appropriation. This arises from the shared “senses of mutually informing play” between the two which activate audience senses of similarity or difference between the texts involved, creating an “interplay of expectation and surprise”. However, appropriation differs from adaptation in the sense that it:

Effects a more decisive journey away from the informing text into a wholly new cultural product and domain, often through the actions of interpolation and critique as much as through the movement from one genre to others (Sanders, 2016, pg. 35).

Marsden (1991 cited in Desmet and Iyengar, 2015, pg. 13) describes how appropriation manifests through artistic “desires of possession”; coveted images and texts being commandeered and individualised by artists through ownership and control, with scant regard to copyright. Sturken and Cartwright (2001, pg. 350) conceive appropriation as “acts of borrowing, stealing, or taking over others’ meanings [which facilitate] one’s own ends”. In so doing, the mode subverts the notion of originality within culture, encouraging the hypothesis that images are merely “acts of copying, faking, plagiarism, borrowing, reproduction and other practices that involve appropriation” (Sartwell 1998, pg. 68). If such a hypothesis is correct, editorial cartoonists never truly start from scratch with their image. Instead, each could be presumed as drawing upon visual materials from the past in order to underpin their creations, typifying D’Angelo’s (2010, pg. 37) description of visual appropriators as “image scavengers”. Examples of appropriated works re-edited, resituated, altered and changed within the editorial cartoon frame will be discussed later in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The final intertextual mode is simulation, the process by which an image or text's external characteristics are assumed by another with the intent to deceive wider audiences. According to Jean Baudrillard, the form does not seek to imitate, duplicate or parody original sources or reality itself. Instead, simulation is merely a "question of substituting signs of the real for the real itself", creating superficial likenesses (or simulacra) devoid of an original source (Baudrillard, 1981 [1995], pg. 4). By outlining some of the simulative techniques employed within reality TV shows, McDowell (2006, pgs. 60, 62) is able to demonstrate how visual mediums can fake, contrive or edit images and narratives in order to "make participants say what [creators] wish they had said", thereby amplifying the impact of the visual. Such a strategy is frequently deployed by editorial cartoonists who compel their referent objects (or protagonists) to act, behave or speak according to how the artist wished they had.

Correct Convention

Having established the potential modes of intertextuality, attention now turns towards the manner in which images are anatomised to produce intertextual readings. Walter Werner (2004, pg. 65) highlights three forms of organisation related to intertextual elements: within images; across images; or those exchanged between image and word. He believes each form contains a set of individualised intertextual tooling which enables researchers (and readers) to deconstruct cultural products and their underlying meanings. An overview of these intertextual organisations and their corresponding "tool kit" is now outlined.

Within Images

In this initial form, intertextuality is presumed to operate within a singular frame of a visual. Even when image content is simplistic and sparse in nature, the relationships between these component parts are still able to evoke some form of interest and meaning for audiences. According to Werner (2004, pg. 66), two conventions exist which facilitate this basic intertextual form, those of binary juxtaposing and visual quoting.

Turning to the former, binary juxtaposing involves the collation of two contrasting ideas, values, conditions or events within the given image. John Walker and Sarah Chaplin (1997, pg. 142) highlight how such blends imply a degree of likeness between the components highlighted, inducing audience discomfort, provocation and a channelling of response towards evaluative interpretations. Whilst such juxtapositions can be posited as effective visual and discursive stimulants, they can likewise effect negative interpretations which highlight image ambiguity or wider stereotyping (Werner, 2004, pg. 66). Although binary juxtaposition is notably evident within editorial commentaries of newspapers, the challenge for this thesis lies in ascertaining how such contrasts are reflected within editorial cartoons depicted on the same date.

Walker and Chaplin additionally highlight how editorial cartoonists are well versed in the convention of visual quoting, “borrowing themes, symbols or compositional elements from famous images” (1997, *ibid*). Such sentiments synchronise with D’Angelo’s earlier characterisation of cartoonists as image scavengers. According to Werner (2004, pg. 67) the artistic skill of paraphrasing “creates visual metaphors which encourage new or layered meaning, thereby [enabling] new forms of aesthetic mimicry”. However, it should be noted that the degree of effect achieved through such a technique is reliant upon audiences

having the relevant cultural capital to underpin the final image, any deficit impeding the evaluative process and, in turn, eroding the subtleties applied to the visual. Such difficulties will be acknowledged in the methodological discussion outlined in Chapter Four where analysis of the corpus is derived from the author's background knowledge, rather than the audience.

Across Images

The second intertextual form occurs when two or more images are in close spatial proximity. According to Robert Boostrom, the interaction and association of such imagery serves to "create meaning before the reader's eye" (2001, pg. 243). He highlights how this is achieved by each image being observed against the background of the other(s) whilst audiences simultaneously consider the collective sentiment of the wider display. In so doing, meaning becomes accumulated through "back and forth comparisons of parts [as well as] in light of the whole" (Werner, 2004, pg. 68). As with visual quoting, meanings can be enlarged or narrowed depending upon audiences' prior knowledge and expectation of the individual artist or collective topic.

The case studies outlined across Chapters 5-8 adopt a similar approach. A variety of editorial cartoon images will be collated in a singular location and arranged in a fashion to facilitate compare-and-contrast groupings, fostering a myriad of interpretations when each is framed against another. Such exercises will afford greater appreciation of the artistic styles and concerns outlined by such collections. Furthermore, an assessment of intertextuality across images will address "key questions concerning how [each artist] borrows and quotes" from alternative sources (Burshtein (2002, R9).

Four conventions are evident in cross-image intertextuality: pairing; sequencing; clustering; and scattering. William Bintz (2014, pg. 14) addresses the first of these by describing how pairing involves two objects “that are conceptually related in some way” through a topic, theme or genre. He hypothesises how this convention functions on the supposition that audiences are able to establish personal connections between the image being viewed and their own previous experience. In so doing, viewers can generate a surplus of meanings which facilitate mutual reinforcement. However, Werner (2004, pg. 68) believes further intertextual readings emerge when audiences notice contrasting details within the pairing, prompting them to explore the visual further and question their inclusion. Such lines of enquiry are notably visible within the realm of editorial cartooning, readers being invited to posit why a cartoonist has chosen to depict an individual or topic in a particular fashion.

Werner (2004, pgs. 68-69) additionally outlines how paired images can be sequenced to generate linear storylines. Francis, Hobson, Smith, Garrod and Smith (1998, pg. 288), Smith, McDevitt and Scully (1996, pgs. 362-363) and Cranny and Moles (2001, pgs. 32-33, 142) collectively highlight how notable narrative pairings can amplify notions of change, progress, fulfilment or causation intended by creators. Such temporal pairings include: “Then and Now”; “Before and After”; “Anticipation and Reflection”; and “Action versus. Consequence”. The notion of sequencing incorporates a plethora of visual formats, ranging from multiple images presented inside a singular frame to numerous frames arranged across narrative strips. The core tenet of sequencing, however, is that of its ability to facilitate a smooth transition from image to image, irrespective of any contentious elements incorporated by the artist.

Owing to the limited space allocated to editorial cartoons by host newspapers, the third cross-image intertextual convention, clustering, is less prevalent; primarily utilised in examples of photo montage or illustration. Visual clustering entails the grouping of images in an indiscriminate manner in order to illustrate an overall theme with little to no temporal sequencing applied. As a consequence, audience meaning is derived from image placement, its corresponding size and the relative emphasis given to each visual within the cluster. Clarke and McKay (1992, pg. 268) outline how visual clustering is geared towards the provision of broader perspectives within historical or social events, enabling audiences to “define the key players in important political [events], or portraying events from differing physical or social vantage points”. To this end, Werner (2004, pg. 69) asserts how the purpose of clustering is to alert readers to the human dimensions evident within such events, highlighting how “[singular] interpretations are always partial and limited”.

The final convention for facilitating cross-image intertextuality is that of scattering. Werner (2004, pg. 70) describes how singular images can be dispersed throughout the host publication in order to legitimise or emphasise particular topics or events through repetition. Audiences able to recognise such effects can subsequently query the subtleties behind such rationales, appreciating its channelling impact upon those viewers unable to do so. The singular foci of editorial cartoons preclude artists from utilising this convention. However, editorial cartoons may still contribute towards a wider scattering process undertaken by host newspapers in which their imagery is used in tandem with other visual forms such as photographs.

Between Image and Word

The final form of intertextuality is activated by audiences when text and visuals are situated in tandem to provide context and commentary upon each other. Rick Poyner (1998, B7) describes how such synthesis contributes to the production of “composite meanings that exceed what can be achieved with words or images alone”. As discussed in Chapter Two, the advent of the printing press enabled artists and editorial cartoonists to become highly involved in the manipulative processes of their host publications. Over time, such imagery has served to highlight messages, reinforce narratives and control audience interpretations of images and events in relation to their host newspapers’ reportage. Later analysis in Chapters 5-8 will demonstrate how such processes continue to the present day.

According to Werner (2004, pg. 70), three conventions are evident within word-image intertextuality: image anchoring; word framing; and visual reflexivity. The first of these dates back to Barthes’ (1977) hypothesis that words anchor implicit meanings in visual imagery such as press photography. Van Enschot and Hoeken (2015, pg. 26) outline how anchoring consists of “elements which explain or help find a trope’s meaning”, increasing opportunities for audiences to arrive at the intended interpretation. Such elements guide readers towards the purpose of the image or, at a minimum, hint at which component they should notice. Anchoring may also be employed to counter implied values within a visual by putting them into explicit relief, the artist compelling viewers to “resolve the conflict through a new synthesis” (Werner, 2004, *ibid*). Such a device is similar to the jarring process affected by the relief theory of humour outlined later in this chapter.

Barbara Phillips illustrates how such anchoring can engender positive viewer responses as they endeavour to “solve the riddle of the image” (2000, pgs. 15-24). However,

anchoring can have an oppositional, impoverishing effect on meaning generation. Captions perceived as too didactic can blinker audience receptivity, fostering expectations of visual creators to “tell [us] first what this is [before we] then look at it” (Poynor, 1998, *ibid*). These ideas are substantiated further by Sawyer and Howard (1991) and Kardes, Kim and Lim (1994), each highlighting how a lack of motivation or shortages of cultural capital can generate audience frustration and a failure to appreciate meanings beyond those explicitly communicated through the image. Werner (2004, pg. 71) further highlights how image anchoring can be more representative of a creator’s point of view than the image itself, citing how the meaning applied to Fidel Castro’s portrait was manipulated by a magazine editor when reprinted alongside differing captions.

In light of the above, it should be clear to readers that visuals can be employed in the purpose of framing textual narratives. Newspapers and magazines both utilise imagery in order to lighten written text and supply “certain solidity” to any report, irrespective of its content (Stalker, 1988, pg. 5). When strategically positioned, images can reinforce the truth value of text, augmenting its legitimacy and authenticity. Such visuals can similarly provide a dispositional tone, engendering degrees of emotional connectivity and audience sentiment that action is required by them to address the issue at hand. However, as Walker and Chaplin (1997, pg. 23) attest, framing in an over-elaborate manner can result in audiences arriving at simplistic or stereotypical conclusions, perceiving “certain pictures as realistic portrayals of the world, in turn influencing the way [audiences] perceive reality”.

The final convention counters the passive manner by which audiences accept image content or text (and the opinion subsequently generated) without question. Gillie Bolton describes how reflexivity encourages audiences to:

stand back from belief and value systems and observe habitual ways of thinking and relating to others, structures of understanding ourselves, our relationship to the world, and the way [in which] we are experienced and perceived by others and [in turn] their assumptions about the way that the world impinges upon them (Bolton, 2014, pg. 9).

In light of this, Brookfield (1990, pg. 178) conceives visual reflexivity as the “struggle against the sense of immutability”, characterising visual creators as cultural “demolition experts”. This capacity is achieved through the introduction of dissonance “in a gradual or graphically concentrated manner [which] jolts audiences and stimulates lines of enquiry” (Werner, 2004, pg. 72). Schreiber (2009, pg. 161) believes such dissonance occurs when “the visual meaning of an image contradicts the understood meaning of the caption”, leading to the generation of satiric forms. Visual reflexivity can foster a sense of embarrassment as audiences recoil at their own foolish assumptions and preconceptions (Bager-Charleson, 2010, pg. x). However, Hargreaves and Page (2013, pg. 160) articulate how such processes can result in greater mental flexibility, engendering audiences with a willingness to challenge “deeply held ways of being”; in themselves highly social and political acts. The timeline of events witnessed during the 2010 British General Election illustrate such a reflexive concept in action, with audiences encouraged to cast aside preconceptions of majoritarian government in favour of coalition, with editorial cartoonists expected to reflect the shift in thinking.

The Ultimate Question-‘What Does The Image Say?’

Having detailed the integral modes and conventions, it is evident that an understanding of intertextuality is essential when considering the evolution of visual narratives. Shakib (2013, pgs. 4-5) outlines how such practices can facilitate greater awareness of the origins of particular stories, in addition to identifying how commonalities in such narratives are expressed, communicated and observed within societal environments. In doing so, the process encourages audiences to consider the visual as a “dynamic and vibrant” matrix, comparable to those of biological specimens:

Any visual [creation] is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of code, formulae, rhythmic models [or] fragments of social language pass into the image and are [subsequently] redistributed within it. [Thus], the visual is always an iteration which [itself can] become a re-iteration (Shakib, 2013, pg. 5).

However, Werner (2004, pg. 73) highlights how intertextuality can be unsettling for researchers, owing to the realisation that visual meanings are “multiple, unstable over time and [constantly] shifting across situations”. Consequently, when researchers are presented with the overarching question “What does this image say?” a fundamental conundrum arises as each individual’s answer depends upon the illustration’s use within a particular context, its relationship to other visuals and text, and the purpose of its creation. As a result, “there may be no one correct answer to be found”, either within the image’s design layout or artistic intention (Werner, 2004, *ibid*). However, as Stuart Hall (1997, pgs. 9-10) attests, it is the reflexivity of these audience discussions which enriches the understanding of such images, enabling researchers to observe the negotiation processes that perpetually occur. The later analysis chapters will embrace such reflexive praxis to present the reader with an

informed understanding of editorial cartoons within the wider electoral context selected for study.

Parody

A particular means of discrediting notable figures in a communicative context lies within the distorted imitations (or parodies) of individuals, texts or discourses, each created with the aim of minimising threat and inducing audience amusement. Salomon (2006, pg. 69) and Kaczorowski (2011, pg. 291) both assist in situating parody as a constant within European culture and the wider arts realm. Michael Lachman (2004, pg. 61) additionally highlights conceptual linkages which occur between parody and grotesque art, demonstrating how both forms can be “flexibly manipulated to construct ironic and parodic distance” towards political discourses. Whilst such studies indicate the form as having “potentially transgressive authorships” (Howard, 1999, pg. 117), its enduring employment by editorial cartoonists merits greater discussion of the nature and limitations of the form.

In spite of repeated scrutiny across cognitive, communicative and humorous realms, D’Ericco and Poggi (2013, pg. 1) suggest the parodic form maintains a degree of ambiguity. Although Aristotle is accredited as the first author to adopt the term *parodia* when christening his short, mock-heroic verses (Dentith, 2000), the literary expectations of Greek philosophers meant that the form would be primarily utilised for comedic effect rather than disparagement. Valéria Salomon outlines how pre-twentieth century luminaries of “the Age of Parody” obfuscated the form toward more conservative intentions; writers and artists creating “malicious vehicles of satire” within which parody was consigned to a secondary role (2006, pgs. 69-70). These strategies are particularly evident in those cartoons created

within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, detailed in the earlier cartoon chronology in Chapter Two.

In outlining the functions of parody, discussions will endeavour to present the form as fulfilling an intricate role within the twin realms of humour and communication. Such an approach aligns with contemporary interpretations by Johnathan Gray and Sotiris Petridis of parody as a process which both “heightens forms of criticism and analysis of a targeted media text” (Gray, 2005, pg. 228) and provides “critical comment of its author to a previous artwork” (Petridis, 2015, pg. 732). In doing so, the discussion will produce “intricate, specialized knowledge” of the editorial cartoon, alongside “a tangible sense of [how] the image’s inner workings are controlled”, notably in terms of its grammar and ideology (Gray, 2005, *ibid*).

From ‘Literary Mimicry’ to ‘Art That Plays with Art’

Parody has continually metamorphosed to embrace emergent artistic and discursive concepts. G. D. Kiremidjian’s (1969, pg. 232) effort to restrict parody to mere “literary mimicry” fails to acknowledge the form’s capacity towards interchangeability or its existence within other art mediums. Mikhail Bakhtin addresses such shortcomings, situating parody within the “conflict between two [detached and diametrically opposed] voices”; one exerting semantic authority with which “the audience is expected to agree” (1981, pg. 76). Advancing its evolutionary process further, Holman and Harmon (1986) and Falk (1995) both conceive parody as an informed imitation requiring familiarity with the source, the latter highlighting how its effectiveness is predicated upon “sounding true” to the original. A post-modernist perspective by Linda Hutcheon (1989) expresses the form as a mode of critical author commentary towards prior artworks, achieved through “[dual] processes of installing

and ironizing”. Furthermore, she outlines how parodic representations can emanate from past iterations, illuminating the ideological consequences which are derived from such continuity and/or difference.

However, Kreuz and Roberts (1993, pgs. 97-109) suggest parody cannot be a simple imitation dependent upon an original source. They posit how the form instead treats subjects in a contradictory manner, with “lowly ones being elevated and elevated subjects being defiled”. In a similar vein, Joris Hulstijn and Anton Nijholt (1996) assert how parody is both situationally *and* intentionally prevalent within conventional discourse. They believe the form is capable of re-presenting ideas in a manner which jointly conveys the emergent concept and the humorous criticism applicable to it. Such a viewpoint is expanded by Rossen-Knil and Henry (1997, pgs. 719-752) who outline four pragmatic dimensions which assist in the communication and audience signposting applied towards criticisable objects or act: the intentional verbal representation of the object for parody; the flaunting of the verbal representation; the critical act; and the comic act itself. When combined, these dimensions demonstrate parody’s propensity towards incongruity and the manipulation of original and alien characteristics to create jarring effects (Brand, 1998, pg. 443).

Drawing these theoretical strands together, Robert Chambers (2012, pg. 2) generates the preferred parodic definition for this thesis, conceiving parody as an “art that plays with art” which serves as the catalyst for artistic innovation and change. Attributing parodic practice to many of the “isms” associated with modern art, he declares its practitioners to be “benevolent executioners” capable of simultaneously resurrecting and/or burying aesthetically obsolete material. Such abilities are honed through techniques which “tweak, re-channel, transform or invent [new] artistic conventions”, generating

parodic forms (such as the editorial cartoon) which are both dualistic and contrasting in nature (Chambers, 2012, *ibid*). Discussions concerning the artistic conventions of parody and the strategies employed by parodic practitioners will be presented later.

Parody and Pastiche: A Stylistic Melange?

Whilst the focus of this thesis centres upon critical commentary provided by parodic representations in editorial cartoons, it is necessary to acknowledge the relationship of the form to that of its artistic sibling, pastiche. Margaret Rose conceives pastiche to be a compilation of elements which serve to “counterfeit one or more other works” (2011, pgs. 86-87). Her viewpoint corroborates with Kiremidjian’s (1969 cited in Austin, 2013, pg. 28) earlier hypothesis of the form as a counterbalance to parody inside the “style/content dichotomy” seen in cultural objects. Harrod (2010, pg. 21) and Hoesterey (2001, pgs. 9-15, 46) outline the historical controversies surrounding pastiche, each highlighting dilemmas for researchers when attempting to isolate the form. Such difficulties are primarily attributed to its dual structural profile and aesthetic overlap with other concepts of art such as forgery and plagiarism. Fredric Jameson (1981, pg. 16) notoriously distinguishes pastiche as merely a blank form of parody, “[devoid] of ulterior motives [and] amputated of the satiric impulse”.

Believing pastiche shares a closer relationship to parody than that of mere counterbalance, postmodern scholars such as Hutcheon (1989, pgs. 93-117) and Dyer (2007) have endeavoured to challenge Jameson and Kiremidjian’s earlier assertions. They illustrate the degree of symbiosis occurring between the two forms, serving to engender cultural memory and historical meaning for audiences. According to Mary Harrod (2010, pg. 22), such degrees of interdependency create “stylistic melanges”, underpinning the aesthetic

development of many of the “ism” art categories discussed in Chapter Two. To this end, Dyer (2007, pg. 1) conceives pastiche as serving critical functions within the development of the parodic form, imbuing visual art with the “expression of feeling” and supplying the “vitality and progressiveness” necessary in the creation of art itself.

In view of this, calls have been made for parody and pastiche to be semantically twinned. Rose (2011, pgs. 86-87) highlights how the revised entry for the term ‘pastiche’ within the Oxford English Dictionary blends the boundaries between the forms, describing “[objects] that humorously exaggerate or parody particular styles”. Whilst acknowledging the benefits of such an alliance, this author shares Chambers’ (2010, pg. 110) concerns that the relationships between such aesthetic categories are “exceedingly [more] complicated” than that proposed by advocates of twinning. Additionally, Petridis (2015, pg. 732) believes “crucial distinctions between parody and pastiche need to be maintained” in order to amplify the critical commentary provided through cultural objects. Whilst this thesis maintains the semantic separation of the two forms, Chapter Six illustrates the opportunities for such interaction to take place, specifically in Dave Brown’s “Rogue’s Gallery” series of editorial cartoons which reference recognisable artworks in order to create modern, humorous interpretations.

Playing with Conventions

Gross (2010, pgs. xi-xv) outlines how the playful nature of parody ranges from the “cheerfully scurrilous to bittersweet, with room in its world for both anger and pathos”. As Chapters 5-8 will demonstrate, editorial cartoonists are comparable to visual parodists in the sense that they “dine upon any component of art, pre-existing or newly devised, that can be isolated, nabbed, and put to work [to create] contrasts” (Chambers, 2010, pg. 19).

Marilyn Randall (1985, pg. 415) categorises these materials as “conventions”, the targeted semiotic signalling devices which “activate contexts of reception for particular texts and images”. Chambers (2010, *ibid.*) highlights how the differing terminologies across scholarly disciplines has served to complicate understandings of such devices, making practitioners ripe for parody (Crews, 2001). Communication Theory demonstrates a similar process with Chapter One highlighting how the upgrading of the term “convention” into “code” facilitates varied scientific understandings of each aspect of communication. For the purposes of this discussion, however, the term “convention” is preferred.

According to Becker (1974 cited in Tanner, 2003, pgs. 89-93), conventions impact upon “all the decisions that are made with respect to works produced [within the parodic world], even though a particular convention may be revised for a given work”. In view of this, Chambers (2010, pg. 21) separates conventions into two broad categories: primary and secondary. Each are now discussed in turn.

Primary

Primary conventions are those derived from artistic elements found within the mechanical core of the medium used to convey parody, in this instance cartooning itself. Such conventions include: the materials used to create the cartoon; the abstractions applied within the image; the manner in which the material and abstractions are combined; the size and scale of the cartoon; and the relationship between the cartoonist and their audience. Whilst comparable to the standard conventions of art itself, Becker (1974 cited in Tanner, 2003, pg. 90) indicates how these conventions “are seldom rigid and unchanging”, enabling cartoonists to customise and negotiate interpretations in their own unique manner and style. As a consequence, Coleridge (1817 cited in Leitch, 2001, pg. 677) believes the

determining factor behind images manipulating primary conventions is their facilitation of a “willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, constituting [artistic] faith” in the cartoonist.

In manipulating primary conventions which are situated upon the border between art and life, the editorial cartoonist is able to create a parodic conundrum. Those editorial cartoons which overstep such demarcation are considered “a [full] frontal assault upon the status quo, [irrespective of being] amusing or revolutionary” (Chambers, 2010, pg. 22). These shifts in art-life boundaries not only generate innovative viewpoints but also create the potential for new forms within editorial cartooning itself. Such parodic disruptions, even those which are ‘merely’ amusing, can contribute to fashioning new orders of primary convention, embracing subjects considered taboo as art and integrating them into the art realm itself. Examples of these are highlighted in greater detail within Chapter Two.

Secondary and “-esque” Factor

If primary conventions constitute the foundation of parody, it is those of a secondary nature which cartoonists reiterate to embellish the form further. Whilst these could be considered merely decorative and bereft of purpose, secondary conventions are useful in the assembly of conventional narrative and rhetorical frameworks. These are drawn from the cartoonists’ creative inventory, recycled to incorporate intertextual components such as discourse and genre. According to Chambers, such forms encompass the “fresh and the stale, the archetype and the stereotype, and everything that falls in between” (2010, pg. 22). The format of the editorial cartoon lends itself to genres with recyclable themes, symbols and motifs which can be populated with recurrent character types in order to display familiar quirks or foibles. A discussion of such traits will be undertaken with

reference to differing cartoonist interpretations of the three main UK party leaders across Chapters 5-8.

Chambers (2010, pg. 23) further identifies additional secondary conventions which are extrapolatory to editorial cartoons, those relating to the cartoonist themselves. Conceptualised as stylistic representations or pen strokes favoured by the cartoonist, this convention highlights artist preference towards a particular subject matter or character for parody. This convention is frequently agglomerated into the suffix “esque” and attached to the artists’ name; for example, the mannerisms of the cartoonist Gerald Scarfe being termed “Scarfe-esque”. By employing this strategy, the individual cartoonist is able to establish a claim of ownership over the manner in which the character is portrayed which is *particular* to them and which *cannot* be replicated by others in the field without repercussions to the imitator. Such claims of ownership will be seen in the portrayal of British political leaders in the later analysis chapters.

Underlying Mechanics

Having outlined conventions applicable to parody, the strategies employed to create humour in visuals and text is now addressed. Chambers (2012, pg. 3) conceives how parody is “a technique hardwired into all of us”, human beings achieving proficiency in the form from an early age. Consequently, he hypothesises how parodic objects are created by “banging, binding and blending contrasting [art conventions]” in order to create dualistic manifestations which are accessible to all (Chambers, 2012, *ibid*). Figure 56 illustrates Chambers’ foundational parodic technique, with subsequent discussions indicating its potential for expansion into the wider art realm.

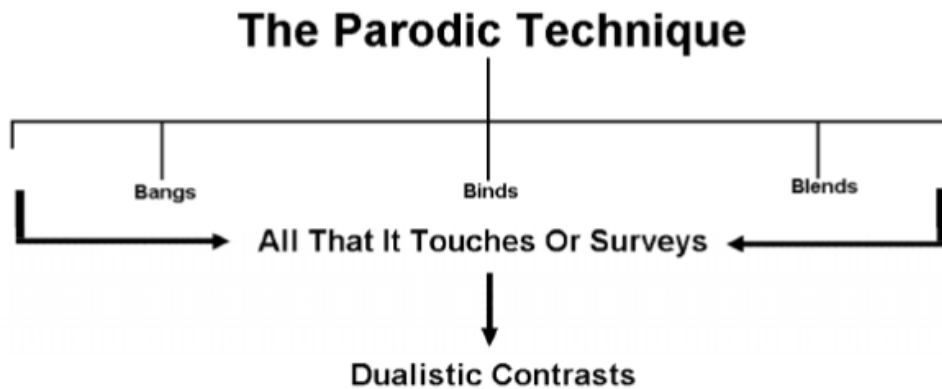


Figure 56: *The Parodic Technique* (Chambers 2010, pg. 5)

According to Chambers (2010, pg. 6), the parodic technique functions in a prismatic form, generating a “gradational” spectrum which is capable of formulating successful combinations of perceptual opposites. The ensuing visual is then able to mutate and dissolve in spectral fashion, new versions becoming refinements of their predecessors and obscuring the original source. Figure 57 applies the model to Honoré Daumier and Charles Philipon’s famed metamorphoses of King Louis Phillippe’s visage into a pear. The illustration similarly demonstrates how the conventions of caricature can be parodied in their own right; the first iteration creating an implicit contrast with the realistic portrait of the King with subsequent drawings stretching the conventions of the form until the pear emerges.



Figure 57: *The Parodic Evolution of King Louis Phillippe into a Pear (Chambers 2012, pg. 4)*

In conceiving “banging”, “binding” and “blending” to be the primary colours within the parodic spectrum, it is useful to expand these concepts further to highlight their creative relevance to parody.

Banging

Chambers (2010, pg. 67) hypothesises how parodic banging primarily operates upon the content or structure displayed inside cultural object. Writing in his follow-up study in 2012, the author expands this original concept to highlight how banging “creates and [subsequently] undermines a set of expectations by slapping them with radical alternatives” (Chambers, 2012, pg. 6). The ensuing banging of conventions create an operative force which is simultaneously disruptive and unsettling to audiences. Such processes are evident in the deliveries of punch lines carried inside conventional jokes. Applying the earlier

example of King Louis Phillipe across each parodic concept, Figure 58 demonstrates how parodic banging is able to generate violent contrasts which greatly deviate from the original source.



Figure 58: *The Parodic ‘Banging’ of King Louis Phillipe (Chambers, 2012, pg. 5)*

Parodic banging can be further divided into two principal sub-iterations, disruptive and conjunctive. The former is created by amplifying or modifying contexts to generate additional sets of possibilities. Chambers (2010, pg. 68) highlights how such permutations can occur from a singular bang, “heralding dualistic alternatives within the generic core of the work” which arise at any given point in its performance which, in turn, produces parody. The practice of disruptive banging is favoured by performance artists and those “seeking to bend genres into unexpected shapes, [leaping] free of existing conventions to create new art” (Chambers, 2010, pg. 72). As Chapter Two highlights in greater detail, such progressive art forms are not without consequence, notably Daumier’s incarceration in 1832 for defiling the King’s image in manner illustrated above.

By contrast, conjunctive banging is predicated upon rhythmic designs which establish predictable setups and elevate audience expectations, only for the punchline to result in anti-climax. According to Chambers, categories of jokes (such as “doctor-doctor” or “knock-knock”) “gain their [comedic value] from being part of a body of similar work” (2010, pg.

75). As a consequence, audiences of such parodic humour are routinely aware that “an anticlimactic punchline or crushing non-sequitur is on the way”, exponentially heightening the anticipation towards its delivery (Chambers 2010, *ibid*). However absurdly such jokes conclude, they are able to create potentially dualistic frames of reference by reflecting the idiosyncrasies of the individual parodist.

Binding

The second parodic category encourages parodists to step outside the frame of their illustration in order to directly address audiences in the real world. In localising stories for targeted audiences, the artist is able to focus attention upon “parodically bound relationships [that may exist] between the two realms” (Chambers, 2010, pg. 83). Although such deviations may bemuse audiences, this variation metamorphoses from banging to binding if the parodist can generate cogent, extended interplays between art and life. Having generated the iterative “bang” of Louis Philippe, Figure 59 shows how Daumier and Philipon bind this caricature into audience consciousness by sculpting the King’s facial features into the recognisable shape of a pear.



Figure 59: *The Parodic ‘Binding’ of King Louis Phillipe (Chambers, 2012, pg. 5)*

As with banging, parodic binding contains two sub-iterations, bunched and banded. The first is used by parodists to present audiences with as much material as they can in seemingly informal, haphazard manners, akin to “stuffing a sausage skin” (Chambers, 2010, pg. 85). Whilst such an approach appears chaotic, the resultant pairings of (often inappropriate) art conventions appear as if they belong together, in spite of their apparent misalignment and misapplication. Although the initial effect produces a onetime bang, the jarring effect produced by such contrasts wears off relatively quickly, becoming normalised, normative and providing a multi-stable interplay of conventions and forms. The work of William Hogarth (discussed in Chapter Two) exemplifies the concept of bunched binding, the artist combining dense allusions with hyper-intense allegories to create what could be perceived as formative steps in the capturing of popular culture in the Eighteenth Century, albeit in a complex manner.

By contrast, parodists who present art conventions “banded” together do so in regimented fashions. These artists seek to create discrete layers of topics and contrasts which conceptualise alternate narratives within the frame of the visual object. In the context of parodic binding, banding can be seen to add depth, texture and the perception of truth to any given narrative, enhancing the objects’ credibility even if the parodic effect is not achieved. Chambers (2010, pgs. 91-92; 2012, pg. 6) subdivides this form into further iterations: branched (where layers are connected like a family tree); boxed (where they fit one inside the other like Chinese boxes or Babushka dolls); and broken boxed (where audiences have to navigate the layers within a maze to activate the full narrative). Editorial cartoons adopt the latter two of these banding iterations when developing narratives, the

cartoonist enabling readers to appreciate their content choices and their rationale for layering them as they have.

Blending

The final parodic concept is more subtle and complicated than it appears. Unlike binding which Chambers (2010, pg. 105) describes as “art wearing a visible mask”, blending cloaks itself within an almost invisible disguise. Although easily produced, its constituent parts are often tricky for researchers to deconstruct, owing to the concealment of boundaries applied to the terms of visual contrast. If presented without the original image of Louis Philippe, the implicit contrast or its subsequent iterations, Figure 60 becomes difficult to comprehend without audiences having some prior understanding of Daumier or Philipon’s work or the context within which the image appears. Consequently, blending can be hypothesised both as the most complex weapon in the parodic arsenal and supplying the highest degree of parodic action, traits which are explored further across Chapters 5-8.



Figure 60: *The Parodic ‘Blend’ of King Louis Phillipe (Chambers, 2012, pg. 5)*

In a similar fashion to banding and binding, the form is conceived as having two sub-iterations, mimicry and mutation. Joseph Park (2013, pg. 86) outlines how “mimic blends” project features, mannerisms or voices of targeted individuals onto other forms in order to

generate incongruence, creating disjunctions vital in the facilitation of humour. The ensuing blend should be smooth and seamless, making it impossible for audiences to “separate the plural creation that emanates from some foggy border between the imitator and the imitatee” (Chambers, 2012, pg. 7). Mimicking techniques also facilitate the progression of aesthetic practices such as pastiche, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Although it could be supposed that all humans have some capacity towards mimicry, such techniques are difficult to master theatrically or, of greater pertinence to this thesis, artistically.

Rounding off this discussion, blends achieved through mutation are able to establish individualised degrees of contrast within the parodists’ selected subject matter. In essence, the parodist “plays with the innards of his or her own work” in order to fashion new artistic conventions borne from their own imagination (Chambers, 2010, pg. 8). To achieve the necessary duality, Chambers (2010, pg. 120) outlines how mutated blends must “exaggerate or minimise, overstate or understate the material [in order] to force the chosen conventions to split into [their] seeming alternatives”. The types of skill this iteration employs often inform limitless kinds of text and visuals with varying degrees of complexity and importance. Such processes are evident within the research corpus highlighted in this thesis: notably the mutation of David Cameron’s head into a condom; the metamorphosis of Nick Clegg into a wooden puppet; and the transformation of Vince Cable into an elephant.

Irony

Can an editorial cartoon be considered ironic? According to Sudesh Mishra (2016, pg. 97), the editorial cartoon thrives upon “fundamental distinctions between verisimilitude and equivalence”. Central to this premise is its employment of graphic irony, a broad and complex humour phenomenon situated in “the gap between what is viewed and the

situation depicted. The larger the gap, the more apt the ironic sentiment” (Giora, Federman, Kehat, Fein and Sabah, 2005). In a similar vein to its textual counterpart, graphic irony serves a variety of purposes across social and cultural mediums; enriching narratives, invalidating arguments or distilling opinions (Hutcheon, 1994, pg. 5). However, Biljana Scott (2004, pg. 31) highlights one purpose of graphic irony above all, that of subverting dominant representations. In view of this, discussions now turn towards understanding the mechanics of irony (particularly within the graphic medium afforded by editorial cartoons), in tandem with consideration of why it should be considered an adjunct of humour analysis, rather than an interesting aside.

Irony of Ironies

It is important to acknowledge how academic viewpoints of irony are nominally rooted within linguistic study: notably Grice’s ([1975] 1989) standardised view of irony; Sperber and Wilson’s (1981) distinction between ironic use and mention within an echoic framework; the work by Salvatore Attardo (2000) on the form’s relativity and inappropriateness; and Giora, Zaidel, Soroker, Batori and Kasher (2000) in regard to its capacity for indirect negation. Each of these studies utilises a “frequent and common” definition of irony often attributed to Doctor Johnson which Colebrook (2004, pg. 1) encapsulates as “saying what is contrary to what is meant”. Whilst its simplicity appears logical, Paul Simpson (2011, pgs. 34-35) believes an over-reliance on verbal discourse has “subordinated the concept into [being] a theoretical ‘given’”. In applying Colebrook’s definition to a hypothesised ironic exclamation of “I just love sunny weather!” on a rainy day, he outlines how such common perceptions of irony can falter, owing to the statement

“not quite stating the contrary” of what is meant, said or believed in that particular instance (Simpson, 2011, *ibid*).

With this in mind, Scott (2004, pg. 35) calls for the definition of irony to be comprehensively revised. Outlining “the discrepancy between what is said and what is meant (or shown)” she believes the form needs to be reassessed as involving two possible but conflicting realities (Scott, 2004, *ibid*). Doing so would account for the manner in which ironic contrast operates at an ideological level, addressing world views and associated belief systems. Scott further suggests any definition needs to be supplemented with elements of pretence or differential awareness between victim and ironist/audience. In the later editorial cartoons analysed in Chapters 5-8, it will be seen how the victim is often the voter who naively accepts political hyperbole from political leaders, the surrounding news coverage highlighting how this constitutes a false reality.

Such calls for revision are further supported by Elisabeth El Refaie’s (2005) identification of the subversive capacity of irony. She advocates a method of study which addresses the form’s capacity to “simultaneously go beyond and subvert the very attitudes and opinions it quotes” (El Refaie, 2005, pg. 785). Efforts in this area would shift audiences toward a wider consciousness of the types of dominant responses applied to particular events. In turn, this would prompt a visual/verbal evaluation of “what would otherwise be accepted without question”, negating the necessity to develop “completely new languages of dissent” (El Refaie, 2005, *ibid*).

Visual Marking

Moving away from questions concerning difficulties in defining the form, attention now turns toward the identification of irony within an image. Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 298) conceptualise three potential analysis pathways which may occur when attempting to locate irony. The first identifies the image as being wholly unhelpful to its detection, containing visual elements which hinder audiences from arriving at sensible ironic interpretation. As a result, such images can be discarded as statements of fact, lacking any comment on the wider world or its activities.

In contrast, the second and third pathways both presume the image to be of use in the communication of irony, albeit from differing viewpoints. Researchers considering the former (Attardo, Eisterhold, Hay and Poggi 2003; El Refaie, 2005; Rockwell, 2001) collectively perceive images as containing visual markers which are employed to highlight literal meaning. Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pgs. 295-6) identify how, when “included in a text outside of the ironic utterance under discussion”, such markers share the same functions as those shown in verbal co-text. The identification of co-textual support strategies within an image subsequently alerts readers to the possibility of irony being employed; the literal evaluation being displayed and mocked concurrently. Chapters 5-8 will highlight how placement of editorial cartoons within the commentary and opinion sections of newspapers provides news organisations and cartoonists with opportunities to both textually evaluate and artistically mock an event (or person) within a singular page or spread of newsprint.

The third pathway adopts a similar presumption of images being imbued with visual elements capable of showcasing literal meaning. In this instance, Burgers, Van Mulken and

Schellens (2013, pgs. 296-297), identify such markers as having the potential to concurrently “showcase incongruences [and] literal evaluations of ironic utterance”. To demonstrate this, the authors deconstruct a mobile phone advert; the participant’s visual displeasure at receiving a pair of hedge-clippers juxtaposed against verbally ironic statements outlining their desire to receive a pay-as-you-go mobile phone plan instead. In doing so, the advert is conceived as being visually incongruous. Chapters 5-8 will demonstrate how editorial cartoonists incorporate similar techniques within their visuals.

Fine Detail

Vicky Manteli believes irony “may be realised through a range of visual codes” (2011, pg. 266). Their interaction inside the cartoon frame could be hypothesised as extensions of Attardo’s earlier theoretical framework, owing to “the presence of more than one active source of humour at the same time, or the simultaneous activity of a given source of humour in different contexts” (Attardo, 2001, pgs. 100–101). Such diversity has led researchers towards scrutiny of singular pictorial elements useful to the detection of irony, avoiding efforts to differentiate visual markers from incongruent images. Two visual codes highlighted by the cartoon examples in Chapters 5-8 are now addressed.

Facial Expression

According to Attardo, Eisterhold, Hay and Poggi (2003), the manner in which inappropriate facial expressions are illustrated can assist in the detection of irony. Extrapolating their analysis of televised humorous material to editorial cartoons, ironic intent can be identified if figures are depicted as winking or smiling when stating ironic remarks. Similarly, the use of blank expression whilst delivering explicitly evaluative ironic

remarks has the same effect; Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 299) outlining how a “blank face” implicitly negates much of the literal evaluation.

Patricia Rockwell (2001) establishes how irony (or lack thereof) is distinguished in the lower third of the face; notably the mouth area. However, she fails to elaborate upon the specific movements which neither denote irony nor differentiate intentional from unintentional facial movements. To this end, Caucci and Kreuz (2012) suggest how movements such as the tightening of the lip, coupled to a slow nodding of the head, can be associated with ironic intent. Chapters 5-8, will demonstrate how editorial cartoonists are able to illustrate ironic behaviours and responses through the thickness of a pen stroke and/or the placement of movement lines alongside the subjects’ head.

Visual Hyperbole

According to Andrea Greenbaum (2015, pg. 9), visual hyperbole can likewise be “a potent tool in the manipulation of public discourse”, the form possessing affective dimensions which elicit a variety of responses. Plett (2001, pg. 364) identifies how visual hyperbole encompasses “semantic figures of exaggeration or overstatement which exceed the truth and reality of things”; elevating referential objects beyond probability. Such conceptual overlapping with metaphors and metonyms results in hyperbole’s inclusion within the canon of verbal irony and general humour, thus hindering its categorisation. To address this, Greenbaum (2015, *ibid.*) demonstrates how images become visually hyperbolic through their appropriation by news outlets, “repeating and expanding them so that the narrative becomes part of the mythic, disproportionate domain of hyperbolic discourse”. El Refaie (2005, pg. 788) concurs with such an approach, believing hyperbole to be one of the

few “universal [visual markers] which can be studied across the different modes of humour”.

Kennedy, Green, and Vervaeke (1993, pg. 253) indicate how hyperbole merely requires a “distortion of proportion” in a severe manner; a core element highlighted in Chapters 5-8. However, what makes editorial cartoons hyperbolic in nature is not mere distortion. Nor is it their synchronicity with visual representations of political duty or public service. Instead, this thesis concurs with Greenbaum that their hyperbolic nature stems from how images are reproduced to become facsimiles, “semantically shifting events from public spaces of documentation towards humour” (2015, *ibid*). Analysis of editorial cartoons covering specific flashpoints during the 2010 British General Election will demonstrate how, in utilising hyperbole, cartoonists nullify the importance of events within wider global and economic contexts.

Visual Domain

Whilst studies in the previous section provide useful insight into how singular elements can assist in detecting visual irony, Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 300) believe a concentration upon particular foci is arbitrary in nature and “a bit ad hoc” in approach. Instead, they advocate a broader “bottom-up approach” whereby “all elements from the visual domain are analysed separately” for their usefulness towards ironic detection (Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens, 2013, *ibid*). Building upon the earlier narratologies of Peter Verstraten (2006), the authors identify two techniques which could hold critical roles in the processing of meaning giving within visual domains of static imagery, *mise en scène* and cinematography; each containing five pictorial elements of

particular use in the analysis of editorial cartoons. These techniques are now addressed in turn.

According to Verstraten (2006, pg. 59), the practice of *mise en scène* enables visual research to address the question of “who and/or what is shown”, a strategy embraced across the editorial cartoon examples highlighted in Chapters 5-8. A number of elements are present within the application of *mise en scène* which requires further elaboration. Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 300) hypothesise the first of these as that of character choice, influencing the way in which images are processed. The second focuses upon position, body language or expressiveness of those within the images’ frame, potentially causing a correlative impact upon image interpretation. The use of facial expression highlighted earlier in this chapter may also be assigned within this category.

The third examines the apparel worn by characters and how this determines the manner in which an individual is perceived by audiences. A fourth identifies visible objects within the frame which carry the potential to deliver important information about the image. The fifth and final element of the *mise en scène* considers the location of the image, Verstraten (2006, pgs. 59-66) believing the setting of the scene within the frame similarly influences interpretation.

In contrast, cinematography directs researchers towards “how” an image or topic is presented (Verstraten, 2006, pg. 59). In contrasting this approach against that of *mise en scène*, Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 301) test a variety of image facets which can be posited as assisting in irony identification. The most basic of these are those of colour (the highlighting or reinforcing of particular elements) and framing (the inclusion and location of elements by their creator). These facets are subsequently aligned with more

complex components drawn from a filmic perspective: identification of depth and sharpness (the clarity by which items are depicted); orientation of camera angle (from where an image is taken); and the use of focalisation (the embracement of a particular perspective).

Whilst such processes can demonstrate how editorial cartoonists achieve cinematographic effects or perspectives within their frames, this technique is not employed in the main analytic thrust of the research. Investigations by Meyers-Levy and Peracchio (1992, 1995) demonstrate how cinematography generates attitudinal effects unhelpful in the detection of irony, a hypothesis latterly confirmed by Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 308). Additionally, this thesis does not set out to detail the effectiveness of irony within images, electing to focus instead upon how events containing ironic aspects are communicated within newspaper frameworks. As a result, it is the tangible presence of recognisable characters or events alongside identifiable objects or locations which makes the *mise en scène* approach ideally suited for later analysis.

Humour

In a similar vein to metaphoric thought, humour can be perceived as integral to mankind's' existence, Martin (2007, pg. 3) hypothesising the form to be "an essential part of what it means to be human". Humour is often used as a communicative device to make statements which would otherwise be less effective if relayed verbally. Meyer (2015, pg. 1) outlines how humour pervades daily routines, conversations and mediated communications; the absence of which would condemn communicators to "a dry, tragic existence". Ross (1998, pg. 7) similarly describes how the form disarms hostility and scepticism in a target audience by simultaneously appealing to their emotion and logic. Extrapolating this point further, it could be conceived how humour is an aid to alleviate

boredom and, by getting audiences to smile, making them more receptive to intended messages. As Friedman (2001, pg. 73) suggests, such mechanisms which enhance our lives and interactions merit further discussion, particularly with later chapters illustrating a variety of humorous devices employed by editorial cartoonists to condense comic conceptions, ranging from the characters used to the text supplied.

It is necessary to highlight how humour has not always been positively revered, particularly within the upper echelons of society. Daniel Wickberg (1998) describes how the term 'humour' entered the English vernacular in order to quantify "someone with an odd or strange personality trait" considered outside societal norms. Such notions of non-conformity subsequently became aligned with a 'humour', a facet of the individual which generated laughter and ridicule. Whilst the masses were keen to embrace such base humour, Meyer (2015, pg. 4) outlines how 'proper' people in society "were expected to refrain from engaging in such uncouth social violations". To the gentrified classes, laughter was considered a negative attack on an individual's character and "beneath [those] climbing the social hierarchy" to initiate or respond to it (Meyer, 2015, *ibid.*) Chapter Two highlights how such attitudes persisted for millennia, the stigma only being eroded in the Seventeenth Century as Ghezzi's work became perceived as a rite of passage for the travelling elites of Europe.

According to Kalat and Shiota (2007, pg. 182), humour is dependent upon the element of surprise, its repetition never achieving the same impact as that of the first performance. However, a considered examination of the broader definitions of humour by John Meyer (2015, *ibid.*) points to the form as additionally involving "the capacity to perceive actions as funny, responding to an amusing stimulus, or creating something that

elicits amusement". Aladró (2002) articulates how humour abandons the initial conventions which give meaning to messages, generating a separation which favours comic decoding. In so doing, Ojeda, Pastor and Pisonero (2015, pg. 767) believe humour can be understood as "an emotional and positive reaction of the individual, subject to the cultural contexts in which it is produced". Such contexts are evident in the geographic, systemic and technical divisions within the communicative realm outlined in Chapter One, crystallising the sentiment that what one may perceive as humorous may not be so to another.

Why "Humorous", not "Funny"?

The adaptive and proliferative nature of humour within wider communication sees its definition often conflated with similar, abstract terminologies: notably amusement; funny; or mirth. An initial differentiation between these terms will assist readers in understanding their similarities to humour, in addition to supplying justifications for their marginalisation within this discussion. Establishing commonalities between these disparate concepts, John Meyer (2015, pg. 2) identifies how each term can denote "pleasant, emotional experiences" following exposure to particular juxtapositions of events or symbols which "follow and violate" expected behavioural patterns. Owing to its transient and emotive state, the use of 'mirth' is immediately discounted.

Of the remaining forms, the term 'amusement' describes an individual state of perception whilst 'funny' characterises the event being perceived (Meyer, 2015, *ibid*). Such terminologies reliant upon perceptive and emotive concepts are difficult to assess without audience analysis; a method of research not pursued by this thesis. By contrast, 'humour' contains elements of reality which assist individuals in identifying and relating to the topic being conveyed (Glasbergen, 1996, pg. 74). To this end, studies of the form are predicated

upon cognitive appreciation of patterns and actualities which facilitate opportunities for humorous experience. The conventions and flashpoints of electoral campaigns which are presented in Chapter 5-8 correlates with assessments of humour in editorial cartoons as that of being a communicative phenomenon, owing to their situation within real life.

Interpretive Process

Having delineated the term from its adjuncts, humour analysis is conceived as a mode of conveying meaning between individuals in a similar fashion to communication analysis (presented in Chapter One) and the discussion of metaphor which follows later in this chapter. In its broadest sense, humour aids understanding of important patterns or routines, helping us to acknowledge their existence and mitigate their failure. These processes are synchronous with symbolic interactionism (Mead 1934, 1938; Blumer, 1969; Stryker and Vyran, 2003). Sandra Braun characterises this body of social theory as one “embracing man as having intention and motive, depicts society as a web of linking communications, and proposes how the development of meaning evolves out of social interaction” (2014, pg. 53). In so doing, she highlights how the interpretive process undertaken by individuals enables them to conform, interact and react with society.

In updating Hall’s (1973) theorems concerning encoding and decoding, Braun (2014, pgs. 53-54) additionally summarises the types of processes undertaken to situate the individual within societal norms. She articulates how symbols take multiple forms with the individuals ensuing response perceived as a conscious choice to engage with the symbol through interpretive processes. When replicated by another who shares a similar frame of reference, an interaction between the two occurs; each individual taking in the other’s gestures, interpreting them, and constructing a minded response. It is at this juncture that

Braun conceptualises development of the 'self', a point of internal reference set by the individual towards the symbol when presented with alternative meanings proposed by others. This internal discussion subsequently generates new mind-sets and meanings which become common through positive reinforcement, an idea similarly highlighted within discussions of metaphoric thought, as seen later.

Meyer (2015, pg. 3) outlines how these processes challenge the individual to confront a series of internal response dilemmas, do they: attempt to correct the violation of the symbol; respond with outrage; or appreciate the ludicrousness of the meaning attached to the symbol? In choosing the latter, the individual's response catalyses the possibility of humour development, reducing uncertainties about other contradictory patterns of meaning shared by others. Such cumulative interactions, when extrapolated across society, create the "room for creativity and trial and error in ongoing [societal] relationships" (Meyer, 2015, *ibid*) and push the boundaries of humour, though not always in a positive manner as Chapter One highlights.

To What End?

According to Owen Lynch, humour "cannot be bracketed or seen as a unitary expression or function" (2002, pg. 425). His viewpoint can be corroborated when comparing humour alongside wider communicative practice, both sharing several multi-functional roles: building confidence and understanding in relationships; uniting communities; and establishing cross-cultural commonalities. From such a positivist standpoint, humour could be conceived as the ideal tool for "persuading, ingratiating or influencing" others (Meyer, 2015, pg. 7). However, without considered application or recognition of such potency to

unite or divide, this may not always be the case. Just as transmitting a message should be treated with care, so too should the delivery and projection of humour.

Meyer (2015, *ibid*,) outlines the existence of a spectrum of communicative effect within humour. At the unifying end of the spectrum lies the function of identification. Here, similarities between groups of individuals are brought to the fore through humour with relationships reinforced through shared agreement of social norms. Adjacent to this is humour's ability to clarify consensual opinions or viewpoints in vivid and memorable manners, in tandem with the form's potential to undertake such tasks in unanticipated fashion. Editorial cartoonists could be considered to be located at this point, operating as practitioners of humour in a mainstream context yet retaining the capacity for their meanings to oscillate across the communicative range.

As the spectrum continues, humour is seen to take on more personalised perspectives. If directed towards the purpose of enforcement, the humorous teasing of those falling outside social norms engenders feelings of awkwardness amongst audiences. This feeling of discomfort aligns with Meyer's earlier conception of 'trial and error processes' within humour which engender concepts which can progress towards societal acceptance (2015, pg. 3). However, those rejected are swiftly consigned to the divisive end of the spectrum, becoming objects of mockery serving to differentiate those falling outside of the appreciating group or relationship. In light of this, the key distinction in locating any humour on this continuum is determined by establishing whether individuals are laughing 'with' or 'at' each other.

Theoretically Speaking

Having scrutinised humour in tandem with its interpretive process and spectrum, discussion now turns towards theories of the form which explain the causes for individuals when perceiving humour in symbols, events or texts. Attardo (1994), Chandler (2007) and Berger (2014) collectively indicate how theories dedicated to the quantification of humour are situated within interpretive science (commonly known as semiotics). Established by Saussure ([1916] 1983), this branch of study examines the production of meaning in society based upon a system of signs derived from subjective meanings and personal experiences. Chandler (2007) highlights how humour analysis subsequently demonstrates the existence of cultural codes which the individual accesses to substantiate their personal meaning.

The benefit of semiotic approaches to analysing editorial cartoons from a neutral perspective is beyond doubt. Ulubeyli, Arslan and Kivrak (2015, pg. 471) confirm how the use of semiotics facilitates “decoding activities such as visual scanning, interpretation of text, and evaluation of intonation”, allowing cartoons to be appreciated as snapshots within societal structure and historical context. However, the difficulties highlighted earlier in standardising a definition of humour suggest that theories of humour are best examined individually, with each assessed according to its own merits. Such an approach will enrich reader experience of the types of humour and their social function, in addition to minimising bias towards the modes of humour employed by editorial cartoons in the later analysis chapters.

Superiority

Richard Janko (1984) perceives superiority humour as having the most common association with humour analysis. As outlined previously, philosophers and elites have all urged caution in use of the form's capacity toward mockery and disdain. Situating its modern conception within Hobbesian concepts, Lippitt (1995, pgs. 54-61) characterises mankind as being comprised of egotistical "social creatures ceaselessly competing for power, self-preservation and superiority over others".

In view of this, the employment of humour is assessed to be a form of superior adaptation. According to Lynch (2002, pg. 426), this targeted use of humour provides humans with realisation and pleasure at having adapted to social norms better than the individual being ridiculed. This is most commonly alluded to as the phenomenon of *schadenfreude*, a technique often found in editorial cartoons and which will be highlighted in detail in the examples situated within Chapters 5-8. The subsequent production of "joyful emotions which closely parallel the [humorous] experience" leads Meyer (2015, pg. 9) to synchronise superiority humour with sensations of triumphalism over an opponent or a myriad of situations. In this sense, the form could be perceived as retaining a primal dimension, holding a capacity towards "hostile gloating" over a vanquished foe (Rapp, 1951, pg. 21).

However, Thomas Ford (2015, pg. 164) suggests uniform conceptions of superiority humour as a solely hostile and negative medium are myopic. Reinterpreted in a light-hearted manner, he believes such behaviours affirm social bonds with other in-group members, enhancing social identity and increasing cohesion. Embracing such a mind-set pivots the form away from its origins in conquest towards a more playful model of social

aggression designed to enforce identity and conformity. The capacity of editorial cartoons to challenge or criticise a target's activities fall within this framework, the cartoonist communicating to readers how their judgments should be treated as benign horseplay, suitably encapsulated in the meme 'it's only a joke' (Ford, 2015, pg. 163).

Incongruity

According to Rod Martin, incongruity humour invokes ideas or events that are "in some sense odd, unexpected, surprising or out of the ordinary" (2007, pg. 6). The theoretical origins of this form of humour lie within Kant's ([1790] 1952, pg. 223) identification of laughter as "affectations arising from [the] sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing". Applied to the context of incongruity, it can be seen how laughter follows the occurrence of something unusual violating an accepted norm in a non-threatening manner. However, Meyer (2015, pg. 17) believes any difference "must be close enough to the norm to be [harmless] but different enough to be remarkable", thereby provoking the perception of humour. To this end, incongruous humour is imbued with instincts of self-preservation, generating patterns of safety or danger to which individuals react; the former through laughter, the latter with action (Meyer, 2015, *ibid*).

Incongruity theory is reliant upon Suslov's (1992) perception of unconscious, computational processes which rationalise, predict and prepare us for what comes next. Yu-Chen Chan and Joseph Lavalley (2015) illustrate these neural processes in greater detail, highlighting the brain's lobular mechanics which identify visual/verbal incongruity, integrate these into a norm, acknowledges the variances contained and affects an individual response. Lynch, (2002, pg. 428) believes such steps corroborate our psychological need for "consistency within internal frames and external environments". Consequently, when

audiences are presented with nonsensical information contrary to established schematics of life, “we are left with little response but to laugh” (Lynch, 2002, *ibid*).

Relief

Nick Butler outlines how relief humour “takes into account the darker side of [the form] and tries to explain why we laugh so readily at taboo subjects” (2015, pg. 48). Supplying the foundational premises to this variant, Spencer (1860) and Morreall (1983, pg. 20) describe the accumulation of physical energy exerted when suppressing disagreeable or amusing feelings. Such a build-up of neural energy necessitates innate mechanisms through which dissipation can occur, a process similar to that of a safety valve. Scott, Lavan, Chen and McGettigan (2014) identify how the human brain’s motor and premotor cortices discharge these impulses along nerves supplying the mouth and respiratory systems, culminating in the production of laughter. Of the three theories outlined, relief humour is least dependent upon the ability to reason, allowing for the emergence of happy laughter without clear cause and facilitating a predisposition towards slapstick or wordplay.

Whilst Wattendorf, Westermann, Fiedler, Kaza, Lotze and Celio, (2012) describe how the physical jettisoning of laughter serves a palliative purpose in reducing tension, Meyer (2015, pg. 13) outlines how the process creates humour itself. He conceptualises relief humour as having two mandatory components, the ‘boost’ which raises the tension and the ‘jag’ which releases it. Employing the example of a flatulent vicar delivering a sermon, Butler (2015, pg. 48) highlights how these components can be appreciated as an equational juxtaposition. Such frames counterbalance the situation and occasion of the experience against the action and reaction of the observer, modulating the extent of laughter. The use of taboo or base topics can achieve a similar amplification. Outlining how tendentious jokes

enable individuals to circumvent societal restriction, Sigmund Freud illustrates how relief humour provides the means to “economise the expenditure of psychical energy used in suppressing forbidden desires” (2002, pgs. 116-117, 133).

Weaving Humour into Editorial Cartoons

Prior discussions highlight how humorous responses are conceptualised from aggressive, pragmatic and palliative standpoints; each proposing an alternate catalyst for laughter. Such catalysts range from “familiarity or appreciation for certain subject matters” (Zabalbeascoa, 2005, pg. 190) to “linguistic and shared sociocultural knowledge” (Pavilcek and Pochhacker, 2002, pg. 387). Yet as Todd Gitlin (2003, pg. 269) attests, these are not solely confined to an individual’s internal processing, the author advocating consideration of extraneous factors which affect the sender. To this end, Tsai (2015, pgs. 616-617) believes each standpoint strives instead to serve differing functions of humour, each asserting their primacy over the other in quantifying “what taps the receivers’ funny bones”.

It could be argued that such hypothetical rivalries are misplaced. Norrick (1989, pg. 118) categorically states how humour is not solely reliant upon “funny stimuli”, requiring alignment with vehicles which propel them to audiences alongside conglomeration of all the laughter catalysts outlined above. In a similar vein, Ermida (2012, pg. 188) hypothesises the role of humour to be more expansive, encompassing aspirations to simultaneously “arouse, amuse and awaken audiences to their capacity to judge contemporary society”. With this in mind, an integrative framework harnessing the positive aspects of all perspectives could assist in examining editorial cartoons from a considered viewpoint.

Technique over Classification

Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) and Morris (1993) are credited with establishing the initial points of reference for an integrative approach. Their taxonomies each incorporate disparate humours alongside linguistic, visual and rhetorical elements with the aim of “constructing first order enthymemes”, a syllogism or other argument in which a premise or conclusion is left unexpressed (Medhurst and DeSousa, 1981, pg. 205). Such enthymemes invite readers to “respond in accordance with [their] values, beliefs, and predispositions”, highlighting how “graphic rhetoric relies to a great degree on the enthymematic form” (Medhurst and DeSousa, 1981, pgs. 204-205). Sonja Foss believes such combinations of perspective can additionally create “conceptual lenses through which visual symbols become knowable as communicative or rhetorical phenomena” (2004, pg. 306). Whilst stylistic elements within editorial cartoons are not intrinsically linked to these humour groupings, it could be argued that they assist in constructing holistic arguments both humorous and worthy of reader response.

This thesis does not attempt to classify editorial cartoons or generate a new taxonomy which challenges these viewpoints. This is partly due to the tendency of such structures towards an over-simplification of data and an arbitrary ranking of corpuses according to merit or lack thereof. Subsequent analysis will instead incorporate elements of both Medhurst and DeSousa and Morris’ thoughts when examining the representation of themes, events, actors and opinions within a defined timespan. Of particular focus will be the stylistic elements of graphic and linguistic arrangement which constitute the manifestation of humour in editorial cartoons. Those selected from Medhurst and DeSousa (1981, pg. 212) comprise of:

- **Contrast:** The juxtaposition of one element against another.
- **Commentary:** The realistic presentation or stating of obvious fact about a subject.
- **Contradiction:** The making of distinct judgments about a subject, based on contrasting elements against another. This can be perceived as a more aggressive form of contrast.
- **Use of Line and Form:** The varying artistic techniques employed by cartoonists within the editorial cartoon.
- **Exaggeration/Amplification:** The relative proportionality of objects designed to concentrate attention towards particular visual depictions; particularly the physiognomical exaggeration, cuing and critique of popular figures.
- **Placement:** Situation within the frame of the relatively sized objects which elicit important focal points.
- **Rhythmic Montage:** The importance of viewing the editorial cartoon as a whole when interpreting the rhetorical meaning of the image.

Whilst those elements drawn from Morris (1993, pgs. 196, 202-203) include:

- **Condensation:** The ability of editorial cartoons to compress complex phenomenon into a single image.
- **Domestication:** The process of abstracting unfamiliar ideas and converting these into more recognisable forms.
- **Opposition:** The representation of subjects in a duality and linked to preconceived, familiar oppositions.

- **Carnivalisation:** The stylised representation of spontaneous behaviour, featuring discordant voices and viewpoints whose conduct inverts and ridicules social hierarchy.
- **Hyper-Carnivalisation:** The nature of editorial cartoons as commercially-orientated journalistic objects, enabling audiences to appreciate cartoonist efforts to poke fun at their subjects.
- **Combination:** The rhetorical means by which ideas from disparate sources are blended into a clearly identifiable new composite.

Taken in concert, these elements will be highlighted as generating artistic, metaphoric and linguistic methods which are used by editorial cartoonists in constructing their arguments. However, a unifying analytical framework needs to additionally situate these humorous elements against the societal structure and political epoch within which they operate. To that end, the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) is now assessed for its suitability in explaining the broader humour processes affecting editorial cartoons; integrating cartoonist input, the environments within which they work and the audiences they address.

GTVH: A Universal Alternative?

Salvatore Attardo (2001) asserts how GTVH encompasses the core dimensions of humour, ranging from semantics, visual linguistics and narrative theory to conceived pragmatics. Originating as an extension of Victor Raskin's (1985) Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH), GTVH identifies narratological structures which are capable of expressing incongruities between semantic scripts occurring inside verbal and visual humour (Ulubeyli, Arslan and Kivrak, 2015, pg. 471). The framework purports the key elements of humour

analysis as comprising of the punch line (the final comment on an issue designed to create a surprise effect) and the jab line which integrates humorous elements considered indispensable to the plot which aid progression towards the punch line (Attardo, 2001, pgs. 82-83). By doing so, GTVH simultaneously provides a flexible theoretical framework accounting for humorous data analysis and illustration of the semiotic resources involved in the production of humour.

With relation to the editorial cartoon, Villy Tsakona (2003, 2009) outlines an analytic framework which comprises of six GTVH information sources, namely:

1. **Situation:** The inclusion of situations, places, time, objects, participants, and activities presented in the humorous text.
2. **Language:** The exact wording of the humorous text and placement of the functional elements that constitute it, such as the information within the editorial, alongside positioning of the punch and/or jab line.
3. **Logical mechanism:** The presentation of distorted and playful logics causing script opposition.
4. **Target:** The designation of people, groups, or institutions to be ridiculed by humour.
5. **Script opposition:** The core requirement of humour, compatible with two juxtaposed scripts. Raskin (1985) identifies three basic of script opposition between real and unreal situations evoked by overlapping humour scripts; actual/non-actual, normal/abnormal or possible/impossible.
6. **Narrative strategy:** The organisation of humorous text, such as a narrative, dialogue, riddle or cartoon, in addition to the speech act which includes humour.

In blending GTVH with Medhurst and DeSousa and Morris' core ideas, the thesis will create a conceptual schema capable of acknowledging the essential nature of humour within editorial cartoons.

Metaphors

Discussion now turns towards establishing the cognitive and linguistic foundations for appreciating the role of metaphors in editorial cartoons. This approach will corroborate Feldman and Narayanan (2004) and Forceville's (2006) conception of the form as a rhetorical, adaptive force valuable to imagery and wider society. According to Laura Downing and Blanca Mujic (2009, pg. 61), metaphoric thought is intrinsic to the human condition by playing a crucial role in discourse, either as constitutive instruments of new theoretical concepts or as creative resources imbued with communicative and directional purpose (Boyd, 1993; Charteris-Black, 2004; Parkinson and Adendorff, 2004 and Reeves, 2005); an idea highlighted in Chapter One. In her study of how scientific language continues to evolve, Carol Reeves illustrates how:

Metaphors are inescapable in visuals, just as they are in everyday language. As human beings who must often draw from various domains of experience to make sense of new domains of experience, [cartoonists] are no different from the rest of us (Reeves, 2005, pg. 3).

Gibbs and Matlock (2008) outline how the use of metaphor in well-established within the communicative process, expressing nuances of thought or feeling difficult to articulate in literal language (Cameron, 2007a and 2007b; Ritchie, 2008) and acting as constructors of social identity (Quinn, 1993). The form additionally provides researchers

with powerful instruments to demonstrate how image creators work out and communicate abstract ideas in order to strengthen the visual bond between themselves and audiences. According to Theodore Brown (2003, pg. 12), metaphors “help to clarify the nature of creativity, enabling [audiences] to relate reasoning and communication to other domains of thought”, notably: message content (Sopory and Dillard, 2002); the evocation of previous experience (Gibbs, 2006); or the establishment of empathic response (Cohen, 1993; Semino, 2010).

Marti Dominguez (2015, pg. 434) outlines how the selective capacity of metaphor provides the form with an integral role in the development of systems such as language (D’Alfonso, 1994; Danesi, 1993) and law (Danesi, 2011), highlighting its capacity to maximise the number of potential symbolisms for creators and audiences alike. To achieve this, source cognitive domains are mapped onto target cognitive domains with the resulting object governing the manner in which the target is perceived, structured and experienced. Lakoff and Johnson (1999, pg. 4) believe such mapping mirrors that of linguistic patterns, thereby enabling audiences to comprehend abstract domains through use of familiar experiences. However, the finalised visual can be restricted by the degree of synthesis achieved by the two domains, Downing and Mujic hypothesising how partial matches “highlight certain aspects of the source domain and hide those which are not of the creator’s interest” (2009, pg. 63). In view of this, metaphoric power is seen to depend upon the degrees of inference made by individual readers, underscoring the importance of audience background knowledge.

To highlight the core tenets of metaphor, this section will draw upon the insight of cognitive linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Charteris-Black (2004) and Gibbs

(1994, 2006 and 2011). Efforts will be made to embrace a discourse pragmatic approach which highlights the communicative motivations of editorial cartoonists when selecting differing metaphoric expressions. Doing so will enable Chapters 5-8 to demonstrate the specific communicative functions of such devices and illustrate how particular metaphors are deployed to map obscure political events into familiar domains, “enabling creators to express the unknown or unseen via the known and the seen” (Reeves, 2005, pgs. 23, 30).

“Magical Mental Changing Rooms”

James Geary (2012, pg. 9) details the etymological roots of metaphor within Greek language and its transference to English linguistics during the sixteenth century. The term itself is a composite of two words, *meta* (meaning over and beyond) and *phor* (to carry or transfer); their combined literal translation becoming “to carry across” (Geary, 2012, *ibid.*). In an academic context, Burke ([1945] 1969, pg. 503) formatively conceptualises metaphors as “devices for seeing something in terms of something else”, a simplistic hypothesis reliant on pure fact. Such a rudimentary outline enabled researchers to progress the terminology of metaphors towards the “understanding and experiencing” processes underlying these instruments (notably Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pg. 5). Drawing upon the pragmatic function of metaphor in discourse, Johnathan Charteris-Black supplies two contemporaneous outlines of the form:

(Version 1) A metaphor is an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion; this purpose is often covert and reflects speaker intentions within particular contexts of use.

(Version 2) A metaphor is a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension (Charteris-Black, 2004, pg. 19).

In deducing how metaphors can generate semantic relationships between topic and communicative vehicle, Foss (2004, pg. 299) evolves the definition of the form into “the mechanism or lens through which the topic is viewed”. Contemporary approaches are more radical, Bounegru and Forceville (2011) subdividing the form into mono and multi-modal variations based upon the situation of the topic towards its related communicative vehicle. By extrapolating their ideas into the imagery of the editorial cartoon, metaphors can be conceived as being mono-modal; the topic and vehicle both “predominantly cued in the visual mode” (Bounegru and Forceville, 2011, pg. 212). However, Dominguez (2015, pg. 435) points out how editorial cartoon metaphors can be *simultaneously* multi-modal in combining “aphoristic and judgmental” images or text. For the purpose of this thesis, Bounegru and Forceville’s sub-division of metaphor is maintained. This approach will maximise reader understanding of the form’s informative capacity in reinforcing knowledge and opinion, in tandem with its ability to engage uninformed audiences via creative expressions carried through covert, persuasive methods. In pursuing this direction, metaphors will be viewed as “magical, mental changing rooms whereby one thing for a moment becomes another and, in that moment, is seen in a whole new way” (Grothe, 2008, pg. 10).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory: An Enduring Framework for Metaphor Analysis?

Focus now shifts towards identifying an appropriate theoretical framework for analysing visual metaphors within editorial cartoons. Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009, pg. 19) chronicle how Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) revolutionised metaphoric research, shifting analysis away from verbal to conceptual phenomena. At its core lies the perception that "the mind is inherently embodied [with] reason shaped by the body" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pg. 5). Julia Herrmann (2013, pg. 20) illustrates how CMT condenses metaphoric interpretation into a series of dialogues which occur between conceptual domains known as *mappings*. The ensuing words and phrases employed to embody such dialogues are subsequently conceived as superficial expressions of the underlying relationships between the domains. In so doing, the pervasiveness of metaphors within natural discourse is identified as serving a critical function in everyday speech, thought and communication. Such associations lead Ritchie (2013, pg. 68) to perceive the form as providing the basis for language when discussing abstract concepts and reinforcing underlying conceptual metaphors which occur through cultural experience; audiences reiterating related metaphorical phrases.

To demonstrate CMT in practice, one example of relevance to this thesis is Peter Hain's reactive comment that "Gordon Brown was letting off steam" in the aftermath of Bigot-gate (Jones, *Flintshire Leader*, 29/4/2010, online citation). The Welsh Secretary's comment can be broken down as expressing underlying relationships between conceptual domains of *emotion* and *pressure*; summarised as "passion is explosive" or "emotion is heat". As steam is characterised by a build-up of hot, invisible gas in a confined space which requires continual venting, Hain's metaphor leads audiences to conceptualise the then-

Prime Minister as needing to discharge his emotions to remain politically operational on the campaign trail. Such mappings provide the basis for further associative metaphoric phrases such as “to blow off steam”, “to run out of steam”, “to get steamed up”, “to steam” or “to pick up steam”.

The seminal ideas of Lakoff and Johnson are frequently re-appropriated towards the fields of applied linguistics, discourse analysis and corpus-linguistics; individual researchers refining and expanding CMT to diversify metaphoric analysis further (notably Cameron, 2003, 2010; Cameron and Low, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2004; Deignan, 2005; Gibbs, 1994; Goatly, 1997; Koller, 2004; Musolff, 2004; Semino, 2008; and Steen, 1994, 2007). The deconstructive processes surrounding CMT provides the researcher with varying opportunities to understand how humans find abstract phenomena they can see, hear, feel, taste and smell easier to comprehend and categorise than those which they cannot. It is this sensory perceptibility which enables abstract metaphors to become concrete, those lacking such impulses remaining abstruse to audiences. Chalaniova (2011) identifies similar linkage systems when conceptualising the structure of images, as outlined earlier.

The extent of efforts to diversify CMT has led Matthew McGlone (2007, pg. 122) to suggest the framework is approaching obsolescence, the plethora of academic variants eroding its original theoretical and empirical credibility. Raymond Gibbs (2011, pgs. 529-562) castigates the progression of CMT by highlighting the lack of uniformity in research criteria, the improbability of scholars to arrive at similar conclusions (in spite of their disparate disciplines), and the paucity of information surrounding how metaphoric analysis is conducted. Similarly, he believes the use of CMT can be deceptive for particular researchers, with “many conventional expressions [often deemed] metaphorical by

cognitive linguists not [being] actually metaphorical at all” (Gibbs, 2011, pg. 534). The compulsion of the CMT framework to transpose all elements of a metaphoric domain onto another can additionally result in incoherent mapping. McGlone typifies this last point in a highly illustrative manner:

If we understand theories entirely in terms of buildings, then we should occasionally make erroneous inferences about the applicability of building properties to the abstract concept. Theories not only can have foundations (assumptions), architects (formulators), and blueprints (origins), but also stairwells, hallways, sprinkler systems etc. People rarely, if ever, make inferences of this sort (McGlone, 2007, pg. 114).

According to Crisp (1996, pg. 79), the use of CMT towards editorial cartoons is further problematized by the presence of image metaphors. Such forms pose theoretical dilemmas for researchers convinced that metaphors are solely conceptual in nature, Gleason (2009, pg. 438) highlighting how the one-off, creative nature of image metaphors supplies them with an “uncertain footing” from the outset. To address this, Turner (1991, pg. 14) advocates a reading of image metaphors in line with traditional literary theories of metaphor by asserting how their possession of unique languages exploits everyday commonalities of linguistics, generating unique thought processes. Whilst Chapters 5-8 utilise the CMT framework as part of the analysis, the author is sympathetic to Gibbs’ (2011, pg. 543) assertion that “conceptual metaphors alone do not create the fullest interpretations of all metaphors”, due in part to the degrees of lexical, grammatical, sociocultural and visual constraints which govern metaphorical discourse.

Metaphoric Domains

A notable element of CMT which enhances analysis is that of metaphoric domains, described by Attila Cserep as “systematic mappings at the supra-individual level and their communicative use at individual levels” (2014, pg. 264). Drawing upon the ideas of the Pragglejaz Group (Kövecses and Benczes, 2010), this section outlines the forms such domains take to highlight commonalities, peculiarities and preferences evident in an editorial cartoon corpus.

Kövecses and Benczes (2010, pg. 18) assert how the ideal *source domains* are those clearly delineated and familiar to audiences. By drawing upon a Master Metaphor List synthesised by Lakoff, Espenson and Goldberg (1991), the authors present an extensive catalogue of source mappings which are favoured by image creators when generating visual objects. Of pertinence to editorial cartoons are those incorporating (but not limited to): the human body; plants and animals; games and sport; light and darkness; machines and tools; or movement and direction. In selecting particular domains for use, visual creators can employ a general or particular perspective; for example, human body metaphors invoking particular organs or limbs (such as the heart of the matter or to shoulder the blame) or the human being as a whole (a body of evidence). According to Elisabeth El Refaie (2015 pg. 9), audiences draw upon personalised experience of physical sensations, interactions and understandings in order to comprehend abstract, intangible domains. Heine (2002) goes further, pinpointing such “embodiment” to be central to linguistic metaphor and meaning itself. However, caution should be made of Lakoff and Johnson’s warnings against a fixed concept of embodiment; the creators of CMT correctly deducing how metaphors are not solely reliant upon “having a physical body of a certain sort” (1980, pg. 57).

In utilising such domains, Kövecses and Benczes hypothesise how creators assist audiences in attaining semblance of the world their metaphors strive to depict. In such an alternate universe:

There are people, animals, and plants. The people live in houses, they have bodies and they eat, get sick and get better. They move around and travel, living in physical environments with all kinds of objects and substances; each having all kinds of properties. The physical environment affects the people and the people make tools, work, and engage in various other transactions with other people (Kövecses and Benczes, 2010, pgs. 22-23).

Whilst naïve in the extreme, the simplistic representations of this universe allow audiences to access areas of relevance when creating more complex and abstract concepts, as will be seen later.

Target domains, by contrast, are nebulous; lacking clear delineation and “crying out” for conceptualisation (Kövecses and Benczes, 2010, pg. 23). Shutova and Teufel (2010, pg. 3257) highlight frequent target concepts which are transposable onto source domains or particularised uses of language in order to complete a metaphorical mapping. Table 1 lists the source domains highlighted earlier alongside some of the potential target domains evident within editorial cartoon metaphors. Owing to the fact source domains can have multiple targets domains and vice versa, such lists should be viewed as a melange of possible conceptual linkages, rather than read in parallel. Consequently, Table 1 shows the plethora of target domains available to image creators in representing psychological or mental states, social groups or processes and personal experiences or events to audiences; allowing such abstract concepts to chime with viewer interpretation.

Source Domains	Target Domains
Human Body	Life/Death
Plants	Emotion/Relationships
Animals	Morality
Games	Thought
Sport	Politics
Light	Communication
Darkness	Religion
Machines	Events/Action
Tools	Economy
Movement	Society/Nation
Direction	Time

Table 1: Example Source and Target Domain Concepts applied in Editorial Cartoon

Metaphors

In outlining the types of domain, a rationale can be posited as to why the use of CMT is favoured when discussing metaphors. According to Dalalau and Maior (2014, pgs. 142-149), domain delineation provides researchers with concrete sources and targets to analyse, often in tandem with particular visual facets deemed worthy of study. However, Kövecses and Benczes (2010, pgs. 27-28) identify a key conundrum which CMT fails to address, namely understanding *how* such processes of cross-domain mapping are activated to effect a suitable fit. Chapters 5-8 will endeavour to highlight how image metaphors can trigger clusters of perceptive by-products within source-target domain mappings, thereby adding to the axiological value of the metaphor transmitted (Velasco, 2001, pg. 47).

Shades of Metaphor

Discussion now turns towards outlining particular types of metaphors used by image creators when exploring a range of source domains to express a particular viewpoint. Such consideration will allow the later analysis chapters to demonstrate some of the more novel or alternative source domains explored by editorial cartoonists when highlighting politically salient messages to audiences. In his study of editorial cartoon metaphors deployed in

contrasting US Presidential elections, Lucas Reehorst (2014, pgs. 14-27) describes five types of metaphor which are activated through particular features of news discourse: namely topic-triggered; topical; language-triggered/expressive; pictorially-triggered; or ascribed.

Topic-Triggered

A variety of researchers examine the first category across differing types of discourse, albeit preferring differing terminologies such as topic driven, double grounded or interface (Brône and Feyaerts, 2005, pgs. 75-99; Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 237-239; White, 2011, pgs. 104-108). In light of its capacity to demonstrate the metaphorical nature of the phenomenon and its usage of fresh sources of information, this thesis elects to use the term topic-triggered. This form seeks to compare target domains with source domains which carry a degree of association to the former, in accordance with the viewpoint expressed in the introduction to this chapter. Such associations are drawn from actualities experienced by protagonists: such as their education; work experience; sporting prowess; or hobby. Abadi and Sacerdoti (2001, pg. 35) detail how Israeli politicians known to play the game of chess are frequently situated within chess metaphors when profiled or discussed within wider news discourse. According to Brône and Feyaerts (2005), this particular category of metaphor occurs frequently in editorial cartoons, with Figure 61 exhibiting a useful example which is expanded in greater detail in Chapter Eight. In this visual, Peter Brookes draws a metaphorical comparison of the political status of David Cameron and Nick Clegg to that of the relationship between prefects and fags found in public schools. This metaphor is triggered by the realisation that both individuals were educated at such institutions during their formative years; Cameron and Clegg going to Eton and Westminster respectively.



Figure 61: *The New Politics* (Brookes, *Times*, 13/5/2010)

However, Brône and Feyaerts (2005, *ibid*) caution against assumptions that topic-triggered metaphors are always triggered by the topic. Deconstructing the form at its abstract level, the authors' outline how such forms can be mere conventional metaphors masquerading behind the topic in question. By stripping out the source domain of the public school employed in Figure 61, the conventional metaphor "master and servant" remains in view for audiences. Yet as Susan Burnes (2011, pgs. 2168-2169) highlights, topic-triggered metaphors still achieve an important function in "blurring the distinction between image and reality", Reehorst (2014, pg. 17) conceiving how the forms supplies added novelty value for audiences keen to experience the wittiness of the editorial cartoonist.

Topical

Sharing a similar phenomenology to topic-triggered metaphors, Zoltán Kövecses (2005, pgs. 239-241) describes how metaphors of a topical nature employ specific source domains as their saliency increases toward particular discussions. These domains are primarily synchronous with elements such as seasons, events, customs or festivals and ideally experienced by both audience and visual creator alike. Boers (1999) illustrates how

the source domain health receives greater prominence in winter discourses concerning the economy, owing to the fact the population experiences a higher than average incidence of illness at this time of year. This subsequently results in economic metaphor phrases which incorporate the words “remedy”, “medicine” or “healthy”. A similar seasonal example can be seen in Figure 62 with Christian Adams mapping the recurring festivities of Easter onto an election target domain, depicting George Osborne as celebrating the discovery of an economic prize in a comparable manner to that of finding an Easter egg.



Figure 61: *Easter Egg Hunt (Adams, Telegraph, 3/4/2010)*

According to Reehorst (2014, pgs. 18-19), the shared temporality of source domains within particular cognitive environments generates novel metaphors “if the source domain at the centre of attention...is not normally used to discuss the target.” The news context in Chapters 6-7 highlight two unforeseen events which provided unique source domains for editorial cartoonists to map onto the target domain of the election, namely the eruption of Eyjafjallajökull in Iceland and the BP Deepwater Horizon oil leak across the Gulf of Louisiana. The subsequent editorial cartoons which incorporate such events highlight the desire of visual creators to imbue their imagery with news-related characteristics, in so doing justifying their inclusion within the host newspaper. However, topical metaphors can easily

become clichéd if cartoonists merely regurgitate representations of protagonists to conform to calendar events and stereotypical characteristics.

Language-Triggered/Expressive

Wholly separate from abstract conceptual metaphors, the third category utilises the myriad of linguistic expressions available to image creators when seeking to convey verbal messages in a visually covert manner. Metaphoric expressions of this type should be intelligible, rational and challenge audience comprehension, invoking idioms and symbolic languages which carry a limited range of meaning and serving to restrict the number of interpretations open to a particular visual. Chalaniova (2011, pg. 7) outlines how such characteristics are particularly useful to those illustrating criticism (i.e. editorial cartoonists), utilising expressive metaphors to consciously direct audience thought processes towards a preferred reading.

It is important to stress that the highly coded nature of metaphoric expression can cause particular phrases to have clarity of meaning in one societal stratum whilst generating bemusement when transposed into another. As a consequence, the skill of editorial cartoonists lies not only in their ability to decode culturally embedded meanings of metaphoric expression but also in tailoring images to deliver comparable meanings without rigid verbal expressions. Figure 63 illustrates how Peter Brookes utilises the presentation and actions surrounding the metaphor “firing the starting pistol” yet aims the weapon towards the then-Prime Minister Gordon Brown to simultaneously highlight his hapless nature when taking action and the danger posed by his decision to call a general election.



Figure 63: *Untitled (Brookes, Times, 7/4/2010)*

According to Noël Carroll ([1980] 1996, pg. 186), language-triggered metaphors do not have to be visually presented in textual form, merely requiring a capacity to “evoke words or strings of words”. Such a low threshold allows for the inclusion of particular verbalisations of sound. Notable examples of this form include: the use of *idioms* (the visual conceptualisation of age-old expressions); *homonyms* (multiplicities of meaning residing within a word which enable it to bridge target and source domains); and *resemblances* (the highlighting of similarities between spellings and pronunciations associated between the two fields). The unfolding events of Bigotgate in Chapter Seven provided editorial cartoonists with ample opportunities to visualise a lexicon of expressive metaphors such as “shooting one’s mouth off”, “shooting oneself in the foot” and “thinking out aloud”. Such examples serve to confirm Reehorst’s (2014, pg. 22) hypothesis that the most original language-triggered metaphors are those arising from accident and chance.

Pictorially-Triggered

A fourth category is that of metaphors which allude to well-known images. In a similar fashion to linguistic resemblance, these forms are derived and replicated from noted artworks or photographs, Edwards and Winkler (1997, pg. 294) illustrating how visual source materials become normative yardsticks onto which editorial cartoonists map source. The

emergent object is then assessed by audiences to determine whether the alterations made are laudatory or critical of the original. These processes share many of the methodological commonalities applied by Chambers towards parodic banging, blending and binding discussed earlier in the chapter. Dave Brown provides a notable example of this metaphor type in mapping Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg onto Shepard Fairey's stylised stencil of Barack Obama during the 2008 Presidential campaign across Figures 64-65. The visual celebrates the colour scheme and shading techniques applied by the original artist, albeit with Brown replacing the phrase "Hope" with one particular to each candidate's presentational style seen in the first Prime Ministerial debate. By doing so, the cartoonist creates a pictorially-triggered metaphor specific to each leader: namely "Nick Clegg is a Sweet Talker"; "Gordon Brown is an Idiot"; and "David Cameron has got himself into Trouble".



Figures 63-64: Pictorial Mapping of Hope onto Editorial Cartoon (Fairey, 2007; Brown, *Independent*, 21/4/2010)

When assessing the capacity of pictorially-triggered metaphors, Schilperoord (2013) describes how image creators invite audiences to apply a moral standard contrastable with that of the original. It could be argued that specific subject matters or protagonists hold such degrees of visual reverence that *any* metaphoric alteration would be considered critical of the original. To this end, the degree of success attained by pictorially-triggered metaphors relies upon audience awareness of the source material and an individual determination that the moral standard applied by the illustrator matches or exceeds that of the original creator, as Figure 64 demonstrates. Dave Brown's "Rogues' Gallery" series draws heavily upon this metaphoric type, exhibiting both his deference to original sources and his capacity to transpose key political individuals onto the visual in order to stimulate new metaphoric meanings.

Ascribed

According to Philip Eubanks (2000), the final category amalgamates the metaphorical prisms and beliefs through which protagonists view the world. Reehorst (2014, pg. 27) outlines how ascribed metaphors highlight the ways by which metaphoric sources fail to resemble those of the metaphor's target; the diametrical opposite of conventional metaphors which incorporate the same source and target domains. In so doing, ascribed metaphors agglomerate hidden, revealed or differing levels of meaning to construct metaphoric layers from which audiences extrapolate and deduce new messages (Bordwell, 1989, pg. 2). Editorial cartoons can accordingly be conceptualised as "containers into which the artist stuffs meanings for perceivers to pull out" (Bordwell, 1989, *ibid*).

In contrast to the haphazard (and sometimes chaotic) approach of "meaning stuffing" attributed to parodic bunching, ascribed metaphors target particular flaws and

shortcomings of the protagonist or their viewpoint. One example taken from the research corpus is Steve Bell's highlighting of David Cameron's pledge to address the fragmentation and lack of cohesion within British communities in Figure 66. By integrating Cameron into an antiquated gramophone and utilising his nose as a needle upon a cracked vinyl record, the cartoonist channels audience attention towards the Conservative leader's willingness to repeat the phrase "Broken Britain" without progressing further to address how it can be repaired. In so doing, the editorial cartoon supplies audiences with the ascribed metaphor of "David Cameron is a Broken Record".

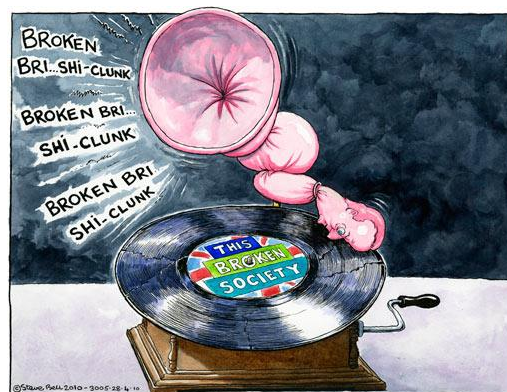


Figure 66: *Untitled (Bell, Guardian, 28/4/2010)*

Memes

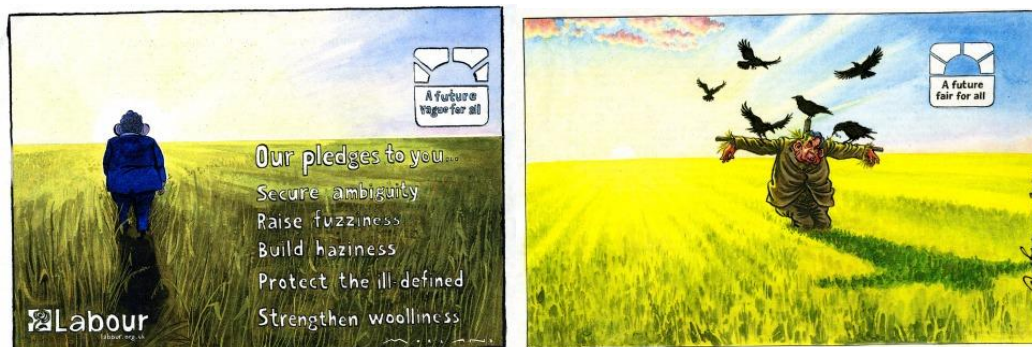
In demonstrating the differing types of metaphor, it should be evident how each form relies upon the "unlikeness of things, rather than their likeness" (Forty, 2000, pg. 100). As a consequence, the most efficient forms are those which extract a visual from one schema of ideas and transpose it onto something unrelated. Dawkins (1976, pg. 192) and Musolff (2008) both conceive such products to be in the vein of memes, the small cultural units which flow from person to person. In expanding the concept to include images and

phrases, Olga Goriunova (2013) indicates how memes now perpetuate cultures of remakes beyond the subculture from which they originate.

Weng, Flammini, Vespignani, and Menczer (2012) describe how memes undergo evolutionary processes comparable to those of species in order to survive: namely competition; selection; and adaptation. Supplementing these ideas further, Robert Wilson articulates how the transmissive capacities of memes are dependent upon “the cognitive architecture of individuals who transmit it, and the features of the cultures within which it exists” (2000, pg. 49). These processes lead Dominguez (2015, pg. 241) and Dong (2004) to outline how particular memes are able to withstand the test of time better than others, becoming common cultural proverbs able to transcend borders. Conversely, those memes which fail to evolve in tandem with cultural progress expire and fossilise, existing only as “worn-out metaphors which have become powerless to affect the senses” (Nietzsche, 1997, pg. 92).

A potential strength of this thesis lies in its retrospective capacity to identify memes arising from the research corpus which have subsequently evolved or expired since their conception during the 2010 British General Election. A particular collection of memes with a short life span are those associated with pledge cards and manifestoes whereby elements of the original are extracted and transposed by editorial cartoonists into new visual objects. Typical of these are Figures 67-69 which highlight Morten Morland and Dave Brown’s adaptation of the Labour pledge card. In order to create optimised visual and verbal memes, both retain the physical and rhetorical semblances of the original whilst amplifying the ironic messages each attach to the new visual. Their application of text highlights the continuation of the types of artistic commentary attached to visuals seen previously in the

cartoon chronology in Chapter Two. These actions synchronise with Wiggins and Bowers (2014) perception of memes serving the explicit purpose of delivering humour to audiences. Whilst highly efficient on the day of conception, rapid changes of focus within an electoral cycle starves memes of metaphoric oxygen; condemning them to the status of remnants in electoral communicative history.



Figures 67-69: Memetic Adaptation of Labour Pledge Card by Editorial Cartoonists (Morland, *Times*, 29/3/2010; Brown, *Independent*, 29/3/2010)

Metaphoric Shapeshifting

Whilst discussions have outlined how editorial cartoon narratives access a range of visual and rhetorical mechanisms to engage the metaphoric mode, illustrators can also be seen as drawing upon other techniques which serve to concretise abstract ideas. Figure 13 in Chapter Two illustrates how early graphic representations relied upon the technique of

anamorphism when depicting human and non-human entities for humouristic effect. Carrera (2015, pg. 79) conceives how cartoons of this type are dependent upon the idea of dislocation in order to generate the degrees of incongruity required to propel a graphic joke to its intended audience. With this in mind, the transmorphic devices of anthropomorphism, zoomorphism and personification are briefly outlined here to illustrate how each bridges a particular communicative gap; producing “mental scripts which activate reader expectations about topic recognition, communicative intention and the internal structure of cartoons” (Attardo and Raskin, 1991, pgs. 293-347).

It is important to stress how the cartoonists’ choice of transmorphic method varies according to the effect they wish to have upon the reader. Beatriz Carrera (2015, pg. 100) articulates how an activation of anthropomorphism highlights a desire by the illustrator to seek audience empathy for his chosen subject. Conversely, she posits how zoomorphism may promote the adoption of a superiority standpoint through the degradation of the individual being depicted. Taken in concert, the use of transmorphic imagery can be conceptualised as correlating with many of the facets of humour discussed earlier in this chapter

Personification

Often taken for granted or dismissed as a mere visual convention (Melion and Ramakers, 2016, pg. 1), personification (or prosopopeia) is the means by which something not human is given a human identity or face. Discussing the form’s application by Greek and Roman philosophers, Soares ([1565] 1591, pgs. 117-118) outlines how such forms “exercise their effect not by painting words but [by] illuminating thoughts, which is to say that they clarify most if not all thoughts by means of some mimetic image”. In this sense,

personification can be conceptualised as performing a number of communicative functions: clarifying images that heighten the persuasive force of an argument; enriching visuals by showing how they may be conceptualised; and introducing fictitious characters whose emphatic presence enacts a message or intensifies what is being communicated. The form additionally retains a capacity to generate a number of smaller recurring copies from within the visual itself, known as *mise en abimes*.

Personification provides editorial cartoonists with the power to persuade audiences that the protagonist within the visual is addressing them directly or engaging in a dialogue with other characters inside the frame. The form also enables illustrators to catalogue events and situations, objectify social groups and institutions, and visualise the forces motivating them. In doing so, personification may be seen as operating across multiple perception registers (sensory/spiritual, visible/invisible, concrete/abstract), in tandem with addressing the facts, opinions and beliefs applied towards a particular subject. Utilising Juan Sanchez Cotán's series of still life depictions as a base template (Figure 70), Dave Brown provides a valid example of the form, personifying his grouping of fruit and vegetables with the faces of Brown, Cameron and Clegg. Published in the aftermath of the *Sky News Leaders' Debate*, Figure 71 highlights how the cartoonist conceptualises the rhetorical sentiment displayed by the Labour and Conservative leaders in their efforts to denigrate their Liberal Democrat counterpart to viewers. The visual additionally objectifies the electoral forces motivating Brown and Cameron's responses, the pair displaying signs of decomposition and putrefaction which correlates to their diminishing appeal to voters in light of the 'freshness' of Clegg.



Figures 70-71: Dave Brown’s Personification of Juan Sanchez Cotán’s Still Life into Still Life with Rotten Cabbage and Putrid Plum (Brown, Independent, 26/4/2010)

Groensteen (2001) believes personification to be a transitory medium, allowing for ever-emergent concepts to be revised and integrated through the use of visual “braiding”. Figures 72-74 demonstrate how Britain’s financial deficit is diversely woven into varying images by editorial cartoonists, notably as an elephant by Christian Adams and a dragon by Peter Schrank. In the case of Nicholas Garland, the transitory nature of personification is

highlighted by his oscillation between a meteor and a sea monster in the space of twenty four hours.



Figures 72-74: *The Personification of Britain's Financial Deficit* (Schrank, *Independent on Sunday*, 11/4/2010; Adams, *Telegraph*, 14/4/2010; Garland, *Telegraph*, 27/4/2010 and 28/4/2010)

It is important to note that all attempts at personification (as well as the embodiment of meaning) are tainted by the personal psychology and identity of the reader; both symptomatic of the act of visual stereotyping. van Mander (1604, cited in Melion and Ramakers, 2010, pg. 22) similarly notes how awareness of the form is reliant upon audiences being sufficiently clever and well-practiced in decoding such visual objects; reminiscent of Low's expectations towards *Guardian* readers' familiarity with high cultural references seen in Chapter One. However, personification's ability to silently conjure words, phrases or meanings "through the sheer force of visual eloquence" (van Mander, 1604, cited in Melion and Ramakers, 2010, pg. 25) serves to supply arguments, concepts and systems with humanistic voices, convincing audiences that the topic being depicted is real and not merely factitious.

Anthropomorphism

In contrast to personification, anthropomorphism can be posited as “the deliberate warping of reality to suit the ends of the story needing to be told” (Jardin, 2013, pg. 9). Although the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2016, online citation) defines the method in its broadest terms as ‘the attribution of human form or other human characteristics to any nonhuman object’, the nature of this thesis necessitates a specific understanding of how illustrators are able to project more than human aesthetics onto protagonists when conveying meaning to readers. To this end, the *OED*’s (2016, online citation) conception of anthropomorphism, “the attribution of human form or personality to a god, animal or thing”, serves to focus the form towards its common usage in an editorial cartoon context.

Illustrating how humans are inherently natural anthropomorphisers, Herzog (2011, pgs. 60, 62) and Kennedy (1992) articulate how mankind is culturally conditioned towards particular anthropomorphic traits. Such processes occur through our human centred-biases toward the natural world and the consumption of literary and visual devices from an early age. Taken in concert, these engender a series of schemas which enable humans to imagine what other creatures are thinking and feeling as we observe their behaviours. Supplying an example of such a schema in action, Gould (in Wells, 2009, pg. 82), relates the “haughty rejection” exuded by a camel’s face to that of the human expression it appears to mimic, conceptualising the creature as aloof and unfriendly “with half lidded eyes and a nose above its eyes”. In this vein, Carrera (2015, pg. 89) hypothesises how an individual’s ‘preloading’ of such traits is seized upon as time-saving tools by illustrators and authors alike, enabling audiences to quickly grasp a personality without having to spend too much valuable text (or,

in the context of editorial cartoons, space) explaining a character's motives, emotions or personality.

Jardin (2013, pg. 7) and Fraustino (cited in Mills, 2014, pgs. 145-162) highlight how landmark texts in children's literature employ anthropomorphic figures as human 'stand ins', enabling creators to disguise didactic messages under the pretence of humour, whimsy and fun. Notable examples include those characters living in a human environment (Beatrix Potter's *Peter Rabbit* (1902), A. A Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* (1921) or E.B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (1952)) or those interacting with one another using human traits such as culture (Kenneth Grahame's *Wind in the Willows* (1908)), politics (George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945)) or religion (Richard Adam's *Watership Down* (1972)). In each instance, the technique imbues animals or objects with personalities and physical features which collectively serve as fulfilling a particular purpose of the overall narrative. Bruegel's artwork in Chapter Two typifies this approach. Figure 18 illustrates how the artist visualises the violent impulses of the affluent citizens of Antwerp as they persist in battling amongst themselves to satiate their greed, depicting them as ever-expanding coffers.

Editorial cartoonists adopt a similar approach, utilising animals and objects as human proxies in the delivery of visual commentaries. Analysing the surreal cartoons of Gary Larson's in his *Far Side* series, Minahen (in Ham and Senior, 1998, pgs. 233-235) conceptualises anthropomorphic creatures as sitting in one of two hybridised categories: *humanimals* (visual creations poking fun at both human and animal behaviours through the possession of "something extra") or *anihumans* (those with "something missing"). Peter Brookes' use of the former in Figure 75 sees Gordon Brown, Alastair Darling and Lord Mandelson anthropomorphised into the animalistic forms of iguanas, each creature imbued

with the facial features and mannerisms of the Labour representatives. A further anthropomorphism (albeit in a generic context) occurs towards representatives of business, the group being characterised as lizards.



Figure 75: Nature Notes-The Great Iguanored (Brookes, Times, 10/4/2010)

Examples of the latter category can be seen in the illustrations of François Desprez discussed in Chapter Two. Figures 28-30 highlight the artist handicapping each of his anthropomorphised characters by removing their ability to evolve through self-improvement (the Latin concept of *dignitas hominis*) and stripping away their sense of self-worth. By doing this, Desprez's anihumans are trapped within an aesthetic "prison" from which they cannot escape; maximising his visual critique of the particular professions or individuals they represent (de Olañeta, 2011, online citation).

Zoomorphism

Bruno Latour (1987, pg. 135) conceptualises a particular difficulty for researchers when discussing anthropomorphism. If the form can be seen as assigning human forms or personalities to an intended target, the logical assumption must be made that humans do

possess the capacity to express animalistic tendencies or feelings. To facilitate such understanding, the anthropomorphic form is now subdivided into two concepts: the generalised application discussed in the previous section; and a more complex, restrictive sibling which addresses “how something or someone deals with, or is represented in, animal forms” (OED, 2016, online citation), namely zoomorphism.

Carrera (2015, pg. 83) illustrates how both techniques greatly differ with respect to their positioning cue. Whilst generic anthropomorphism mentally disorients audiences and encourages them to embrace an alien perspective, zoomorphism is specifically tailored towards the degradation of a protagonist’s character, affording the viewer a sense of superiority. In this vein, Daston and Mitman (2005, pg. 17) outline how the zoomorphic form supplies a more detailed observation of the complexities surrounding an animal than the base identification given by anthropomorphic objects, generating an appreciation of how animality is prevalent within (and surrounding) the human condition.

In the context of editorial cartoons, zoomorphism can be posited as a nourishing mechanism which attributes animal traits to human beings or inanimate objects. Referring back to Figure 75, it can be seen how Brookes correlates the iguana’s territorial nature and their ability for metachrosis (changing colour) with Gordon Brown’s intent to retain political dominance until the bitter end. The instinctive tendency of lizards to dive for cover when faced with threat similarly harmonises with efforts made by once devout business supporters to distance themselves from the Labour government, believing the party to be on their way out of office. Such an exercise underscores the fact that a significant degree of anthropomorphic-zoomorphic overlap can occur within a singular image.

It should be noted how the degrees of visual modulation applied by cartoonists can effect audience perceptions of a zoomorphic image; Carrera (2015, pg. 83) correctly identifying that “what one reader sees as a deformed human, another may see as a humanised animal”. A further difficulty arises from the possibility that readers become so focused upon the animal imagery employed by the zoomorphic technique that they become incapable of recognising the individual who the cartoonist seeks to target, resulting in the loss of external reference which may be required in interpret the illustrative commentary. Finally, the use of inoffensive animals (such as rabbits, mice or birds) as the proxy can facilitate the creation of milder metaphor messages than those intended by creators, due in part to their ability to attract sympathetic regards from readers, as will be seen in Chapter Eight.

Concluding Remarks

This discussion concurs with Sipe’s (1998, pg. 107) hypothesis of visual texts being on an equal footing to their verbal counterparts within Westernised logocentric societies. In this light, images can be considered “polysemous” by virtue of their possession of a core sign which is coupled to a multitude of ideas stored within audience stocks of knowledge. By inviting viewers to create a “reality” which corresponds with that of their own, image creators can be conceived as consciously guiding audiences towards a preferred understanding, employing particular signifiers which narrow the scope of interpretation available. Instead of compartmentalising visuals into *decorative* and *informative* subsets, demand exists for scrutiny of the degrees of mutuality residing between the two modes.

By outlining the development of metaphor, the chapter has illustrated the form’s evolution from a naïve comparative premise into an intense, contemporaneous language

applicable to visual and verbal realms. Instead of “seeing something in terms of something else” (Burke, [1945] 1969, *ibid*), the rationale of metaphor can be viewed as “bringing together the *whole* of one thing with the *whole* of another, so that *each* is looked at in a different light” (McGilchrist, 2009, pg. 117). Such actions are achieved through conceptual mappings of source and target domains with the ensuing object highlighting a myriad of cognitive pathways carried within each domain, in tandem with the metaphorical direction embraced by the metaphor creator. Figure 64’s usage of David Cameron’s nose as a gramophone needle illustrates how part of the human anatomy can likewise be seen in terms of political communication.

The chapter has additionally highlighted how the later analysis chapters can benefit from the explanatory power of a primarily CMT-driven framework to identify the broadest number of conceptual pathways available to (and used by) editorial cartoonists in their respective visuals; facilitating closer scrutiny of the unconscious, non-verbal motivations which underpin editorial cartoon metaphors (El Refaie, 2013, pg. 246). The use of CMT will enable empirical analysis to assess the extent of convergence achieved by editorial cartoons as they interact with other element of their host news publication. In doing so, such analysis should reveal the extent to which cartoon images depend on dynamic systems of inference with text, as well as the degree autonomy derived from the creative thought processes of the cartoonists themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR: Research Context and Methodology

Having outlined the main theoretical perspectives, efforts turn towards contextualising the political event being analysed by this thesis. This will be combined with an outline of the methodological approaches used to scrutinise the editorial cartoon corpus, the rationale for deciding which newspaper elements to analyse, and a discussion of some of the research challenges faced when categorising and selecting particular cartoons for study.

Context

The British Party Political System

The British polity is characterised as being that of a unitary, parliamentary system. Such a structure favours the development of centralised, cohesive political parties and their presentation of “programmatically choices to electors” within the context of a general election (Norton, 2015, pg. 127). In detailing the sequence of events which unfolded during the 2010 British General Election it is useful to present a normative understanding of the electoral and party systems in place, in tandem with discussion of how this particular election deviated from such templates.

The Westminster Model

The normative British electoral system is historically regarded as an example of *two-partyism* (Duverger, 1954; Sartori, 1976, pgs. 185-192). Lijphart (1999) and Denver (2007, pgs. 48-65) outline how the structuring of social classes in the post-war era crystallised the “Westminster model”, a variant of majoritarian democracy in which governance alternates between two parties. Under this model, the political party with an overall majority in the House of Commons forms the government and its leader becoming Prime Minister. The “Westminster model” is maintained by a single-member plurality (SMP) electoral system

(commonly understood as First Past the Post (FPTP)); hindering proliferation of smaller, “challenger” parties and precluding the formation of coalitions outside times of national and domestic crises.

Elections to the House of Commons are initiated within a five-year timeframe whereby the Monarch dissolves Parliament on the advice of the Prime Minister. As the election being analysed was conducted prior to the Fixed Term Parliaments Act (2011), the Prime Minister still retained an ability to call the election at a time of their choosing, optimising their party’s capacity to secure “the all-or-nothing spoils” of an electoral campaign (Norton, 2015, *ibid*). Following the Sovereign’s command, the 650 parliamentary seats comprising the House of Commons are vacated and contested over a four week period by political parties throughout the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland on a seat-by-seat basis. The Speaker of the House, by convention, is the sole candidate unopposed by the main political parties, although still open to challenge within their constituency from smaller parties or local candidates. Upon the completion of polling and counting of votes cast by British, Irish and Commonwealth nationals aged 18 or over on Election Day, the leader of the political party which secures the most seats is invited by the Sovereign to formulate the incoming government. At the same time, the runner-up party is compelled to lead a cohesive Opposition which is capable of scrutinising and holding the Government accountable for their actions.

The normative British electoral system is designed to manufacture clear majorities which facilitate the enactment of far-reaching reforms to the wider state. The simplistic nature in which votes are cast and counted provides for a swift transition of power from one party to another in order to reflect the will of the electorate. The system additionally maximises the ability of new administrations to implement their ambitions for office (those

policies conventionally outlined and published in the form of manifestoes during the election campaign). Yet in spite of FPTP's perceived benefits, the 2010 General Election highlighted a number of historic and contemporary shortcomings which conspired to result in the formation of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government.

Breaking the Mould- The British General Election of 2010

Janine Dermody and Stuart Hanmer-Lloyd (2011, pg. 763) outline how each election carries its own distinctive circumstances which contribute to the outcome of events and the manner in which political parties campaign. Taking place amidst a climate of economic decline, the 2010 British General Election saw Britain experiencing record levels of national and personal debt. Within Conservative campaigning and wider media discourse, the term 'Broken Britain' was commonly deployed to describe the travails facing the country. Dominic Wring describes how, in spite of widespread calls for clarity in tackling such issues, British political parties elected to sidestep the topic, fearing detailed policy outlines would be used as ammunition by their opponents during the campaign itself. Instead, all parties sought to cast blame, the Conservatives turning its ire towards Gordon Brown for "presiding over a spectacular return to a boom and bust cycle he had once boasted of ending" (Wring 2011, pgs. 2-3). Countering such claims, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer turned Prime Minister argued his "decisive actions had averted an even worse outcome, which was, in any case, a global rather than a primarily national phenomenon" (Wring 2011, *ibid*).

Running in tandem with such economic activity was a lingering sense of public distrust and cynicism towards elected representatives. van Heerde-Hudson and Ward chronicle how the *Telegraph's* publication of un-redacted expenses claims made by British Members of Parliament exposed an unregulated allowance regime whereby parliamentarians were encouraged to "manipulate and maximise their expenses for

personal gain” (2014, pg. 2). Whilst Britain’s economic challenges saw the electorate having to re-evaluate their financial activities, parliamentarians were perceived as profiting from a system they simultaneously policed and took full advantage of, notably purchasing spurious items, paying for services such as moat cleaning, or renovating and “flipping” their designated home for tax and capital gains. Despite protestations from MP’s that such claims were “made within the rules” the electorate were aggrieved at the “intentional lack of transparency and accountability” by those elected to represent them (Van Heerde-Hudson and Ward, 2014, pg. 4). Headline figures taken from YouGov polling data prior to the election (2010, cited in Van Heerde-Hudson and Ward, 2014, pg. 5) indicated how 70% of those surveyed believed MP’s to be out of touch with the day to day lives of constituents, alongside more generalised opinions of political representatives as being unprincipled (47%) and dishonest (48%).

Outline of British Political Parties

Political parties (in a normative sense) are social organisations with defined political platforms, each aiming to realise their programme through influence on the decisions made by legislative and executive authorities (Gorbaniuk, Kusak, Kogut and Kustos, 2015, pg. 36). To contextualise the news events discussed in Chapters 5-8, an outline of the competing parties and a brief discussion of their philosophies is now offered. The three main parties at the time of the 2010 British General Election are discussed individually, alongside a collective outline of minor and regional parties.

Conservatives

The Conservatives' philosophical foundations lie within the Pittite wing of the Whig Party which dominated British politics in the late-Eighteenth and early-Nineteenth centuries. Unofficially categorised as Tories, the term "Conservative" was suggested as a title for the faction in 1830; Sir Robert Peel officially adopting the name in his foundational Tamworth Manifesto of 1834. Nominally representative of the concerns of upper classes, the party's original approach to ideology was pejorative, emphasising values such as: individualism; organic society; human nature; order and hierarchy; tradition; private property; and pragmatism (Seawright, 2011, pg. 28). However, the late-Twentieth and early-Twenty First centuries saw this ethos discarded in favour of a heavily-ideological, proto-neoliberal New Right doctrine conceived under Margaret Thatcher's premiership, advocating free markets, minimally sized government and a hands-off approach to the management of business and personal life (BBC, 13/4/2013, online citation).

Contesting his first election as party leader was David Cameron, elected to the role by party members in 2005 on a platform that the party had to "change to win". Describing himself as a liberal conservative, Cameron made concerted efforts to rebrand and reposition the party's identity through a series of initiatives: notably replacing the party logo with an oak tree; giving strong support to same-sex couples and environmental causes; and vowing to "mend Britain's broken society" through the strengthening of community relationships. According to Thomas Quinn (2008, pgs.179-199), such strategies reflect the manner in which political parties are able to change their image by moving closer to groups not traditionally part of their support base, rather than executing wholesale policy shifts. However, the 2008 economic crisis forced Cameron to reassess the core messaging of the

Conservatives, realigning the party towards a fiscally responsible Thatcherite logic at odds with his liberal instincts.

Labour

Unlike the Conservatives, Labour's ethos is founded in democracy, egalitarianism and collective decision making (Minkin, 1980 cited in Jones, Kavanagh, Moran and Norton, 2004, pg. 277). Arising from extra-parliamentary working class movements, the party attracted individuals whose political sympathies evolved out of longstanding opposition to order; simultaneously capable of manipulating democratic procedures and orating to audiences in fiery rhetorical terms (Jones, Kavanagh, Moran and Norton, 2004, pg. 276). Their approach to ideology is collectivist (or socially democratic), advocating how the state should provide for those less fortunate as a means of reducing inequality in society. Whilst support for Labour was initially grounded within lower and working class voters, the decline of manufacturing throughout the 1970's and 1980's eroded the party's original membership base. In view of such an existential threat, Phillip Gould (2001, pgs. 39-81) describes the innovative marketing and advertising strategies deployed by Labour figures such as Peter Mandelson which redefined the party's purpose and repositioned the organisation towards middle-class voters and professionals.

The leader (and Prime Minister) at the time of the election was Gordon Brown, succeeding Tony Blair in 2007 through a choreographed leadership contest in which he was the sole candidate. Having asserted his authority following a series of health and terrorist related crises, Brown was widely cast as having missed the opportunity to call a snap election in order to capitalise upon his political position, concerned by Cameron's commitment in setting out a tax-cutting manifesto were such an event to take place. A lack

of certainty by Brown over the positioning of the party led to a series of policy missteps, notably the abolition of a tax rate designed to benefit the working classes. Employing his experience accrued as Chancellor, Brown strived to carve out a statesman-like position throughout the 2008 economic crisis and its subsequent aftermath, highlighting his experience on the international stage and articulating a Keynesian desire for continued borrowing without the need for fiscal prudence.

Liberal Democrats

Normatively defined against Labour and the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats are “a multi-layered, multi-faceted party” (Russell and Fieldhouse, 2005, pg. 1). Whilst established in 1988, the party’s lineage can be traced back to non-conformist parliamentarians (notably William Gladstone) who formed the Liberal Party in 1859 to represent the newly-industrialised centres of Victorian Britain (Russell and Fieldhouse, 2005, pg. 16). Having alternated power with the Conservatives during the Nineteenth and early-Twentieth centuries, the expansion of the voting franchise saw the party superseded by Labour following the 1923 British General Election. Serving in the role of third party (across Liberal, Alliance and Liberal Democrat guises) the Liberal Democrats embody the centrist traditions of liberty and freedom for all, operating under the supposition that equality leads to the creation of fairer societies. The organisation champions a minimalist role for the state in key areas of the economy, countenancing intervention only if such actions enshrine principles of fairness in the sector targeted. The party additionally advocates reform of political institutions and the wider voting system in order to allow citizens to cast votes without fear of wasting them, thereby enabling minor parties to take seats in the House of Commons and overcome barriers of credibility enforced by the FPTP voting system.

The Liberal Democrat party leader at the time of the 2010 General Election was Nick Clegg; a relative newcomer to British politics having been elected as a Member of Parliament in 2005 and assuming the leadership two years later. A free-market Liberal, he reversed the party's long-standing strategy of targeting key Conservative constituencies where an anti-Conservative majority existed (Cole and Deighan, 2012, pg. 142). In its place, Gabriel Reznick details how Clegg repositioned the Liberal Democrats as politically "equidistant" between the two main parties, combining socially liberal policies with a lowering of taxes and public spending (2013, online citation). Whilst anticipating such an adjustment would correlate into more votes and seats, Clegg initially struggled to make meaningful connections with prospective voters. Matt Cole and Helen Deighan highlight how more voters recognised the name of Kauto Star (the Derby winning horse) than that of the Liberal Democrat leader (2012, pg. 146). More implausibly, they indicate how more than fifty percent of the general public mistook a picture of Clegg for business magnate and *Dragon's Den* television panellist Peter Jones, serving to compound the leader's lack of visible presence (Cole and Deighan, 2012, *ibid*).

Regional and Smaller Parties

Whilst this thesis concentrates upon the three main parties, British politics encompasses a number of regional and issue-based parties. Through the imposition of proportional systems in devolved parliaments, such groupings have attained a standing which enables them to compete on the same electoral terms as the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats and offering alternative programmes for government. Running candidates solely inside the borders of Scotland and Wales, both the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru were established in the early twentieth century with the explicit aim of

seeking independence for their respective nations. The contemporary devolution of powers to the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly of Wales are seen as indicative staging posts in their progression of such aims. Competing on a similar basis within the counties of Cornwall and Yorkshire (albeit on a much smaller scale), Mebyon Kernow and Yorkshire First respectively campaign for the establishment of regional assemblies which better represent their identities and needs. Although the English Democrats profess themselves as seeking a devolved parliament for England, the organisation is considered to be a fringe party with far-right tendencies.

The main political parties compete on a nominal basis in Northern Ireland for a variety of reasons: the presence of a physical border with the Republic of Ireland; the predominance of religious sensitivities between Protestants and Catholics; and continuing scepticism towards the Northern Ireland Executive held by elements within the Unionist community. Despite this, Labour and the Liberal Democrats do share historic connections with the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and Alliance respectively, both organisations advocating a sharing of power on a cross-community basis. The 2010 British General Election saw the Conservatives entering into a formal alliance with the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) with a view to minimising the influence exerted by the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and maintaining a moderate unionist presence at Westminster. Sinn Féin, a nationalist party with the explicit aim of reunifying the thirty-two counties of Ireland, compete in the electoral process but abstain from taking seats in the House of Commons owing to their republican stance against the British monarchy.

Of the myriad of single issue parties which compete in British elections, the most substantive are the Green Party of England and Wales (the Scottish Greens being integrated as part of its federal network) and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Primarily

concerned with environmental issues, the Green Party entered the election with the primary aim of gaining parliamentary representation for the first time, targeting the constituency of Brighton Pavilion and capitalising on its local strength and its status as a party of protest. A similar approach was adopted by UKIP, hoping to build upon strong results in the previous years' European Parliamentary elections by targeting high-profile constituencies such as those held by the Speaker of the House to advance their aim of securing (and winning) a referendum to take Britain out of the European Union.

The British National Press

In spite of declining readerships and the continuing migration of the printing sector from physical production towards online distribution, Deacon's assertion of Britain "having the largest concentration of national newspapers in Europe" remains broadly accurate (2004, pg. 10). Dean Hardman (2008, pg. 1) illustrates how the British national press possesses a capacity to "set and follow the news agendas" at home and abroad, often in tandem with their function as 'papers of record' for British society (Cotter, 2015). The varied, individual (and sometimes polarised) presentations of daily events leads Bell (1998, pgs. 64-104) to conceive the press industry as shapers and reflectors of how such events are formed and expressed, contributing to the character of society itself. As their function is of such significance to British society (particularly during the electoral cycle), it is essential for this thesis to scrutinise the manner in which political flashpoints, individuals, policies and opinions are selected and reproduced for wider readership.

At the time of the 2010 British General Election, a total of twenty newspaper titles were in national circulation for audiences, each competing to gain the largest market share possible (Conboy, 2006). Table 2 (Appendix, pg. 1) indicates the total rates of circulation of all national newspapers, the titles collectively reaching an estimated 18.48 million readers

daily throughout the electoral period (ABC/Guardian, 14/5/2010, online citation). These publications are characterised by Humphreys (2009, pg. 197) as belonging to one of three newspaper categories: broadsheets; mid-market; or tabloids. Each of these is now briefly surmised for the benefit of uninitiated readers, alongside a justification for their usage by this thesis.

Tabloids

Robinson, Goddard and Parry (2010, pg. 68) outline how publications which adopt a tabloid format are circulated widely and designed to cater to populist news agendas. Using an example drawn from 2010 election cycle, Figure 78 illustrates how such titles (colloquially referred to as red tops) embrace a verbally concise, often picture-based format; encouraging playful and conversational styles of dialogue from an often humanistic angle. Their reportage incorporates celebrity intrigue, gossip, crime and the behaviours of individuals, with articles rarely exceeding four hundred words in length and affixed with a salacious headline or strapline designed to encourage audiences to look at and read quickly (Tunstall, 1996, pg. 11; Zelizer, 2009). Designed to appeal predominantly to occupational classes C2, D and E, titles of this type are geared towards print rather than digital formats for variety of reasons: readers in these categories not having daily access to the internet (ONS, 2012, online citation); the inexpensive price of purchase; and the necessity of the parent media organisation having to sell the title in vast quantities in order to make a meaningful profit from advertising.

Mid-Market

Figure 77 illustrates how mid-market publications bridge the gap between tabloids and broadsheets. Colloquially referred to as black tops, these possess pretensions towards hard news coverage albeit carrying similar amounts of leisure and entertainment coverage as that of their downmarket rivals. Robinson, Goddard and Parry (2010, pgs. 68-69) describe how mid-market newspapers eschew the quick read approach favoured by tabloids, favouring longer news articles, interviews and columns contributed by guest authors. Whilst their readership profiles are similar to redtops, their appeal tends towards female (rather than male) readers. At the time of the election, such publications took differing standpoints towards digital publication. On one hand, Northern and Shell made tokenistic gestures towards e-versions of their *Express* titles in order to maintain physical competition with the tabloids. Conversely, the *Daily Mail* invested heavily in its online operations to make the title into a global news brand, a feat achieved in December 2011 by becoming the world's most read news website with 45.358 million unique visitors (*Daily Mail*, 27/1/2012, online citation).

Broadsheets

In stark contrast to the red and black tops, broadsheet publications (colloquially known as quality papers) endeavour to report the news from a critical perspective. In her comparison of British and Chinese news operations, Yu Gu (2016, pg. 48) illustrates how broadsheets are traditionally formatted with long pages of a typical vertical length of 22 inches, a size "ideally tailored for upper and [middle] classes to pay close attention to political, economic and other serious topics" as Figure 76 demonstrates. Their style of reporting leans towards the comprehensive; news articles containing three times as many words as those devoted to the same subject by tabloids (Robinson, Goddard and Parry,

2010, pg. 68). Although these publications sell in far fewer numbers than their commercial rivals, they directly appeal to affluent, educated readers drawn from occupational classes A, B and C1 (outlined in Table 2 and discussed in depth later). Consequently, these papers are seen to represent the “pinnacle of high-quality journalism” (Gu, 2016, pgs. 48-49).



Figures 76-78: Comparison of Front Page Formats for Broadsheet, Mid-Market and Tabloid Newspapers (*Guardian, Daily Mail and Sun, 29/4/2010*)

Selecting Publications for Analysis

The information base for analysing events within the British electoral cycle across March 29th-May 16th 2010 will be drawn from broadsheet newspapers. This is justified by the degree of substantive coverage and editorial gravitas afforded to the subject of politics by these publications when compared to those provided by titles formatted in tabloid or mid-market styles. Such a decision is qualified further by each publication of this type featuring an editorial cartoon on a regular (i.e. daily) basis. However, a degree of awareness should be made of the marked decline in circulation experienced by papers of this type. Roy Greenslade (14/12/2009, online citation) describes how efforts to arrest the reduction in

broadsheet circulations continued to fail despite repeated investments in innovative formats, additional supplements and increased online presences. Serving to visualise such a downward slide Figure 78 illustrates how the *Guardian*, *Telegraph* and *Times* decreased from their default circulation bases (set at the turn of the millennium) by 23.4%, 26.6% and 21% respectively. Whilst not incorporated in Figure 79, the *Independent* experienced a similar downturn, dropping by 22.5% (Greenslade, 14/12/2009, *ibid*).

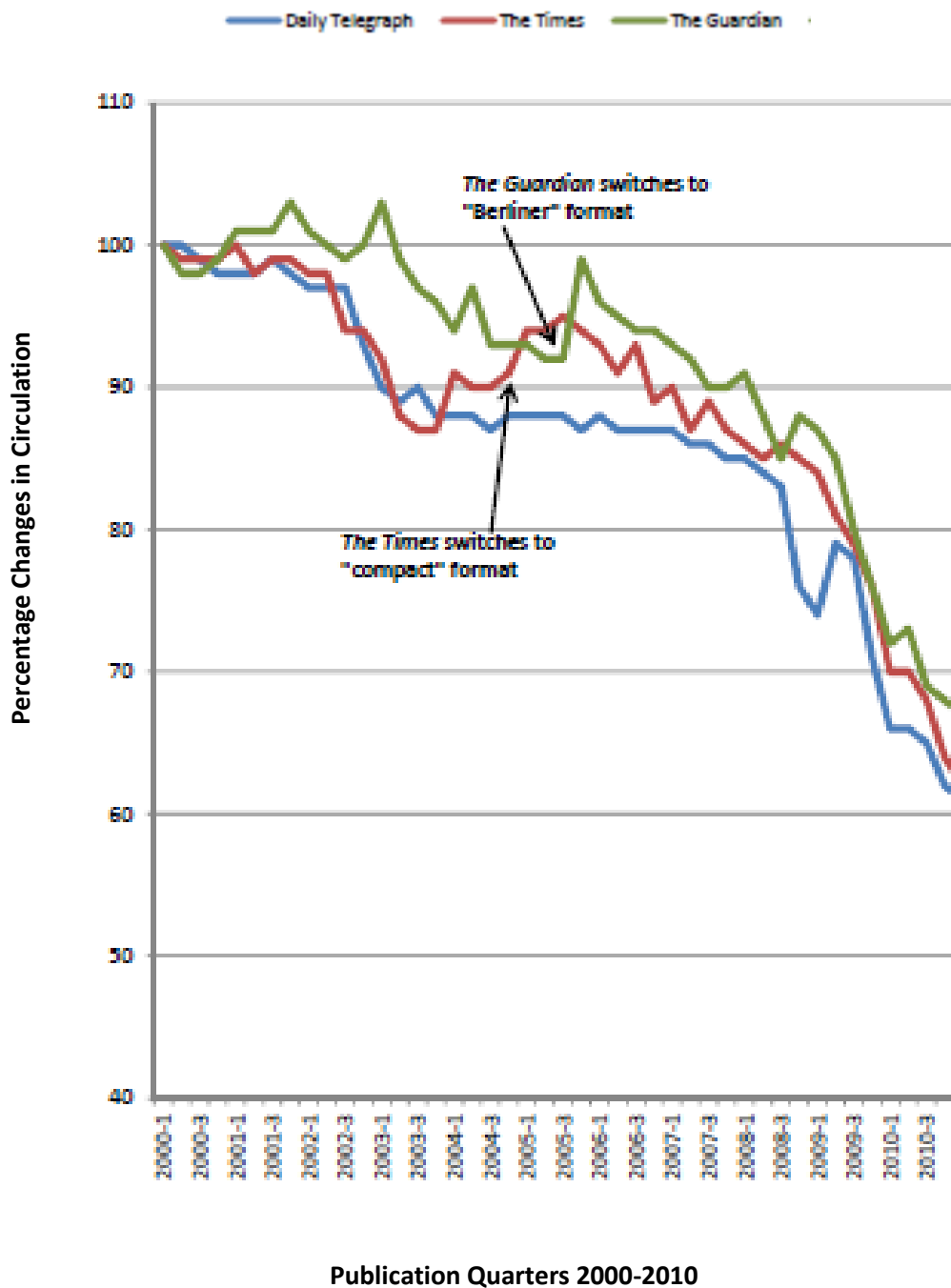


Figure 79: Line Graph Indicating Percentage Changes in circulation of the Guardian, Telegraph and Times from 2000 baseline to 2010 British General Election (Communications Management Inc., 2013, online citation)

Drawing upon their longevity, mass appeal and partisanship (Smith, 2014, pg. 118) this thesis will elect to analyse daily and Sunday editions of the *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Telegraph* and *Times*; the *Financial Times* excluded due to its particular focus on news events concerning business and commerce. Table 2 presents these four titles as collectively representing 20.16% of the total readership at the time of the 2010 General Election and encompassing the main ideologies of the British political spectrum. It is essential to acknowledge Roger Fowler's (1991, pg.1) hypothesis that in selecting these titles for analysis, the language of news is never neutral; irrespective of how objectively it is crafted. To this end, Table 3 (Appendix, pg. 2) outlines the respective orientations and partisanship of the four broadsheet titles studied. Whilst the political philosophies of these papers are broadly similar, the table illustrates how three of the four daily news titles (*Times*, *Guardian* and *Independent*) and one of the Sunday newspaper titles (*Observer*) switched party endorsements when compared to their political stance during the 2005 British General Election. To understand such shifts, a brief chronology of the four papers is now presented to highlight their corporate, journalistic and political persuasions. An outline of each editorial cartoonists employed the respective title is additionally provided with each chronology.

Guardian/ Observer

Founded as the weekly *Manchester Guardian* in 1821, the paper established itself as a daily newspaper title in 1855, dropping its 'Manchester' suffix in 1959 in order to denote itself as "a national daily with a positive international reputation" (Britannica, 2016, online citation). The *Observer*, originally published in 1791 as the world's first Sunday newspaper, joined the *Guardian's* stable of publications in 1993 following a series of shifts in ownership.

Table 3 demonstrates how the political leanings of both titles are widely considered to be centre-left, socially liberal and progressive in attitude.

Of the eight titles analysed for this thesis, the *Guardian's* readership had the largest proportion of ABC1 readers relative to its circulation at the time of the election (Table 4, Appendix, pg. 3). The *Observer* was similarly observed as being one of only two broadsheets to have a higher proportion of readers under the age of 45. The papers' readerships are conceived as "left-wing, liberal and politically correct" (Collins English Dictionary, 2016, online citation), mischievously typified by Jonathan Thomas as "sandal-wearing, homeopathy-loving, muesli-eating atheists residing in North London; especially Camden and Islington" (2008, online citation). Chapter Eight demonstrates how the paper's stereotypical audience and values are similarly caricatured to highlight the ideological contrast in the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government.

Three editorial cartoonists featured regularly across both titles during the 2010 British General Election, namely Steve Bell, Martin Rowson and Chris Riddell. As lead cartoonist for the *Guardian* since 1994, Bell visualises himself as "a socialistic anarchist and libertarian" who utilises art as an attack medium in order to get beneath the politician's mask, "firstly commending them for their idealism and subsequently kicking them up the arse" (2011, pgs. 4-7). By contrast, Rowson sees his work as more visceral and offensive; an artistic style reminiscent of eighteenth century caricaturists such as James Gillray highlighted earlier in Chapter Two. The cartoonist compares his role to that served by visual journalists, believing "a leader page cartoon is more like a visual column than an illustration" (Rowson [2001] 2016, online citation). Rowson outlines the *Guardian's* stance towards both artists and their works in a 2011 interview for the *Times*:

We get a free hand, basically. Steve is more hard-line than I am; he won't consult the editors, just delivers his stuff. I tend to outline my intentions in case there is an obvious clash with the column below or something. Generally, we operate on the basis of a kind of internal self-censoring, bearing in mind what our readers will be able to stomach (Rowson in Unknown Author, 2011, online citation).

Chris Riddell, who joined the *Observer* in 1995, embraces a markedly different approach. Drawing upon his experience as a children's illustrator, he describes his style as "polite, but rude" with visuals being styled in the manner of John Tenniel and William Heath-Robinson (Riddell, 2010, online citation). His approach towards politicians and political parties is one of sympathy rather than savagery, akin to the adoption of reverse psychology:

I think one can be more devastating by being gentler and kinder. It's one of those 'more in sympathy than anger' approaches which can be something that politicians find hardest to combat. They can take hate and they can take vitriol, but they can't take pity quite as well (Riddell, 2010, *ibid*).

Independent/Independent on Sunday

The youngest of the broadsheets analysed by this thesis (the daily and Sunday editions respectively founded in 1986 and 1990), these publications emerged at a time of wider upheaval in the British print industry and a desire to "provide an objective source of daily news without the strong political biases of the established press" (Britannica, 26/5/2016, online citation). In the run up to the 2010 British General Election, both titles

were acquired by Alexander Lebedev; an experienced media magnate in Russia but new to the cut-and-thrust of the British press. Figures 80-83 illustrate how the change in ownership contributed to significant redesigns of the *Independent's* layout and format, amplifying the potency of the paper's commentators and editorial opinions in an isolated pull-out section (Ponsford, 20/4/2010, online citation). Table 3 highlights how both papers' political leanings are broadly considered to be centrist, economically liberal and socially (and attitudinally) liberal.



Editorials

Mr Osborne has given the voters something to chew on

Like his latest proposal, the shadow Chancellor is not to be underestimated

When George Osborne's announcement that the Tories will be going to the polls and that they will be offering a 24-page pull-out on the budget, it was a relief to many of us who had already turned a dull, predictable Tory also into a genuine concern about their policy of making the Tories the generalists about the desirability of "change" and make some precise observations about what they intend to do in government. This strategy was well publicised on little more than the printing of the Tory leaflet for the general election. Instead, David Cameron's team in the shadow cabinet, George Osborne, must be forgiven for feeling life is unfair. The result of the budget is a surprise, but it is not a surprise over what must be done to sort out the country's finances and reduce public debt.

Thus far, Conservative attempts to shed some light on their policies and put their case before the voters and Labour on the economy have not done much that, as the results over proposed changes to the marriage allowance demonstrate. To add to their nervousness, the economy has now let them down, obstinately declining to cooperate under Labour's supposedly disastrous care. Cameron and Osborne were always going to have to meet head-on, staying on the right side of a line that separates good from bad. Now they are having to justify a number of choices that they expect will be a slight improvement. Unemployment is lower than expected, debt has fallen, marginally. It is not that they don't want to look like spoilsports, but it is that they don't want to look like spoilsports for modest changes for the better that they believe have occurred in spite of their actions, not because of them. In the meantime, public anger against the government is growing.

Hence the latest initiative, George's budget. It is a surprise, but it is not a surprise over what must be done to sort out the country's finances and reduce public debt.

Precaution and prohibition

PUBLIC ALARM over mephedrone has got out of hand. Answering a perceived new drug threat with an 18-month ban is not a proportionate response. It is a disproportionate response to a problem that is not a public health threat. It is a disproportionate response to a problem that is not a public health threat. It is a disproportionate response to a problem that is not a public health threat.



Opinion & Debate

Liberal Democracy

This yellow surge is good for democracy

The yellow surge is good for democracy. It is a sign of a new era of political freedom and openness. It is a sign of a new era of political freedom and openness. It is a sign of a new era of political freedom and openness.

Precautionary principle

Imperfect pitch

Environment

Guévin's girls

Figures 80-83: Changes to the Independent Front Page and Editorial Section (Top-Old Format: Independent, 18/3/2010 and 30/4/2010; Bottom-New Format: Independent, 12/4/2010)

Table 4 indicates how the *Independent* had the largest proportion of 15-44 readers relative to its circulation of the eight titles analysed for this thesis. The *Independent Sunday* was similarly noted for having the highest proportion of C2DE readers relative to other broadsheet newspapers; making up almost a quarter of its readership. Ian Burrell

attempts to conceptualise the ethos of *Independent* readers, chronicling how struggles in maintaining a cohesive identity resulted in the respective readerships “becoming polarised to specific agendas” ahead of the election (2016, online citation). Such effects were notably highlighted by the *Independent on Sunday’s* “One of the Above” campaign which sought to mobilise first time voters to register and participate in what was predicted to be the closest election in modern British political history.

Two editorial cartoonists were regularly featured throughout the electoral cycle, namely Dave Brown and Peter Schrank. The paper’s lead cartoonist since 1998, Brown conceives himself as a visual journalist following in the inventive vein of Gillray. Operating in tandem with his regular contributions are a series of editorial cartoons based upon Old Masters, the artist’s background in Fine Art enabling him to present a corpus of images entitled ‘Rogues Gallery’ for Saturday editions. In his view, editorial cartooning provides “a means of taking back a little power from the bullies who run our lives” by generating “something that [correspondingly] niggles at them” (Brown, 2003, pg. 6). Such sentiment is encapsulated in the analogy of an audience shouting “The Emperor has no clothes!” with the cartoonist cheekily adding “and he has a ludicrously small willy!” (Brown, 2003, *ibid*)

Contributing on a freelance basis since 1995 to the *Independent* and as lead cartoonist to the *Independent on Sunday*, Peter Schrank’s visuals display “a Euro-Gothic approach, full of drama, spikiness and darkness” which according to John Walsh reference the works of Steinberg and Ungerer (11/12/2006, online citation). Of particular relevance to this thesis is the cartoonist’s treatment of recurring stories such as the economy, manifestos and coalition negotiations. Rather than moving on to a new topic or theme, O’Hagan describes how Schrank pays closer scrutiny to issues than other artists by refreshing the

same issue under differing lights, the cartoonist justifying his actions on the supposition that “the more you look at [something] the more intricacies you find” (19/1/2003, pg. 25).

Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph

Established in 1855 to air personal grievances against Prince George (the then-Commander in Chief of the British Army) the daily edition of the *Telegraph* advertised itself as London’s first penny newspaper with a reputation for feature reporting on “striking events that would have a bearing on its readerships daily life and future” (Burnham, 1955, pg. 6). Nigel Farndale details how the Sunday edition was inaugurated in a similar fashion following a dispute between members of the Berry family in 1961 over the sale of the *Sunday Times* and its proposed format (5/3/2011, online citation). The journalistic ethos of both publications is that of presenting readers with cold, hard facts for them to assess in an efficient manner. Aside from the recording of news, the papers prefer to focus upon business and economics, heavyweight topics considered “unappealing pastures to the general reader” (Farndale, 5/2/2011, *ibid*). Owned since 2004 by the Barclay brothers, both papers are the only broadsheets in the research corpus which remain formatted in the traditional manner outlined earlier by Gu.

Table 3 illustrates how the political leanings of both papers are centre-right and attitudinally conservative. Such is the extent of the titles’ political biases towards the Conservative party (though not always its leadership) that both publications are fondly referred to as “*The Torygraph*” by both publishing insiders and satirists. Such political stereotypes are displayed further in Table 5’s (Appendix, pg. 4) outline of the collective voting tendencies for broadsheet titles at the time of the election; 70% of all *Telegraph* readers voting for the Conservatives. The titles additionally possess the highest concentration of readers aged over the age of 45 (Table 4), albeit with the daily edition

being the closest of all eight titles analysed in this thesis to having a balanced gender readership. As outlined earlier in the chapter the paper played a significant role in framing the election as one of change; its investigative reportage on parliamentary expenses in 2009 highlighting the extent of wrong-doing committed by parliamentarians across all sides of the House of Commons.

Two editorial cartoonists appear regularly across both *Telegraph* titles, namely Christian Adams and Nicholas Garland (a third cartoonist, Michael Daley, appeared in a guest capacity throughout the electoral cycle). Adams sees his role as that of a pragmatic commercial artist, commissioned to produce an image by the Editor who, in turn, has the final say on its inclusion within the paper:

I may think that an idea is genius but he'll know its duff. However sniffy I feel about being told that I'm wrong, I can't think of a day when he hasn't eventually been proved right (Adams, 22/7/2008, online citation).

Figures 84-85 demonstrate his notion of working in tandem with the editor with regard to UKIP's unanticipated success in the 2014 European Parliamentary elections. In the first image, Adams intended to characterise UKIP's success as being down to one individual, the party leader Nigel Farage. However, the second visual indicates how editorial consultations led to the cartoonist altering his original draft to incorporate the 'full barmy army' marching in step behind Farage to highlight the juxtaposition between their European Parliamentary success and their desire to take Britain out of the European Union (Adams, 26/5/2014, online citation)



Figures 84-85: Editorial Evolution of Christian Adams cartoon

(Adams, *Telegraph*, 26/5/2014)

Working for both titles since 2005, Adams caricatures politicians according to the most bland formulaic face he can think of, often taking inspiration from a ‘cardigan catalogue model’. In an online video profiling his creative inspiration for caricaturing British political leaders, the cartoonist describes how the unexpected rise of Nick Clegg (detailed in Chapter Seven) created particular challenges, due in part to his perception that the leader of the Liberal Democrats “*actually looked like a male cardigan catalogue model*” (Adams and Burke, 5/9/2013, online citation).

Nicholas Garland, a retired cartoonist illustrating for the *Telegraph* between 1966-1986 and 1990-2011, was a conceptual graphic artist inspired by the works of Vicky whose “brain was always engaged before his hand started to work” (Moore, 14/5/2003, pg. 22). In a similar vein to Adams, he often counselled the opinions of others when seeking to draw artistic, historical or literary parallels with contemporary British politics. Unlike his colleague however, he would only present the editor with his finalised image, operating under the

philosophy that "if he didn't carry it [or didn't like it] there'd be a bloody great hole in the paper" (Garland, 12/5/2005, pg. 23). To him, editorial cartoons "merely tell people what they already know in a highly simplified form" with illustrators reflecting upon events and disturbing the equilibrium of the reader (Garland, 15/2/2005, pg. 24).

The Times/Sunday Times

Published in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*, the paper initially served to publicise the system of typography its founder had created (*Britannica*, 2016, online citation). Rebranded in 1788 (and establishing a sister Sunday edition in 1822), Allan Nevins outlines how the paper swiftly established itself as Britain's preeminent paper of record, maintaining rigorous standards of reporting with editorial and comment sections which were coordinated "with an eye to the best interests of Britain" (1959, pgs. 411-422). However, Rupert Murdoch's acquisition of both papers in 1981 reduced the titles to mere prestige 'investments' serving the commercial interests of News Corporation; editors lobbying and marketing to government on the basis of their capacity to deliver the British electorate (Bell, 3/11/2010, online citation). The relocation of its online news content behind a hard paywall in May 2010, however, signalled to media commentators that the papers had "outlived their original purposes as levers of [political] influence", becoming ordinary conduits of news content instead (Bell, 3/11/2010, *ibid*).

As seen with the *Telegraph*, the political leanings of the *Times* and *Sunday Times* are perceived to be centre-right and attitudinally conservative. The former is noted for shifting political allegiances, ostensibly as administrations wax and wane over time. However Robinson, Goddard and Parry articulate how such decisions are pragmatically calculated to "reflect the commercial or political interests of its proprietor" (2010, pg. 69). Having supported Labour governments since 1997, the *Times* switched its endorsement ahead of

the general election; reflecting the changes of its readers' voting intentions highlighted by Tables 3 and 5.

Three editorial cartoonists appear on a regular basis, namely Peter Brookes, Morten Morland and Gerald Scarfe. Operating as leader-page cartoonist for the *Times* since 1992, the former integrates into the papers' news framework through regular attendance of editorial conferences. To maintain editorial integrity, Brookes keeps a respectful distance from subjects, sharing David Low's ethos that the editorial cartoonist is in permanent opposition to the government of the day; "attacking something that [they] think is wrong, disagree with or is [patently] absurd" (Brookes 18/10/2005). In a similar fashion to Dave Brown's series of cartoons based upon Old Masters, he endeavours to embrace an alternative view of British politics and politicians through the prism of the animal kingdom in his "Nature Notes" cartoons which are printed on Saturdays. As will be highlighted in the later analysis chapters, these illustrations depict base forms of the politicians' behaviours and actions through the use of "crap, fornication and that sort of thing" (British Cartoon Archive, 23/6/2016, online citation).

The cartoonist with the longest unbroken tenure at a single news title in this thesis (working for the *Sunday Times* since 1965), Gerald Scarfe perceives himself as a journalistic artist powerless to change the course of events though able to focus reader attention upon a series of ideas. Influenced by the work of Ronald Searle, his drawings often present a singular topic with a simplistic shape in order to "whack readers in the face" with the intended message (Burrell, 2006, online citation). Scarfe prefers to illustrate politicians who are forceful in personality, believing "the stronger they are [in character], the better caricatures they make" (Burrell, 2006, *ibid*). By contrast, Morten Morland (the youngest cartoonist featured in this thesis) elects to scrutinise the minutiae of facial features evident

in each of the subjects, the corresponding visual serving to qualify representations of elected representatives where they lack political substance.

Research Method

Approach

As this thesis concentrates upon both form and content of editorial cartoons, a case study approach is considered the optimal research technique for use. Yin (2003: 2009, pg. 18) defines the method as “an empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon set within its real-world context—especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. In this sense, the overarching purpose of case studies is to facilitate the intensive scrutiny of a singular study which can subsequently illuminate a larger class of cases connected to the same subject (Gerring, 2007, pg. 20). Such an approach encourages the emergence of multi-perspectival cartoon analyses, accounting for not only the voice and perspective of the cartoonist but also that of the broader news content found in each host newspaper. The use of case studies additionally demonstrates the degrees of interaction occurring between the cartoon and the news element, their sentiments converging or diverging with each other in respect to the use of particular actors, topics, themes or opinions.

Alan Bryman (2004, pg. 49, 452-464) hypothesises how an underlying merit of case studies lies within their capacity to create “academic realms” capable of integrating otherwise incompatible research paradigms towards the fulfilment of the stated aims of a given project. In fostering such realms, a process of complementarity is employed to address the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter, engendering a synthesis of both quantitative and qualitative approaches within a multi-strategy framework. The former aims to solely establish the extent of convergence/divergence

achieved by editorial cartoons against selected newspaper elements in terms of themes, topics, actors and opinions. Conversely, the latter addresses the means by which topics, themes, actors and opinions are visualised by editorial cartoonists and how this in turn establishes their convergence/divergence within the host publication. By dovetailing these objectives, Chapters 5-8 provide “a more complete explanation of phenomenon/phenomena than either approach [can generate] by themselves” (Ellis, 2015, pg. 285).

Timeline Parameters

In selecting the 2010 British General Election as the main news context for study, the thesis “binds” the event timeframe (March 29th-16th May) into four distinct phases for analysis, in line with Stake’s (1995) hypothesis of establishing suitable boundaries in order to maintain a reasonable scope of enquiry. The parameters for each study are set according to their nominal date (Stake 1995) and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994) within the electoral cycle. Applying such methods to the overall news context, Chapter Five (29th March-11th April) covers the opening exchanges of the election campaign wherein policy remained uppermost in political dialogue. Chapter Six (11th-25th April) goes on to focus upon the respective party manifesto launches and discuss the impact of the first televised leaders debates upon the campaign trail. Chronicling the events running up to polling day Chapter Seven (26th April-6th May) highlights the final pitches made by party leaders to voters and their respective campaign or media travails. Lastly, Chapter Eight (7th May- 16th May) details the electoral aftermath and its impact upon the British polity, reflecting upon the efforts made by all parties towards forming a stable permutation of government.

A total of 196 broadsheet publications were scrutinised for analysis, comprising 35 daily (Monday-Friday), seven Saturday and seven Sunday editions drawn from each of the

four newspapers discussed earlier in this chapter. In light of the disparate nature of content contained within the broadsheet newspaper format, a decision was made to focus on news elements which satisfied a series of research criteria. The news element being scrutinised first had to display a particular relevance to the electoral context. Second, it had to be consistently featured and retain a recurring position in the host publication. Finally, it had to demonstrate a degree of journalistic or political authority in the reporting (or commentary) of events. As a consequence, these refinements: serve to focus the field for analytic study; remove personal biases towards particular authors, publications or opinions; and reduce the risk of overloading the thesis with excessive amounts of data or extraneous information.

With these parameters in mind, a number of broadsheet news elements were immediately discounted from analysis, notably the sections carrying *obituaries*, *readers' letters* and *TV schedules* owing to lack of topic relevance. *Inside* and *feature* sections were likewise omitted due to their stylistic difference from the descriptive intent of news reportage and their overt segregation of topics. Whilst their inclusion may have assisted in generating a more specific codification of themes, topics, actors and opinions seen within those elements preferred for analysis, their propensity to alter in accordance with editorial preference made these unsuitable for study. Other elements disregarded were the subject-specific *sub-stories* carried on the front page, their authoritative content often overly intellectual or technical when assessed against the descriptive news content presented by the front page article. *Newspaper supplements* were similarly excluded by virtue of their lack of consistent inclusion by all broadsheet publications; the element seen as ebbing and flowing according to the news interest of the time. Lastly, a decision was made to marginalise *secondary and tertiary columnists* in favour of a singular focus upon those placed directly adjacent to or below the editorial cartoon.

By narrowing the scope of enquiry, seven news elements were identified as being suited for study: namely *front page photographs*; *front page articles*; *columnists* (those of a primary nature); *leading articles* (subdivided into First, Second and Third Leaders); and *editorial cartoons*. Addressing each in turn, Eamonn McCabe (2015, pg. 17-18) describes how the still image presented on the front page is what readers most remember when recalling their browsing of a broadsheet. Given the importance and saturation of the ‘visual’ in society (discussed in Chapter Three), this first news element is a key device in selling the wider content of newspapers to readers, often depicting the most important visual theme of the day. Front page photographs are additionally imbued with journalistic integrity, filtered through accredited external agencies (such as Reuters, the Press Association and Associated Press) and selected by editors “to linger in the public conscience, stir up agitation or [embody] change” (McCabe, 2015, pg. 17).

The visual ‘hook’ of the front page photograph often links in with the most important narrative discussed by the front page article. Jackie Harrison (2008, pg. 42) hypothesises how this second news element distils complex news contexts into a series of core facts for readers, “describing events as they are and not as one would like to be or approve of”. Front page articles are crafted in an accessible manner, frequently incorporating quotes from event protagonists, passages from documents or audio/visual media transcripts; all key facets of broadsheet electoral coverage. Whilst it is important to stress how this news element can gravitate towards evaluative and judgmental reportage, its primary purpose remains that of “equipping readers with the facts to know what is going on and motivating them to find out about more” by going deeper into the newspaper itself (Harrison, 2008, pg. 43).

Shifting away from mere coverage to that of interpretation and commentary, the third news element highlights the insight and analysis derived from contributors whose articles are situated adjacent to or directly beneath the editorial cartoon, often credited as columnists. Underscoring their importance in the information chain of broadsheet newspapers, Onifade (2015, pg. 5) identifies how writers of this type of article furnish readers with a greater understanding of news events beyond that articulated by the front page. According to McNair (2008, pgs. 112-120), the authority of the columnist is based upon privileged access to key actors (the notion of commentariat discussed in Chapter One) and reader acceptance of their reputation to know ‘what’s really going on’ with respect to the given news context. Incorporating this news element for analysis would not only catalogue the progression of news topics, themes, actors and opinions across the electoral cycle, but also highlight the occurrence of any cross media-dialogue between itself and the editorial cartoon regarding an opinion.

Encompassing the group of First, Second and Third Leaders, these news elements can be conceptualised as integral to the identity of the broadsheet and “the only place where journalists are authorised to express an opinion, guided by the political leanings of [the publication]” (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004, pg. 59). Julia Lefkowitz (2016, pg. 9) highlights how editorial coverage of this type is more complex and “information dense” than other facets of the broadsheet, embodying the calm, authoritative voice of its editor observing the electoral landscape from a detached distance. Whilst Third Leaders frequently scrutinise a lighter side of news than those of its editorial counterparts (as will be discussed across Chapters 5-8), the First and Second Leaders have a tendency toward focusing upon themes, events, actors and opinions high on the wider news agenda. In doing so, these news

elements espouse information seen as critical to the development of a reader's political knowledge and judgement.

The final news element analysed is that of the editorial cartoon. Featured in a fixed position allocated by broadsheet editors, this graphic object is frequently the key visual of newspapers beyond that of the front page photograph itself. According to Seymour-Ure (2008, pgs. 79-90), the cartoon's illustrative space engenders an outlet for exaggeration and distortion within publications wherein accuracy and order are otherwise paramount. The visual additionally highlights all the stylistic, communicative and rhetorical devices highlighted across Chapters 1-4, in tandem with the verbal and visual codes generated by the other six elements.

Coding

In her discussion of analytic practice, MacLure (2013, pg. 164) demonstrates how corpuses require some means of categorisation to structure data and identify recurring themes or concepts. With this in mind, two types of grounded theory coding have been applied to the verbal and visual objects analysed by this research. The first involves a re-reading of each selected news element with a view to "breaking down, examining, comparing or conceptualising data" in an open manner (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, pg. 61). This type of codification highlights the plethora of subjects, themes and actors which emerge from each source, thereby enabling them to be quantitatively catalogued and cross-analysed with other news elements. These findings are visually presented in a series of tables located in the Appendix section of this thesis. Wolfswinkel, Furtmueller and Wilderom (2013) highlight how such an approach encourages researchers to have an open mind towards the myriad of possibilities contained within research sources, facilitating the maximum amount of data extraction.

For those subjects, themes and actors deemed important but particular, attempts were made to integrate them into more generic topics through the use of axial coding. Kolb (2012) describes how this method allows for pieces of data to be reassembled in new ways by identifying theoretical connections between them. A core benefit of axial coding lies in its capacity to create continuous cycles of inductive and deductive thought, relating sub-categories to an overarching category and vice versa (Strauss and Corbin, 2008) The practice additionally dovetails with the initial open coding method described above by eliminating ambiguous or duplicate concepts from the analysis.

In light of the above, axial coding allows the quantitative research in this thesis to concentrate on higher-order categories of relevance to the electoral context, rather than becoming mired in the intricacies of topic details. Examples include: the use of the category *religion* to encompass the separate ecumenical affairs and customs of the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths; *science* to encapsulate advancement in particle physics and space photography; and *foreign affairs* to agglomerate political developments across Europe and the wider world. News discussions of active party politicians are similarly gathered under the umbrella category of their respective parties by virtue of their number, the exception being the phenomenon of Cleggmania discussed across Chapters 6-8.

Having coded the topics for each news element, a quantitative comparison then took place to establish points of convergence or divergence between them. Editorial cartoons which were found to reflect the same news topic as the front page photograph and article, columnist and any one of the leading articles were recorded as demonstrating a full convergence with their host publication. Those which were found to have no linkages with any news element were conversely recorded as being fully divergent. Images reflecting some but not all news elements were coded as being partially convergent. Further

comparisons were then made across the four broadsheet newspapers, establishing further points of convergence/divergence taken by them towards particular topics and reducing researcher bias towards particular reportage, authors or opinions. The formatting applied to Appendix tables reflects this cross-broadsheet approach to analysis.

Selecting Cartoons for Qualitative Analysis

Following on from these quantitative processes, ten editorial cartoons were selected for qualitative analysis based on their capacity to reflect the news particularities of each set of case studies. Examples 1 and 2 in Chapter Five illustrate how cartoonists utilise the personality of a given protagonist to conceptualise a policy issue in a polarised manner; one presenting the topic/actor combination in a favourable light, the other adopting a more sceptical tone. Examples 3 and 4 in Chapter Six reflect the phenomena of the first televised leaders' debate in British elections, illustrating its landmark nature in tandem with depictions of the respective appearance and performance of each of the three party leaders. Example 4 additionally highlights the manner in which news topics are assimilated by cartoonists into a regular series of visuals markedly different from their daily counterparts.

Chapter Seven adopts a split focus with Example 5 highlighting the ability of broadsheet illustrators to react to sudden and unexpected changes in electoral campaigning and its effect upon protagonists. Conversely, Example 6 endeavours to summarise the overall election cycle into a singular visual, distilling core party messages and the ability of party leaders to articulate these to voters. Finally, Example 7 in Chapter Eight agglomerates four editorial cartoons covering the phenomena of coalition government for the first time; all appearing on the same day and focusing on the same set of actors, but putting different interpretations on what might follow.

Each qualitative example presents the artistic, metaphoric and rhetorical devices applied to each visual, addressing the research questions posed in the introductory chapter regarding the cartoon form. To achieve this, the analysis builds upon the theories outlined in Chapters 1-3 by generating a list of techniques which are subsequently applied to ascertain which are activated and how such news themes, events and actors are presented. This orientation reflects Robert Yin's (2003) hypothesis of adopting a descriptive approach towards case study analysis, achieved through the recording of phenomena alongside the real-life contexts within which they occur. The ensuing findings are then compared against representations of corresponding themes/events/actors within the other news elements of the host newspaper in which the editorial cartoon appears, determining points of convergence or divergence in their respective stance toward news topics.

Limitations

Attention is drawn to of a number of limitations which can arise when using case study analysis for research. Baxter and Jack (2008, pg. 553) posit how the absence of an overarching conceptual framework can complicate researcher decisions over whom or what to incorporate. By having an array of visual and verbal sources from which data can be drawn, analysts may struggle to objectively extract the information required to address their research aims. To mitigate this possibility, care was taken towards establishing specific research parameters in order to determine the degree of "binding" applied to each case study. Performing such a task prevented the accumulation of generalised constructs of information inside intellectual "bins" which could become difficult to navigate or comprehend (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pg. 18).

It is also worth noting that content derived from a case study approach "is only as good as the document on which the practitioner chooses to focus" (Bryman, 2004, pg. 197).

Had this study elected to scrutinise tabloid newspaper sources in tandem with their broadsheet counterparts, an equivalency formula to agglomerate the two realms would have been difficult to establish, due in part to differences in formatting and the construction of news narratives. By choosing only to examine broadsheet newspapers, this thesis conceptualises the news topics highlighted in the Appendix as credible and representative of the overarching news context surrounding the 2010 British General Election.

Finally, Svend Brinkmann (2014, pg. 720) highlights how open and axial coding can be overly mechanical in the interpretation of verbal and visual data. Both methods can be seen as sharing a capacity to de-contextualise information to the point where wider narratives of enquiry are obscured or lost completely. To mitigate this, the quantitative data seen in the Appendix tables encompasses non-election news topics alongside those focusing upon the political cycle, maximising opportunities to identify points of reference which create the points of convergence/divergence employed identified in the editorial cartoons. Although time-consuming and dependent upon knowledge of computer programmes to assist in the manipulation of data, such an approach overcomes the fundamental challenge of data “standing in the way of fruitful new ideas” (Brinkmann, 2014, *ibid.*).

CHAPTER FIVE: Case Study One (29th March-11th April 2010)-Policy

Having outlined the key theoretical and research principles guiding this research, Chapters 5-8 collectively present the analysis undertaken to address the research questions identified in the Introduction. Each chapter focuses upon a contained timeframe within the 2010 British General Election, establishing the stages within the electoral cycle and contextualising principal news strands identified by broadsheet newspapers in the corresponding period. Quantitative discussions will then address the manner in which editorial cartoon themes, topics or individuals converge (or diverge) with (or from) other news elements within their respective host newspaper. The final qualitative sections subsequently highlight selected cartoons drawn from the research corpus in order to demonstrate how editorial cartoonists attempted to address varying themes highlighted by the earlier quantitative analysis.

News Context

The Chancellor's Debate

In the aftermath of the Budget statement delivered by Alastair Darling on March 25th, George Osborne tactically countered by guaranteeing to reverse part of the Labour Chancellor's planned increase to National Insurance contributions. The Conservative Shadow Chancellor pledged that any reduction in income would be offset by additional public sector cuts rather than additional taxation imposed upon the electorate. His announcement was choreographed to coincide with his appearance on Channel Four's *Chancellors Debate*, broadcast from London's South Bank Studios and viewed by 1.8m viewers on March 29th. Billed as a no-holds barred discussion between prospective Chancellors of the three main parties, the exchanges saw Darling unite with Liberal Democrat spokesman Vince Cable to deride Osborne's plans and the lack of transparency

over his strategy; commentators remarking upon its similarity to that presented by the Labour Chancellor earlier that year.

Unscientific surveys conducted by Channel Four declared Cable as being the 'victor' of the debate; 36 percent of respondents agreeing with his statements in contrast to the 32 percent received by Darling and Osborne respectively. Conservative officials complained throughout transmission over the manner in which programme makers allowed Cable to 'referee' between opponents, rather than receiving scrutiny from the moderator over his own policies. In presenting him with opportunities to score 'open goals', Andy Coulson (Conservative Director of Communications) suggested Channel Four was unfairly providing the means for Cable to attain greater acclamation from studio audiences than his performance deserved; fearing similar practices would spill over into the later leaders' debates.

Intervention, Interlude and Dissolution

March 30th saw Tony Blair making a sizeable intervention in the build-up to the election. Addressing Labour stalwarts in Sedgefield, the former Prime Minister reaffirmed his support for Gordon Brown and eviscerated the Conservatives as lacking any core ideological foundation:

Is there a core? Think of all the phrases you associate with their leadership and the phrase 'you know where you are with them' is about the last description you would think of (Blair, cited in Gimson, 31/3/2010, pg. 11).

Angered by the remarks, the Conservatives retaliated by encouraging company executives to sign an open letter (subsequently released to the *Telegraph*) supporting their National Insurance proposals (Porter, 1/4/2010, pgs. 1 and 27). A similar show of support was made the following day by confederations of industry such as the British Chamber of Commerce

(BCC), denouncing Labour's economic plans as a tax on jobs. A similar letter by Labour was released to the *Times* on April 5th with economists (such as Joseph Stiglitz) warning against the Conservatives' plan to remove money from the wider economy. (Watson, 5/4/2010, pgs. 1 and 22) Such tit-for-tat exchanges would dominate the opening week of electoral campaigning; Conservatives portraying Labour as imposing taxation by stealth, Labour countering how any freeze in public investment would hasten economic recession.

The launch of electoral 'posters' by each party provided the scope for comedic interludes, the Conservatives appropriating visuals designed for Labour to their own ends (Watson, 5/4/2010, pg. 6). Using stock images associated with the televised drama series *Ashes to Ashes*, Saatchi and Saatchi (Labour's advertising team) were able to superimpose the face of David Cameron onto the body of DCI Gene Hunt, the show's leading character noted for his ferociously un-PC and chauvinistic manner. Whilst retaining the core visual, Conservative strategists deftly replaced the intended derogatory strapline 'Don't let him take Britain back to the 1980s' with the character's original catchphrase 'Fire up the Quattro' and adding 'It's time for a change' as a passing comment. The amended version subsequently went viral with commentators acknowledging how, in contrast to Labour's aim of making the Conservative leader look posh and foppish the poster had the *opposite* effect; Cameron now appearing as somewhat rakishly attractive.

Following the dissolution of Parliament on April 6th, all party leaders subsequently embarked upon the campaign trail. Presenting initial polling which indicated a Conservative lead (39%, versus 32% Labour and 21% for the Liberal Democrats), Peter Riddell and Roland Watson describe how, despite support from industry and disclosures by Treasury officials that Budget measures were politically (rather than economically) motivated, lingering doubts remained over Cameron's political inexperience (8/4/2010, pg. 1). Such data pointed

towards the emergence of a 'hung parliament' scenario, albeit mitigated by Conservatives faring better in marginal seats to overcome the effect of the uniform swing. As electoral campaigns got into their stride, criticisms emerged from observers following the respective party machines that the use of celebrity support (notably Sir Michael Caine's endorsement of Cameron in the swing-seat of Battersea) was masking the leaders' poor efforts to connect with the wider electorate.

US-Russian Nuclear Talks

Deborah Haynes outlines how a thawing of US-Russian relations culminated in the agreement of a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed by Presidents Barack Obama and Dimitri Medvedev on April 8th (9/4/2010, pgs. 34-35). Designed to reduce the spread of nuclear weapons to rogue nations, the ten year treaty committed both nations to reducing their respective nuclear weapon stockpiles by a third and securing any vulnerable materials which could be sold on the open market to terrorists in order to manufacture 'dirty weapons'. Though each side retained the capacity to destroy the world many times over, both nations acknowledged such moves would revitalise the push for a comprehensive non-proliferation treaty and encourage Iran to enter negotiations over its own weapons programme.

The START Treaty had direct implications for British politics with the planned renewal of Trident submarines becoming a live election issue. Whilst Labour and the Conservatives supported its renewal, the Liberal Democrats seized upon the prominence afforded by the event to highlight their preference towards alternative methods of deterrence and opposition towards the retention of submarines on the grounds of cost. Their messaging received an unexpected boost from the Royal United Services Institute

(RUSI) with the think-tank indicating how deferring the decision to later in the decade would benefit an incoming government both politically and fiscally (Haynes, 9/4/2010, *ibid*).

Gay Rights

Between the launch of the posters and the dissolution of Parliament, a row developed over comments made by Chris Grayling on the issue of gay rights (Watson, 5/4/2010, pg. 6). Addressing the Centre for Policy Studies, the Conservative Shadow Home Secretary was filmed by an undercover reporter, stating that private individuals offering Bed and Breakfast accommodation had the right to turn away guests who offended their religious morals or beliefs. His remarks indirectly referenced ongoing litigation whereby owners had exercised their religious rights to bar gay couples from sharing double rooms or beds on their premises. Taken in concert with similar sentiments he had expressed as Shadow Justice Secretary, Grayling was castigated as failing to possess a basic awareness of the statutory framework surrounding the area or having the political dexterity dictated by his brief.

These off-the-cuff remarks were pounced upon as evidence that the Conservative leadership's efforts towards modernisation failed to permeate beyond that of a clique of Cameron's confidants; Lord Mandelson implying how "when the camera is on they say one thing, but when off they say another" (Mandelson, cited in Watson, 5/4/2010, *ibid*). Although later retracting his comments to a more nuanced stance, Grayling failed to receive public backing from Conservative leadership figures, leading political correspondents to speculate as to his future within a Cameron administration.

Quantitative Analysis

Having presented the news themes, the case study now employs the quantitative approach outlined in Chapter Four to establish convergence/divergence in terms of themes, topics and actors in the cartoons versus other newspaper elements.

Sample Size

Across the first fourteen days of the electoral process, 375 news elements were scrutinised. The largest individual corpus within this period was that of the *Guardian*, incorporating 97 news elements. The second largest was derived from the *Times* (94), with the *Independent* and *Telegraph* tying for the smallest datasets available for this phase of analysis (92).

Frequency of News Element

Table 6 presents the global frequency of news elements carried by the four broadsheet newspapers. A daily frequency existed across all titles with regard to the inclusion of front page photographs, headlines, columnists, First Leaders and editorial cartoons. Of those not recurring on a daily basis, Second and Third Leaders (containing different topics to those featured in the leading article) respectively appeared in 89.29% and in 80.36% of all papers. Each publication ran one to three editorials, dovetailing with columns written by named journalists or guest contributors for the same edition. The *Guardian* featured the most editorial content for this phase with a total of 41 articles, followed by the *Times* (38), *Independent* and *Telegraph* (36). The paper additionally had the highest frequency of Second and Third Leaders (100% and 92.86% respectively). In contrast, the *Independent* had the lowest frequency of Second Leaders (78.57%, due in part to the Sunday edition of the paper carrying a singular leading article) with the *Telegraph* having the lowest frequency rate of Third Leaders (64.29%).

Newspaper	Editorial Cartoon	Front Page Photograph	Front Page Article	Columnist	First Leader	Second Leader	Third Leader
Guardian	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	92.86%
Independent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	78.57%	78.57%
Telegraph	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	92.86%	64.29%
Times	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	85.71%	85.71%

Table 6: Frequency of Appearance for each News Element within Broadsheet Newspapers across Policy Phase

News Topic Frequency

Front Page Photograph

Table 7 (Appendix, pg., 5) highlights the global frequency of news topics covered in front page photographs across all broadsheet titles. A total of 27 news topics were identified, the most frequently recurring unrelated to the electoral cycle (images of sport and media appearing in 19.64% of all publications and visuals surrounding foreign affairs in 14.29%). Addressing those topics with an election focus, Labour politicians were featured in 12%, Conservative representatives in 10.71% and Liberal Democrat figures appearing in only 7.14%. Of particular note is the visual emphasis placed upon the spouses of the three main party leaders, namely Sarah Brown, Samantha Cameron and Miriam Gonzalez Durantez. Agglomerated as a group, these individuals appeared in 8.93% of all broadsheet photographs. Such frequency rates are not accidental, YouGov pollster Joe Twyman describing how their presence forms part of an orchestrated choreography by campaign organisers “to make their other halves [the leaders] ‘look normal’ to us, the voters” (cited in Storer, 19/4/2015, online citation).

The global news topic elements are deconstructed in Bar Chart 1 (Appendix, pg. 6) into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The broadsheet with the highest proportion of images devoted to Labour politicians was that of the *Guardian*, appearing in

more than a third of its photographic corpus (35.71%). Its visual depiction of party grandees such as Gordon Brown, Peter Mandelson and Harriet Harman was 28.57% higher in frequency when compared against the appearance rates of the same party members across the *Independent* and *Telegraph*. In a similar fashion, the latter devoted a higher proportion of photography to Conservative representatives (21.43%), spouses (21.43%) and politicians on the campaign trail (14.29%).

Front Page Article

Table 8 (Appendix, pg. 7) outlines the global frequency of news topics detailed in the front page articles of the four broadsheet groups. 36 news topics were identified; more than half solely devoted to the electoral process (51.79%). Of the three main parties which competed for power, the largest proportion of coverage (46.43%) was devoted to discussions of the Conservatives, either as a party or as individuals. This was 14.29% more than the total number dedicated to Labour (32.54%) and over a third more than that allocated to the Liberal Democrats (12.50%). The electoral issue identified as receiving the most coverage was tax (44.64%); a direct consequence of the Conservatives' carefully choreographed strategy of pledging to reverse Labour's planned increase in National Insurance in parallel with a reduction in inheritance tax. Other Conservative initiatives however failed to gain front page traction, notably their vision for a 'Big Society' which made a singular appearance in the *Guardian* throughout this initial phase.

The separation of global news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers is seen in Bar Chart 2 (Appendix, pg. 8). Almost three quarters of the *Guardian's* front pages (71.43%) were devoted to discussions of the Conservatives in some way; over 7% more than that devoted by the *Telegraph* (64.29%). In contrast, the *Independent* and *Times* were more measured, respectively allocating 28.57% and 21.43% to the same topic. A

reversal of positions occurred with respect to tax; the *Telegraph* (64.29%) highlighting the issue more than the *Guardian* (57.14%) by a factor of 7.15%. With respect to other electoral topics, the *Guardian* devoted a greater proportion of its coverage to polling and public services (42.86% respectively) whilst the *Telegraph* concentrated upon the wider electoral process (78.57%). In line with their perceived outsider status, the Liberal Democrats received varying degrees of front page scrutiny in line with the broadsheets' individual ideological standpoint; mentioned in 28.57% of all *Guardian* front pages, 14.29% in the *Independent* and disregarded entirely by the *Times*.

Columnist

Table 9 (Appendix, pg. 9) illustrates the global frequency of news topics covered by regular and guest columnists across the four broadsheets. Of the forty news topics presented the electoral travails of the two main political parties featured the most, the Conservatives appearing in 44.64% of all columns and Labour in 37.5%. Columnists paid significantly less attention to the issue of tax than that devoted by front page articles, the topic being discussed with a frequency of 29.79%. By contrast, discussions of Britain's economic landscape and the anticipated public service cuts were 12.50% and 7.15% greater than that across the front page. Topics which were difficult for journalists to condense, such as the Big Society and the Conservatives' historical reluctance towards issues such as same sex marriage, were expanded by columnists to inform readers further; these subjects respectively receiving 8.93% (an 7.14% increase) and 10.79% (an increase of 8.92%) when compared with their treatment on the front page.

The news topics are separated in Bar Chart 3 (Appendix, pg. 10) into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The two main parties were seen to receive the highest degrees of contributor scrutiny within newspapers ideologically sympathetic to them; the

Guardian devoting almost two thirds of columnist activity to Labour (64.29%) and the *Telegraph* allocating over fifty percent of its coverage to the Conservatives (57.14%). Contributors to the *Times* were unique in eschewing mentions of Labour, favouring a broader consideration of less prominent electoral themes such as the upgrading of military capabilities (14.29%) and the aforementioned Conservative attitudes to social progress (21.43%); the latter receiving three times the exposure than that attributed by any other newspaper. A similar strategy was embraced by contributors to the *Independent*, balancing coverage of the main parties against particular foci upon the voter and the prospect of a Lib/Lab coalition in the event of a Hung Parliament (both 21.43%). The approaching election additionally provided contributors with the opportunity to revisit the philosophical legacies of previous Conservative and Labour administrations and highlight potential correlations with their planned electoral strategies. Whilst the premiership of Tony Blair was assessed more globally (14.29%), *Guardian* columnists focussed more than a third of their coverage to illustrate parallels between modern Conservatism and Margaret Thatcher's regime (35.71%).

Third Leader

The global frequency of news topics covered by the Third Leaders is detailed in Table 10 (Appendix, pg., 11). In contrast to other news elements, gaps were seen to appear in the dataset owing to the non-appearance of Third Leaders in particular newspapers across specific dates: *Independent* on March 30th and April 11th; *Telegraph* on March 29th and April 10th; and the *Times* on March 29th. Such absences were most notable during 4th-7th April when over half of all broadsheet newspapers omitted the Third Leader from the editorial section entirely (56.25%). Of those which were published, twenty eight news topics were identified with the largest proportion being devoted to the media in general (15.56%) and

sporting events (13.33%). Whilst the electoral process was addressed, the topic attained a low frequency rate of 8.89%, marginally above discussions concerning institutional standards and the merits of art and architecture (both 6.67%).

The lower rates of frequency achieved by news topics such as the election serve to corroborate Karin Wahl-Jorgensen's (2008, pgs. 73-74) conception of Third Leaders as "different creatures" when compared with Second and First Leaders. Providing a "light" counterbalance to the "heavyweight" opinion wielded in other articles, this news element often muses upon abstract, humorous, cultural or nebulous themes not ordinarily pursued within the wider newspaper. The exceptional nature of Third Leaders is exemplified in this phase by treating broadsheet readerships to disparate discussions concerning: time zones; cartography; espionage and film making; mythology; traditions; and wildlife species. Such topics provide cartoonists with opportunities for their visuals to attain a modicum of editorial convergence with their host newspaper, as seen later.

Bar Chart 4 (Appendix, pg. 12) separates the news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. In line with Wahl-Jorgensen's hypothesis of the news element supplying a softer side to editorial commentary, more than a quarter of *Times* Third Leaders are devoted to sport (27.27%). Although the *Times* did utilise the news element for discussion of the electoral process (18%, double that of the global frequency), the topic was addressed in a gentler fashion by extolling the virtues of notable politicians faced with the threat of being deposed from office. The *Guardian* embraced a similar approach, waxing lyrically upon buildings, sculptures and artworks (23.07%) and lauding individuals whose public crusades had shaped economic policy (15.38%).

Second Leader

The global frequency of Second Leader news topics are denoted in Table 11 (Appendix, pg. 13). In a comparable fashion to the Third Leaders, six absences appeared in the dataset due to its omission on particular dates. Three occurred between April 6th (*Times*) and April 7th (*Independent* and *Telegraph*), the respective publications all electing to employ a singular First Leader which outlined their policy priorities and political aspirations for the upcoming election. Thirty two news topics were discussed, with analysis of foreign affairs appearing most frequently (26%). Other topics achieving a high frequency rate were those anticipated by newspapers given their particular timetabling within this phase. US/Russian dialogue on nuclear arms, for example, contributed to the topic of military and defence appearing with a frequency rate of 14%. The celebrations surrounding Easter, in tandem with addresses by ecclesiastic leaders concerning the Roman Catholic Church's child abuse scandal, saw the topic of religion achieving higher editorial coverage than would be expected outside of religious festivals (10%). The conclusion of public inquiries into climate change research likewise facilitated increased Second Leader scrutiny of the environment (10%).

Bar Chart 5 (Appendix, pg. 14) presents the individual newspapers' discussions of global news topics for this news element. Half of the *Guardian's* Second Leaders for this phase concentrate upon foreign affairs; almost double the coverage allocated to the same subject by the *Independent* (27.27%) and *Times* (25%) respectively. By contrast, the *Telegraph* makes no reference to the topic, opining upon the spirituality of Easter and its importance to Christianity and expressing satisfaction at Parliament's dissolution and the upcoming removal of unscrupulous parliamentarians (religion and standards both attaining a frequency rate of 27.27%). Of further note was the *Telegraph's* employment of Second

Leaders to discuss the anticipated public sector cuts (18.18%); a topic ignored by all other papers for this news element. As with Third Leaders some topic disparity did transfer into particular publication's Second Leaders, notably the *Guardian* in respect of cartography (7.14%) and the *Telegraph* towards wildlife (9.09%).

First Leader

The global frequency of news topics covering First Leaders is presented in Table 12 (Appendix, pg. 15). Supplemented by a full dataset, thirty three news topics are identified in discussions by this news element. In contrast to the lighter and obscure topics detailed within Second and Third Leaders, broadsheets chose to pinpoint a number of core electoral themes which, as seen in later case studies, are revisited on a regular basis. Discussions concerning the Conservatives achieved a frequency rate of 46.43% across First Leaders, closely followed by Labour and the wider electoral process (both 41.07%). In comparison with the other main parties, mention of the Liberal Democrats was somewhat diminished (16.07%). Addressing specific policy fields, the topics of tax (37.5%) and public service cuts (32.14%) achieved the highest frequency.

Bar Chart 6 (Appendix, pg. 16) highlights the individual newspapers' discussions of global news topics. Both the Conservatives and Labour appeared with an equal frequency within *Guardian* First Leaders (64.29%). The publication's progressive tendencies justified their expressions of unease at the lack of political substance underpinning David Cameron's assertions of leading a modernised, tolerant Conservative party. Such a stance correlates with the paper's repeated evocation of Margaret Thatcher (14.29%) in tandem with mentions of the party. The *Guardian* additionally displays its lack of enthusiasm towards Labour by speculating upon over Gordon Brown's post-election future (21.43%); the topic appearing three times more frequently than that within the *Independent* and being

completely ignored by the *Telegraph* and *Times*. Although the Liberal Democrats received passing or prominent coverage within the corpus of First Leaders (28.57% in *Guardian* and *Independent* respectively and 7.14% in *Telegraph*), a notable absence of discussion was displayed by the *Times*, highlighting an apparent disinterest towards the third party within editorial coverage.

Editorial Cartoons

The global frequency of news topics covering editorial cartoons are presented in Table 13 (Appendix, pg. 17). Thirty six themes were identified across the phase, with Conservative representatives such as David Cameron, George Osborne, Chris Grayling and Boris Johnson appearing in over half the total number of editorial cartoons (51.79%). The presence of Labour figures such as Gordon Brown, Ed and David Milliband and Alastair Darling attained a lesser, albeit still significant frequency (48.21%). Scant attention was paid towards the Liberal Democrats (5.36%), suggesting that editorial cartoonists in this phase were preparing to conceptualise the election as a two horse race between Labour and the Conservatives. Figures 86 and 87 illustrate how Dave Brown (*Independent*) and Christian Adams (*Telegraph*) conceive Nick Clegg and Vince Cable as participants mere there to bolster the number of competitors within their respective sporting domains of a marathon and horse race, standing little chance of going the distance (or getting off the starting line).

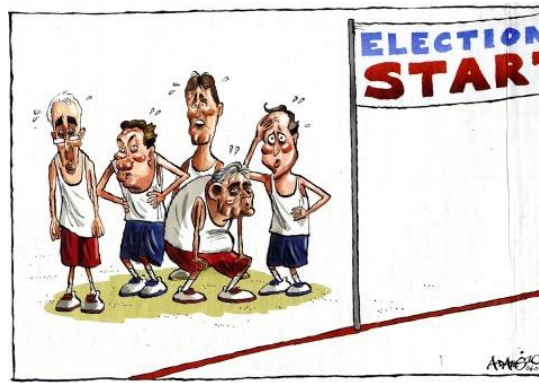


Figure 85: Untitled (Adams, Telegraph, 6/4/2010)



Figure 86: ...And They're Off! (Brown, Independent, 7/4/2010)

Across this grouping of editorial cartoons, representations of the electoral process appeared with a frequency rate of 37.5%, followed closely by depictions of politicians embarking upon the campaign trail (35.71%). Less favoured topics included presentations of tax (21.47%), public services (19.64%), the future of Brown (17.86%) and religion (12.5%). Table 13 additionally highlights the visualisation of Tony Blair by all broadsheet newspapers on March 31st. Such concentration constituted two thirds of his global appearance in this phase (10.71%) with cartoonists eager to illustrate the former Prime Minister's support of Gordon Brown (his historic political rival) and his return to British front line politics.

Turning towards the extent of recurring visual news topics in individual newspapers, Bar Chart 7 (Appendix, pg.18) identifies how a Conservative representative was incorporated in more than nine out of ten *Guardian* cartoons (92.86%). Similar patterns

were noted (though to a lesser degree) with regard to the topics of campaigning (64.29%), public services (57.14%) and business (42.86%). The later qualitative analysis will demonstrate how *Guardian* cartoonists deployed repetitive forms of imagery and symbolism in order to amplify the frequency rates of the latter two news topics. The highest individual frequency of Labour representations were found in the *Independent* and *Times* (64.29% each); a higher frequency than that dedicated to Conservatives in both papers (57.14% *Independent*, 28.57% *Times*). Of significance was the *Telegraph's* equal treatment of both parties, respectively featuring across its images with a frequency rate of 28.57%. In doing so, the paper's cartoonists were able to focus upon more generic themes such as media (35.71%) and sport (21.43%) which could act as gateways for highlight the wider electoral process (57.14%). Such strategies will be discussed in greater detail later.

Bar Chart 8 (Appendix, pg. 19) breaks down the cartoon news topics by their respective appearance in the dataset of each editorial cartoonist. The *Guardian's* Martin Rowson and the *Independent's* Dave Brown were both seen as having incorporated the most themes in this phase; utilising twenty one unique news topics within their respective cartoons. Whilst the *Telegraph's* Michael Daley had the fewest number of news topic elements, his singular image did incorporate a total of three separate subjects. Excluding those who generated cartoon visuals solely for Sunday editions (Schrank, Scarfe and Riddell), the highest frequency of Conservative representations were found in the datasets of Rowson and the *Guardian's* Steve Bell; the former with a frequency of 87.70%, the latter threading the topic throughout the entirety of his corpus. Conversely, Peter Brookes' illustrations for the *Times* contained the highest frequency of appearance by Labour figures (75%). The cartoonists who most speculated in visual terms upon the future of Gordon

Brown's premiership were Dave Brown and the *Times'* Morten Morland; this particular news topic recurring with frequency rates of 45.45% and 50% within their respective datasets.

Convergence of Editorial Cartoons with News Elements

Having assessed the frequency of appearance by each news topic within individual news elements, attention now turns towards providing a synoptic overview of the respective points of editorial cartoon convergence or divergence seen throughout this phase. Tables 14-27 (Appendix, pgs. 20-33) summarise the overarching news events of each day, identifying: the topics pursued by each news element across the four broadsheet newspapers; the editorial cartoon topics; and the points of correspondence achieved between the respective elements within and across the four papers. Editorial cartoons displaying a connection with the photo, front page, columnist and a minimum of one of the editorial articles were recorded as being fully convergent with the host newspaper. A lack of connection with any news element conversely resulted in the cartoon being catalogued as divergent. Those displaying a match with some but not all news elements were denoted as achieving a partial convergence by virtue of a particularised link to a news topic carried within an individual news element.

The degrees of convergence achieved by editorial cartoons throughout the policy phase are highlighted in Pie Chart 1 (Appendix, pg. 34) alongside the elements with which they converged. The chart highlights 86% of all editorial cartoons as attaining some form of convergence with at least one news element within their host newspaper. Seven editorial cartoons (13%) were seen to fully converge with their host newspapers, namely: the March 30th and April 7th images drawn by Bell and Rowson for the *Guardian*; the April 3rd, 6th and 7th illustrations in the *Telegraph* by Christian Adams; the April 4th cartoon of the *Sunday Times* drawn by Gerald Scarfe; and the work of Dave Brown in the *Independent* on April 7th.

Of the forty two partially convergent cartoons, these were broken down into: sixteen which correlated with discussions carried by front page, columnist and editorial (31%); two with front page, photograph and editorial (4%); one with front page, photograph and columnist (2%); two with photograph, editorial and columnist (4%); five with front page and editorial (10%); two with front page and columnist (4%); five with the editorial alone (10%); three solely with the columnist (6%); and one with only with the front page (2%). The remaining seven (13%) were identified as visually diverging from any news topics covered by their host paper, notably those by Brown in editions of the *Independent* on March 29th, April 1st and 5th and of Morland and Brookes published in the *Times* on March 29th and 31st and April 2nd and 5th respectively.

Bar Chart 9 (Appendix, pg. 35) demonstrates the common points of news element convergence for editorial cartoons with respect to each broadsheet newspaper. It can be identified how six *Guardian* and *Telegraph* cartoons converged with the combined elements of front page, editorial and columnist (42.86%); eclipsing all other categories. In a similar vein, the largest proportion of convergence for *Independent* cartoons lay solely with the editorial, a total of five representing 35.71% of its corpus. Of significance was the high concentration of *Times* cartoons which were recorded as being divergent (28.57%), in tandem with the paper displaying the broadest spectrum of news element convergence across eight separate categories. A similar exercise examining the points of correlation for individual cartoonists in Bar Chart 10 (Appendix, pg. 36) serves to reconfirm Adams as the most convergent cartoonist in this phase, with Morten Morland being the most divergent.

Qualitative Analysis

Attention now turns toward the qualitative presentation of notable themes, events, actors and opinions by editorial cartoonists. Highlighting the communicative, artistic and rhetorical devices discussed across Chapters 1-3, the examples will demonstrate points of convergence/divergence in terms of how such characteristics are visually selected, evaluated and discussed by the illustrator. These are subsequently contrasted with their treatment by the selected news elements taken from the host publication.

Example One: Osborne the Economic “Striker”



Figure 88: Untitled (Garland, Telegraph, 2/4/2010)

The *mise-en-scène* (detailed in Chapter Three) of Figure 88 is of three varyingly aged men playing competitive football in front of a crowd of spectators. The presence of football apparatus such as the football, football net, pitch and spectators confirms the sporting element of the visual. By electing to utilise caricature rather than grotesquery (artistic techniques discussed in Chapter Two), Garland substantiates the identities of the men as being those of George Osborne, David Cameron and William Hague. Although the body forms and clothing of each figure are indistinguishable, the participants' facial features are

individually stylised: Osborne with a bulbous nose and a shock of black hair; Cameron with ruddy cheeks, smooth complexion and floppy fringe; and Hague with a furrowed brow and bald pate. The artistic combination of such individual and sporting elements identify the cartoon as a primary parody (a concept outlined in Chapter Three) of a football match, with Garland's embellishment of the football with the wording "nat ins" providing a secondary parody of the ball itself. The predictable nature of the footballing scenario is an example of what Chambers describes as a parodic 'bang' wherein both actors and theme are integrated into their respective roles in a conjunctive fashion (2010, pgs. 67 and 75).

The visual narrative highlights Osborne's celebration at scoring a goal, his caricature punching the air whilst his team mates run towards him with a keenness to share in the celebration. Scrutinising the visual intertextuality behind the narrative, Garland's employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to identify the Conservatives through the use of the party colour (blue) for the football strip. The positioning of Osborne as the striker (in tandem with his celebratory action) highlights the image as being protagonist-driven (Chalanoiva, 2011, pg. 6-8), Cameron and Hague established as deuteragonists through their haste to congratulate him. A visual sign is present in the form of a ball being placed in the back of the net, otherwise known as a goal. In ascribing the words 'nat ins' to the football, an issue saliency (Chalanoiva, 2011, *ibid*) is identified with the visual sign having an equivalency to Osborne's plan to reject the national insurance tax increase proposed by Labour.

Owing to the obvious nature of Garland's narrative, Figure 87 cannot be considered explicitly humorous (a rhetorical device outlined in Chapter Three). Any discernible humour is of an incongruous nature; the physique of the Conservative shadow cabinet members at

odds with the athleticism ordinarily displayed by players of the game. Further incongruities are evident in the visual encouragement of individual skill over team effort, reinforcing the protagonist nature of the image by identifying Osborne as the prime driver behind the Conservatives' plan. In spite of a lack of dialogue, some stylistic elements are seen, notably the speed lines which denote Cameron and Hague's eagerness to associate themselves with Osborne's success. The thickness and number of speed lines surrounding their figures are indicative of the politicians' trait of rushing to bask in the glory of others in the hope this will rub off on their own respective performance. Garland's conception of national insurance as a football and his highlighting of Conservative policy as a goal are stylistic examples of what Ray Morris terms as domestication (1993, pgs.202-203), expanded further in Chapter Three.

Further scrutiny of the image reveals how the source domains of sport and football are mapped onto the target domains of politics and tax by the cartoonist to generate topic and topically-driven metaphors; the latter arising from the cartoon's publication in the aftermath of the Budget. Using the CMT framework (discussed in Chapter Three) to establish the presence of master metaphors, the image relates the conceptual relationship between political performance and sporting achievement, summarised as "performance is success" or "politics is a game". Its proximity to the Budget identifies a further potential relationship in the form of "economy is a football". By visually presenting the football in the back of the net, Garland is signalling to readers of the *Telegraph* that the metaphorical foundation of his image is either "George Osborne is a skilful player" or "George Osborne has scored a goal for the Conservatives"

Table 18 (Appendix, pg. 24) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Garland with the *Telegraph* on April 2nd 2010. His cartoon achieves a partial convergence to the

publication through the front page article, columnist and First Leader. Whilst no associated photograph is attached, the front page article discusses the approval of Conservative plans to abandon planned increases in national insurance by business leaders, supplemented with statements arising from the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC), the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and the Institute of Directors (IOD). In highlighting the key Conservative protagonists involved in the planning of the proposal, Garland's image converges with the turn of events highlighted by the publications' journalistic reportage.

Writing in his regular column for the title, Jeff Randall outlines the electoral dichotomy facing British politicians at the outset of all British General Elections:

The internal contradiction of free gift politics is thriving amongst those who seek our endorsement. Focus groups tell ministers and their would-be replacements that the public expect both higher benefits and lower taxes. But when pressed about who should pay...no one volunteers. Picking up the bill is someone else's task (Randall, 2/4/2010, pg. 24).

When correlating Randall's sentiment with the cartoon, one can visualise how Osborne's national insurance policy proposals emanated from soundings taken from business supporters; the proposed policy beneficial to Osborne and the Conservatives yet predicated on the general public paying through other means. In depicting a football match wherein the public has to pay to view the game, Garland is able to establish a convergence between his image and the column over how players (politicians) and organisations (Conservatives) acquire their spoils and adulation from an enthralled electorate (the crowd).

Whilst the day's Second and Third Leaders devote themselves to the topics of judicial reform and media, the First Leader attunes the cartoon with the Conservatives' wrong-footing of Labour in the wider electoral process:

The Tory plan has not only won over business, it also means that 7 out of 10 workers would be £150 better off under the Conservatives than they would [be] under Labour (*Telegraph*, 2/4/2010, pg. 25).

Mr Osborne, who has been under some pressure within his own party and in the city, deserves credit for keeping his nerve. Confidence is flooding back into the Tory campaign and the polls are perking back up. No wonder David Cameron has a spring in his step (*Telegraph*, 2/4/2010, *ibid*).

The presence of the phrase "70% approval rate" in the first passage identifies Garland's image as a home match whereby the Conservatives are playing in front of their supporters. The second passage converges with the cartoonists' identification of Osborne as the image protagonist in its entirety, associating the skills, form and travails of a striker with those of the Shadow Chancellor's previous track record of producing economic flourishes which have scuppered Labour initiatives and won the "economic match" for the Conservatives. Taken in concert, the First Leader and editorial cartoon both suggest Osborne's goal to be comparable to the polling boost received by the Conservative party following his announcement, signalling the importance of the event in the wider electoral campaign.

Example Two: Osborne's Weasel Words

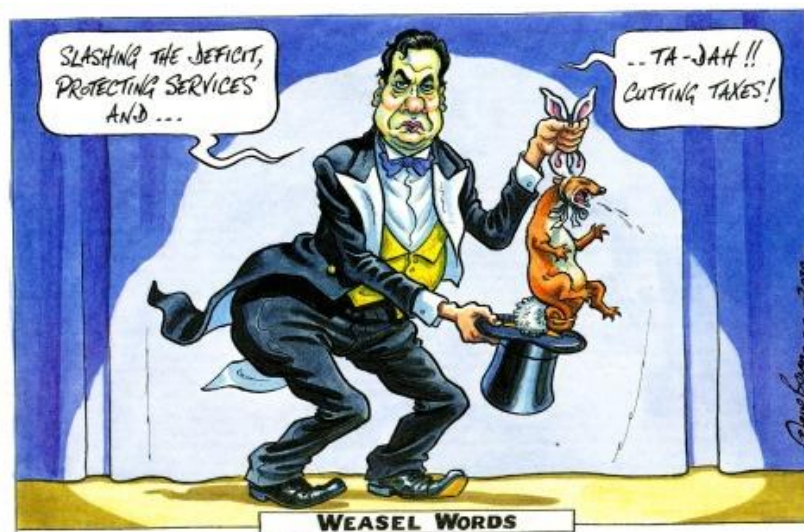


Figure 89: Weasel Words (Brown, *Independent* 30/3/2010)

The *mise-en-scène* of Figure 89 is of a singular male performing a magic trick to readers of the *Independent* whilst under the spotlight. The presence of a top hat (and the procurement of an animal from it) indicates the visual notion of magic or trickery being performed. By utilising caricature rather than grotesquery, Dave Brown is able to substantiate the identity of his magician as that of George Osborne. The protagonist's body language is open-legged; the wideness of Osborne's stance implying the Shadow Chancellor to be in control of his actions and able to dominate the spotlight. His facial features are stylised through: the use of a bulbous nose; ruddy cheeks; heart-shaped mouth; shock of black hair; and a kiss curl. The lack of expression on the performer's face indicates a degree of visual irony, in addition to negating a literal evaluation of his dialogue in a manner outlined by Burgers, van Mulken and Schellens (2013, pg. 300) in Chapter Three.

The attire worn by Osborne imbues the image with visual retro-intertextuality (D'Angelo 2010, pg. 35), encouraging readers to recall nostalgic performances by magicians

such as Paul Daniels or Louis Comte (the 19th century magician and the first to use a top hat to conjure up a white rabbit). Additional stylistic elements are applied to the outfit in the forms of a blue bow tie and gold waistcoat, signalling to readers the Shadow Chancellor's membership of the Bullingdon Club (an exclusive Oxford University dining club noted for its wealthy members and boisterous rituals). Brown's combination of individual and magic elements indicates his cartoon to be a primary parody of the magician's trick of pulling a rabbit out of the hat. In a similar vein to Garland's cartoon studied in Example One, the predictive nature of the magic scenario enables the *Independent* cartoonist to parodically bind Osborne into the magician's role in a conjunctive fashion (Chambers, 2010, pg. 83). By attaching a bob tail and a set of rabbit ears onto the weasel, a similar bind occurs with regard to the creature being pulled from the hat.

The cartoon's narrative is that of Osborne performing a con trick to the audience, replacing the anticipated crowd pleasing animal with an unpleasant rodent. Scrutinising the visual further, Brown employs additional intertextual devices such as: the appropriation of the magic act and the associated explanatory patter; the simulation of the weasel as the rabbit; and the binary juxtaposition of a successful trick against the Shadow Chancellor's failure to deliver and his subsequent sleight of hand. The use of the wording "Ta Dah" is twofold, explaining the purpose of the image and highlighting the onomatopoeia which signifies the end of the trick. As with Example One, the cartoon is synchronous with Chalantova's concept of a visual which is driven by the protagonist due to Osborne's centre stage positioning and the lack of accompanying acts or assistants (2011, pgs. 6-8). Two visual signs are indicated in the forms of the beam of light shining upon the Shadow Chancellor

(otherwise known as the spotlight) and the role ascribed to the type of action on display during the performance (magician).

Owing to the incongruities contained within Brown's narrative, Figure 88 can be regarded as being explicitly humorous; Osborne's clumsy execution of the trick at odds with that of skilled magicians and highlighting a lack of planning, preparation or attention to detail in his performance. Additional humour is identified within the interchangeable relationship between the audience and Osborne, the former incredulous at the ridiculous nature of the trick and the latter thinking he has got away with it. To order the narrative, the cartoonist further incorporates both verbal and visual stylistic elements: utilising square speech bubbles with crooked tails; trailing dots to indicate a pregnant pause; and bold capital letters. The usage of Forceville's pictographic runes, notably spittle droplets and lines projected from the weasel's mouth, serve to highlight the weasel's own disgust at the trick being perpetrated (2011, pg. 877).

The editorial cartoon illustrates Brown's mapping of the source domains of animals, performance and magic onto target domains of politics and tax in order to generate topic and topically-driven metaphors (White, 2011, pgs. 104-108; Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 239-241). Using CMT to establish the master metaphor, the visual is able to relate the conceptual relationships between the art of political performance and a sleight of hand, summarised as "performance is deceptive" or "politics is a series of tricks". Owing to its proximity to the Budget, an additional relationship can be supposed in the form of "economy is a creature". The visual combination of the spotlight, magician and animal leads Brown to signal to *Independent* readers that "Osborne has pulled a rabbit out of the hat", "the Shadow Chancellor is performing magic" or "Osborne is a skilful con artist". The cartoonists'

deliberate use of a weasel, however, may suggest that “Osborne is deceitful”, “the Shadow Chancellor is attempting an economic sleight of hand” or “Osborne’s performance is not what it appears”.

Table 15 (Appendix, pg. 21) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Brown’s image with news elements of the *Independent* on March 30th 2010. The cartoon achieves a partial convergence with its host publication with respect to the front page article, columnist and First Leader. Whilst no associated photograph is attached, the front page article discusses Osborne’s performance when cross examined by Alastair Darling and Vince Cable during Channel Four’s Chancellor’s Debate the previous evening. Following the moderator’s request to the Shadow Chancellor to explain how he would pay to reverse Labour’s proposed rise in National Insurance contributions, Osborne extemporised how £11bn of government waste could be recouped swiftly following the election. Such statements led Cable to retort:

George, last week you went round denouncing these government supposed efficiency savings as complete fiction...you are now using these fictional savings to finance your tax cuts, that is utterly incredible (Cable, cited in Grice, 30/3/2010, pg. 1).

Cable’s reply encapsulates how audience members observing Osborne’s performance could (if they wished) easily identify the sleight of hand perpetrated in order to fulfil the trick. In so doing, the cartoon converges with both the sentiment and substance of the front page article.

A similar convergence occurs within Steve Richards' withering assessment of the Shadow Chancellor in his column. Pronouncing Osborne to be "an unprincipled amateur playing the same tricks but more desparately and with less consistency" (30/3/2010, pg. 33), his sentiments dovetail with Brown's cartoon metaphor of "Osborne as a con artist". In a similar fashion to Cable's televised analysis, Richards deconstructs the Shadow Chancellor's performance to identify how the Conservatives were re-hashing economic tricks performed in 2001 and 2005:

The shifts in policy are transparent and add to the inauthentic feel...polls suggest the gap with Labour is narrowing. 'Help! Let's announce a tax cut to be fashioned out of efficiencies' the contrivances and tricks are depressingly obvious (Richards, 30/3/2010, *ibid*).

In correlating the columnists' sentiment to Brown's image, additional metaphors arise from the way in which magic acts repeat the same performance to differing audiences in the hope the trick elicits the same response over time. These are encapsulated in statements such as "Osborne is rehashing old tricks" and "the Conservatives are happy to give the same old performance".

Further convergence occurs between the cartoon and First Leader, the latter of which is more amenable to Osborne's proposals than other news elements in the host publication.

Desperate looking though it may be, Mr Osborne's reform of national insurance is still worth considering. He is right to say National Insurance is a tax on ordinary people not on the rich and that it is a stealth tax on employment when it is no time

to make employment more expensive... by throwing National Insurance into the ring, Mr Osborne has done the country a favour by giving voters something to chew on (*Independent*, 30/3/2010, pg 32).

In signalling that Osborne's gambit is merely the first missive within the wider electoral debate concerning the economy the First Leader aids readers in evoking a metaphoric image of the Shadow Chancellor as a 'warm up act' to the headline performance to follow in the coming weeks.

CHAPTER SIX: Case Study Two (12th-25th April 2010)-Debate

This second phase of analysis saw the election becoming the dominant news strand, pushing all non-electoral and international news themes into the inside pages. The singular exception to this was widespread coverage of the killing of Poland President Lech Kaczynski, members of his presidential staff and notable Polish civic dignitaries in the Katyn air crash on April 10th. Owing to the town's historic relevance within Russo-Polish relations, the news event merited extended coverage which permeated into the start of this study phase. Whilst no editorial cartoons cover this tragedy owing to reasons of timing and taste, the topic's inclusion demonstrates how breaking news strands can shift focus away from an electoral discourse in a sudden manner.

News Context

Manifestoes and Anti-Politics

The policy phase's electoral choreography was swiftly overtaken by 'organised' discord following the launch of the party manifestos. Various policies were trailed, announced and discussed by each main party across 12th-14th April to highlight the degrees of electoral separation between them. Entitled *A Future Fair for All*, Labour's manifesto sought to tailor public services to the needs of a changing electorate but received much criticism for its use of electoral gimmickry, notably a requirement for all public sector workers to speak English whilst on duty. By contrast, the Conservatives' *Invitation to join the Government of Britain* envisioned a new, modular system of governance which cast aside state apparatus known to hinder progress; replacing this with a '*Big Society*' encouraging citizens to take responsibility for their individual and collective actions. In spite of such rhetoric, Francis Elliott (14/4/2010, pgs. 6-7) notes how a core Conservative ethos was retained by the manifesto: the party pledging to eliminate the deficit; cap the numbers of

economic migrants; and offer private companies the opportunity to manage state schools for monetary gain..

Sensing an opportunity to distil their platform into a series of soundbites, the Liberal Democrats highlighted four key themes on the front cover of *Change that works for you: Building a Fairer Britain* which had broad electoral appeal: the economy; childcare; environment; and political reform. Coates and Pavia detail how the party sought to mobilise the electorate's "anger into hope, frustration into ambition and recession into [economic] opportunity for everyone" by hardwiring the concept of fairness within British society (15/4/2010, pgs. 10-11). Whilst City analysts were less than enthused by the party's proposed crackdown on tax concessions, the Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS) praised Vince Cable for going further than Labour and the Conservatives in outlining specific measures to tackle the deficit; the Liberal Democrat's economic spokesman conceptualising the issue as 'the elephant in the room' of the 2010 British General Election

In spite of these competing offers, Riddell, Baldwin and Watson highlight the continued scepticism held towards manifesto pledges; *Populus/Times* polling on 14th April chronicling how 43% remained unconvinced by the main parties' pledges and only 6% believing political parties were being completely honest about their attitudes to deficit reduction (14/4/2010, pgs. 1 and 9). Voter opinion was seen to coalesce around the idea of a hung parliament (32%, against, 28% desiring a Conservative majority government and 22% a Labour majority) with the homogenous behaviours, party pledges and campaign tactics disengaging votes from the election itself. Faced with these findings, politicians across party lines attempted to rationalise such apathy:

I think politicians have been treating the public like mugs, for about 40 years, pretending that we the politicians have all the answers (Cameron cited in Riddell, Baldwin and Watson, 14/4/2010, pg. 1).

This is a phoney war right now, but that's not because of any lack of fighting. It's because they think we're all fakes (Senior Conservative representative cited in Riddell, Baldwin and Watson, 14/4/2010, *ibid*).

Such pontification merely served to confirm *Populus'* analyses. Bystanders at the Conservative manifesto launch were far more candid in their views, exclaiming 'there's not much to choose between them. The head changes but the machine underneath them doesn't' (Riddell, Baldwin and Watson, 14/4/2010, *ibid*). According to Andrew Cooper (Polling Director for Populous) and Phillip Gould (Labour strategist), such indifference ran the risk of reducing the election to 'a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledumber' and hastening the wider fragmentation of the British political system:

The real ideological division is no longer between Labour and Conservative. It's between politics and anti-politics. The dominant mood is anti-political. That is what runs over everything (Gould cited in Asato and Thornton, 1/4/2010, online citation).

First Leaders Debate

And now they have arrived. Fifty years after the first televised American presidential debates, Britain has its own. Will the debates provide one of those defining moments that live in history, or will they be suffocated by the tight rules that have been agreed? (Finkelstein, 15/4/2010, pgs. 1 and 6)

Such was the fervour surrounding the first televised election debate between Brown, Cameron and Clegg that the parties collectively suspended campaigning during April 14th-15th; the political industry seemingly relocating to Manchester to witness the exchanges in the ITV/Granada television studios. Each leader had been religiously coached by aides and colleagues to ensure they maximised their opportunity to address an anticipated audience of twenty million viewers. Ann Treneman describes how the debates' novelty value compelled newspapers to inform their readerships as to how events would unfold in minute detail: particularly with regard to its deliberate audience composition; anticipated questions; conventions; and limitations upon camera usage (15/4/2010, pgs. 6-7).

As representatives agonised over how to manage expectations, Macintyre and Riddell (15/4/2010 pg. 6-7) highlight how tensions began to increase within each party. Reflecting upon the 'dry run' of the Chancellors' Debate, notable Conservatives were concerned that the debate format posed the greatest concern, with Cameron's communicative weaknesses amplified by the lack of opportunity to extemporise or connect with audience members on a one-to-one basis. Labour representatives, in contrast, were eager to concede defeat in public by trailing how Brown (unused to being interrupted) struggled during rehearsals to provide concise and timely replies, retreating into a maze of impenetrable statistics. The mere presence of Clegg on the same platform as Brown and

Cameron was conceived as a pre-debate 'victory' for the Liberal Democrats, party officials indicating how he merely needed to differentiate himself from his opponents and emulate Cable's behaviour as the 'honest broker' to solidify his residual gains.

Although failing to achieve the *Times*' optimistic viewing forecast, the debate did achieve an average audience of 9.4 million viewers; a 37% share of the total TV audience for its given slot and comparable to viewing figures of continuing dramas, reality shows or major sporting events. Reflecting upon such data, Peter Fincham believed the inaugural debate had the twin effect of achieving broadcasting history and meriting its inclusion in future election cycles; the event "gripping viewers throughout the entire 90 minutes" and giving a "clear signal that there is a real appetite for the public to see and hear those vying to lead the country debate the big issues" (Fincham cited in Deans, 16/4/2010, media pull-out).

"Cleggmania"

Viewers of the televised encounter were unanimous in their verdict; Clegg winning by convincing margins across all polling samples (61% to Cameron's 22% and Brown's 17% according to *Populus/Times*, 51% to 29% and 19% (*YouGov/Sun*), and 43% to 26% and 20% (*ComRes/ITV News*) respectively). His performance as 'the political outsider' now offered viewers a viable alternative to the 'pass the parcel' exchanges of government which encapsulated the anti-politics mood prior to the debates' broadcast. Further polling in the event's aftermath saw the Liberal Democrats overtaking Labour to become the Conservatives' main challenge; Clegg securing approval ratings comparable to those of Churchill in the aftermath of World War Two in 1945.

Newspapers were eager to speculate upon Clegg's ability to proselytise voters. According to Riddell, Clegg's singular performance had increased the likelihood of viewers

voting Liberal Democrat by as much as 68%, with Cameron and Brown's performances respectively decreasing theirs by 10% and 23% (16/4/2010, pg. 11). Bookmakers were likewise keen to capitalise upon the casual interest aroused by the debate, accepting bets totalling the amount placed on the 2001 and 2005 British General Elections combined (Low, 20/4/2010, pg. 9). Whilst Liberal Democrat strategists dared to believe they could challenge in constituencies previously thought out of reach, the other parties were forced to quickly reassess their campaign tactics. Acknowledging 'the desperation of voters to look for anything different or new', Cameron directly appealed to wavering voters by urging them not to be seduced by Clegg. Brown, by contrast, temporarily withdrew from the campaign trail, working to modify his hectoring style and reduce his propensity towards frantic note taking when under duress (Watson, Elliott, Coates and Jagger, 20/4/2010, pg. 8).

Eruption of Eyjafjallajökull

The eruption of Eyjafjallajökull on April 14th supplied a visual counterpoint to the *First Election Debate*. Brown and Nugent (16/4/2010, pg. 3) outline how geological tremors in Iceland contributed to the release of magma beneath the volcano's ice covered crater, triggering a launch of airborne debris which ascended to a height of twenty thousand feet. The ensuing 'ash cloud' was subsequently pushed across Europe by prevailing north westerly winds; enveloping the British Isles on April 15th and grounding all domestic and international flights by the time of the debate's broadcast.

The unusual occurrence of the eruption served to generate two news strands which ran in parallel to the election campaign: the impotency of government ministers in preventing rail and ferry companies profiting in the light of passenger adversity (Gupta, Dixon and Sweeney, 17/4/2010, pgs. 4-5); and the launching of 'Gordon's Armada', a strategy to deploy *HMS Ark Royal* and *HMS Ocean* across the English Channel as 'lifeboats'

in order to repatriate stranded holidaymakers (Brown, Haynes, Keeley and Bremner, 20/4/2010, pg. 4). Whilst the naval operation constituted the largest UK civilian evacuation since Lebanon in 2006, defence experts and ferry companies were baffled by the government's intervention and the expense such a plan would incur:

It might sound attractive to get an aircraft carrier to carry a thousand people we can carry five times that capacity (daily). The lion's share of the repatriation will be done by professional companies...not by a well-meaning gesture of the Royal Navy (P and O spokesperson cited in Brown, Haynes, Keeley and Bremner, 20/4/2010, *ibid*).

Public scepticism was similarly reported, with one stranded traveller commenting how '[tourists] could tell there's an election [coming]' (Brown, Haynes, Keeley and Bremner, 20/4/2010, *ibid*). Faced with the prospect of lost revenue and daily trade, the aviation industry lobbied the British Transport Secretary Andrew Adonis for the right to determine when domestic and international flights should resume, rather than awaiting instructions from the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA). Acting in concert with other European transport authorities, the CAA subsequently lifted all restrictions across British air space on April 20th with normal flight schedules resuming shortly afterwards.

Sky News Leaders' Debate

The resumption of everyday life saw broadsheet titles pivoting back to electoral matters. As highlighted in Chapter Five, both Labour and the Conservatives were identified by commentators as having to recalibrate their debate preparations in light of Clegg's newfound potency. The Liberal Democrat leader's ascent into public consciousness emboldened newspapers to scrutinise his personal and political back stories; the *Telegraph*

re-examining its dossier on parliamentary expenses (outlined in Chapter Four) to point out how donations notionally made to fund staff members had made their way directly into Clegg's personal bank account. Jagger and Charter (22/4/2010, pg. 12) highlight how Clegg additionally benefitted from European Commission expatriate bonus supplements to purchase his residence in Brussels, profiting from its later sale when he relocated to his Sheffield constituency. As scrutiny degenerated into frivolity, notoriously the *Daily Mail's* assertion that Clegg was unpatriotic for stating the UK should show restraint when proclaiming its defeat of Nazism, the Liberal Democrats seized the opportunity to critique the investigate endeavours as efforts designed merely to slander their positive campaign; Clegg stating:

I must be the only politician who has gone from being Churchill to being a Nazi in under a week. I hope people won't be frightened from trusting their instincts by doing something different this time (Shipman, 22/4/2010, pg. 1).

With each debate being dedicated to a particular strand of policy (ITV's debate concerning home affairs and the upcoming BBC debate upon the economy), the *Sky News Leaders' Debate* would primarily concentrate upon foreign affairs. Sensing the lack of policy differentiation between them, Conservative and Labour strategists jointly planned to probe Clegg on his party's non-replacement of Trident to highlight his lack of political nous. To their chagrin, the *Times* published a letter signed by British military generals on the day before the debate who concurred with the Liberal Democrats' sentiment against a blind renewal of the nation's nuclear deterrent:

It may well be that money would be better spent supporting front line troops, or for crucial counter terrorism work. Suppressing discussion of these issues or dismissing alternatives before properly examining them would be a big strategic blunder (Haynes and Watson, 21/4/2010, pg. 1).

Embracing a sober, discursive approach, the *Sky News Leaders' Debate* achieved a cumulative audience viewership of 4.1 million. The exchanges saw Cameron and Brown both challenging Clegg to 'get real' on international security and disregarding the generals' letter. The party leaders additionally sought to highlight the Liberal Democrats' long standing commitment towards membership of the Euro as a counterpoint to the unfolding economic crisis in Greece, highlighting how retention of the Pound had proved beneficial to all voters. Snap polling indicated a much closer result than that which followed the previous debate; Cameron winning the contest by the slenderest of margins from Clegg (37% vs 36%) with Brown lagging some distance behind (26%).

Analyst predictions of the Liberal Democrats 'bubble' bursting failed to materialise in subsequent polls, forcing Labour and the Conservatives to revamp their strategies for a second time. According to Elliott and Watson, the Conservatives were compelled to scale back plans to target vulnerable Liberal Democrat seats in the South West to refocus on Labour marginal, hoping their 'Big Society' message would resonate with more urban voters:

[T]he hope is that people will see that our programme is bigger, deeper, richer and better constructed than we have managed to convey so far (Senior Conservative figure cited in Elliot and Watson, 24/4/2010, pg. 6).

By contrast, Gordon Brown made himself the party's sole media 'face', intent on capitalising upon polling which highlighted Labour's strength on economic issues. By doing so, party strategists hoped to crystallise and delineate their party's passion for public services above all other electoral factors. The increasing likelihood of no singular party acquiring a parliamentary majority led Jill Sherman to outline how civil servants had commenced preparations for such an occurrence in a variety of areas: hypothesising the likely negotiation process; testing out potential government permutations; adjudicating how policy agreements could be reported to the media; establishing the diplomatic and political protocols party leaders were expected to adhere to; and 'impersonating the three party leaders in [varying] role playing exercises' (24/4/2010, pg. 6).

Quantitative Analysis

Having presented the news themes, the case study now employs the quantitative approach outlined in Chapter Four to establish convergence/divergence in terms of themes, topics and actors in the cartoons versus other newspaper elements.

Sample Size

The second phase of the election campaign supplied a total of 373 news elements for quantitative scrutiny, two fewer than those analysed in the policy phase. As seen with Chapter Five, the *Guardian* again provided the largest individual newspaper corpus, possessing a full dataset of 98 news elements. The *Times* (97) was found to have the second largest, with the *Independent* and *Telegraph* holding smaller individual datasets of 91 and 87 respectively.

Frequency of Article Type

Table 29 illustrates the breakdown of news elements carried by the four broadsheet newspapers for this phase. In a comparable manner to the frequencies identified in Chapter Five, all broadsheet newspapers were found to incorporate front page photographs, headlines, columnists, First Leaders and editorial cartoons. Of those not featuring on a daily basis, Second and Third Leaders appeared in 87.50% and 78.57% of all newspapers respectively. As with the policy phase each publication ran one to three editorials per edition, working in tandem with columns written by named journalists or guest contributors. The *Guardian* had a full complement of 42 editorial articles in the dataset, closely followed by the *Times* (41), *Independent* (35) and *Telegraph* (31) respectively. The lowest frequency of Third Leaders appeared in the *Telegraph* (50%), a reduction of 14.29% when compared to its frequency of appearance discussed in Chapter Five. The *Independent*

again had the lowest number of Second Leaders, albeit with no change in the news element’s frequency over the two phases.

Newspaper	Editorial Cartoon	Front Page Photograph	Front Page Article	Columnist	First Leader	Second Leader	Third Leader
Guardian	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100% +7.14%
Independent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	78.57%	71.43% -7.14%
Telegraph	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	85.71% -7.14%	50% -14.29%
Times	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100% +14.29%	92.86% +7.14%

Table 29: Frequency of Appearance for each News Element within Broadsheet Newspapers across Debate Phase, including increase/decrease in frequency rate from Policy Phase

News Topic Frequency

Front Page Photograph

Table 30 (Appendix, pg. 37) illustrates the global frequency of news topics covered by front page photographs across all broadsheet titles. Twenty news topics were visually presented; seven fewer than those identified within the policy phase. The unfolding nature of the campaign cycle correlated with the concentration of front page imagery derived from political topics; Labour and Conservative politicians (28.57% and 19.64% respectively) and electoral campaigning (17.86%) identified as the main recurring visual themes. These topics additionally appeared with frequency rates higher to those seen in Chapter Five: Labour increasing its appearance rate by 128%; the Conservatives by 66%; and campaigning by 150%.

Of significance to this chapter is the sudden shift in the front page photographs' focus upon the Liberal Democrats (10.71%) and the rise of Cleggmania (14.29%), a media phenomenon individually outlined in the news context and (for the purpose of analysis) referring to a particular focus upon the *personage* of Clegg rather than him as *party leader* of the Liberal Democrats. Prior to the *ITV Leaders' Debate* on April 15th, neither topic had visually appeared on the front pages of any broadsheet publication. The unexpected nature of Clegg's success, however, ignited a flurry of photographic interest in the third party hitherto unseen over the previous eighteen days. This shift in exposure is denoted by Clegg's appearance in one in every four photographs carried between April 16th-25th and Liberal Democrat party representatives featured in one in every six. The discrepancy between these global figures additionally signifies how the Liberal Democrat leader came to be viewed by broadsheet newspapers as worthy of increased focus to their readerships, in stark contrast to the party he represented. The convergence of all front page photographs on April 23rd on the topic of the *Sky Leaders Debate* additionally serves to corroborate this finding; newspapers intrigued to see whether Clegg could repeat his success at the second time of asking.

The global news topic elements are deconstructed in Bar Chart 11 (Appendix, pg. 38) into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The *Guardian* maintained its position as the broadsheet with the highest proportion of front page visuals devoted to Labour, with representatives appearing in 50% of its global photographic corpus (an increase of 40% when compared to the policy phase). The *Telegraph's* photographic dataset substantiates the perception of Clegg being electorally detached from his party; Cleggmania featuring in 28.57% of the titles' images compared to the 7.14% frequency rate devoted to the Liberal Democrats. By contrast, analyses of the *Independent's* front page visuals point to

an inverse focus upon the party; 21.43% when compared to 7.14% for Cleggmania. The *Times* was the only publication to embrace a broad-minded approach to front page photography with eight topics achieving a frequency rate of 14.29% or above.

Front Page Article

Table 31 (Appendix, pg. 39) outlines the global frequency of news topics covered in the front page articles of the four broadsheet groups. The phase saw an increase in the number of themes occurring for this news element; a total of thirty eight compared to the thirty six identified in Chapter Five. The most recurring topics were: Labour (39.29%); polling and the wider electoral process (37.50% each); Cleggmania (35.71%); and the Conservatives (30.36%). Frequency reductions were noted with regard to discussions of the Conservative party and its representatives (34% when compared to similar mentions in the policy phase) and the electoral process (27.6%). Conversely, front page article mentions of polling data increased by 90% as broadsheet newspapers strove to update their readerships with regard to the unfolding performances of the three main parties.

In a comparable fashion to the front page photograph, mentions of Cleggmania erupted immediately following the *ITV Leaders' Debate*; half of all front page articles during April 16th-25th being assigned to cover the unfolding phenomenon. Such moves are substantiated further by the unified convergence on the topic by all broadsheet newspapers across April 16-17th. Such extensive coverage serves to underline Katy Parry and Kay Richardson's assertion of Nick Clegg being the first third party leader to receive "such prominent (and, moreover, excitable) exposure since television became the dominant medium for election campaigning" (2011, pg. 475). Three other news topics achieved a similar consensus albeit on differing days: the presentation of the Labour party manifesto on April 12th; the build-up to the *ITV Leaders' Debate* across April 15th and 16th; and the

assessment of slogans deployed by the three party leaders when asserting their claims to office during the *Sky Leaders' Debate* on April 23rd.

The breakdown of global news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers is highlighted in Bar Chart 12 (Appendix, pg. 40). The *Guardian* notably increased front page coverage of Labour politicians from 28.57% to 64.29%; a 125% rise in frequency compared to that highlighted in the policy phase. A similar occurrence was identified in the paper's presentation of polling information, though on a smaller scale (57.14%, an increase of 33%). In continuing to distinguish the phenomenon of Cleggmania from the wider party, the dataset highlights the broadly static nature of Liberal Democrat appearances across broadsheet newspapers for this news element; the sole exception being the *Independent* whose front pages markedly increased their inclusion by almost 150%. Conversely, Conservatives discussions were seen to reduce across each publication, recording decreases of 50% in the *Independent* and over a third within the *Guardian*, *Telegraph* and *Times* respectively. News topics receiving prominence during the policy phase (such as foreign affairs, tax and public services) saw their frequency of appearance greatly diminish, each directly attributable to the broadsheets' fixation upon the cut and thrust of electoral campaigning and the media flashpoints generated by the televised leaders' debates.

Columnist

Table 32 (Appendix, pg. 41) records the global frequency of news topics covered by regular and guest columnists across the four publications. Forty two news topics were identified with two achieving a frequency rate above fifty percent, namely the Conservatives (53.57%, an increase of 20% compared to the previous phase) and Cleggmania (50%). Discussions concerning Labour experienced a similar upswing to that of the Conservatives,

appearing with an increased frequency of 28% over the four week period. As with other news elements the largest increase was noted in mentions of the Liberal Democrats who in tandem with Cleggmania now received mention in 37.50% of coverage; a rise of 320%. Increased focus was also paid to party manifestoes as contributors explored the merits and drawbacks of each prospective platform, Table 32 highlighting how the topic jumped in frequency from 8.93% to 32.14%; an increase of 259%. The sustained media performance of Clegg additionally compelled columnists to consider the previously obscure topic of electoral reform. When compared to coverage in the previous fourteen days of the election cycle, the topic was now seen to appear with a frequency rate of 21.43%; an increase of over one thousand percent.

The news topics are separated into their respective coverage by individual newspapers in Bar Chart 13 (Appendix, pg. 42). *Telegraph* columnists were keen to pontificate upon the Conservatives' campaign travails and their waning hopes of the party securing a majority government, the former appearing with a frequency of 92.68% (an increase of 62.51% from the policy phase) and polling data being discussed in 71.43% of the paper's dataset. The spectre of a hung parliament aroused substantial interest in the topic across all publications. Having previously ignored the scenario to talk up Labour's chances, *Guardian* contributors were now eager to engage readers with the premise with the theme going from a standing start to 42.86%. Those publications which had touched upon the possibility of a hung parliament in the policy phase experienced significant increases in frequency; the *Telegraph* increasing coverage by four hundred percent (35.71%) and the *Independent* and *Times* by two hundred percent respectively (both 21.43%). The electoral uncertainty additionally created opportunity for hypothetical discussion about the merits and threats of a 'progressive' Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition to British politics; both the

Guardian and *Telegraph* alluding to the prospect with frequencies of 35.71%. Columnists of all broadsheet newspapers topically converged on multiple occasions throughout the phase, particularly with regard to the *ITV Leaders' Debate* across April 17th-18th and the media onslaught surrounding Cleggmania on April 17th, 18th, 20th and 25th respectively.

Third Leader

The global frequency of news topics covered by Third Leaders is detailed in Table 33 (Appendix, pg. 43). As with discussions of the news element in Chapter Five, gaps were found to exist appear within the dataset owing to the Third Leaders' non-appearance in particular newspapers across specific dates (the *Independent* on April 15th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 25th; the *Telegraph* on April 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 22nd and 24th, and the *Times* on April 25th). Of those published, twenty five news topics were identified; three fewer than during the policy phase. Third Leaders devoted solely to the electoral process increased slightly during this phase to 10.71%, with the largest proportions being again devoted to topics covering the media in general and wider sporting events. However, both of these themes experienced a moderate reduction when compared with their respective figures identified in Chapter Five; the former decreasing by 19.66% to 12.50%, the latter by 6.22% to 12.50%. Despite the reduced number of news topics, readers were still treated with editorial discussions of disparate themes: notably the role and function of charities; mythology; judicial reform; and art and architecture.

Bar Chart 14 (Appendix, pg. 44) divides the news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. In keeping with the *Times'* ramping up of electoral coverage, the publication continued its endeavour of extolling the virtues of British politicians at risk of expulsion from office (38.46%, an increase of 114%) whilst finding time to reflect upon on the lighter side of Cleggmania (15.38%). The *Telegraph* sought to use this

news element to inform its readership of the need for judicial reform with respect to libel (28.5%), a topic previously explored in Third Leaders of the *Guardian* and *Independent* but editorially ignored by both in this phase owing to the enormity of the electoral campaign. The paper additionally utilised the Third Leader to provide a lighter perspective on the Conservatives' electoral vision of creating the Big Society (14.29%).

Second Leader

The global frequency of Second Leader news topics are denoted in Table 34 (Appendix, pg. 45). As with Third Leaders, six absences were logged in the dataset owing to the news element's non-appearance upon particular dates. Sunday editions of the *Independent* ordinarily do not include Second Leaders in its editorial coverage. However, the April 15th edition of the same publication (notionally a daily) was also found to have excluded the element. Conversely, the Second Leader was deliberately omitted from the *Telegraph* on April 13th, 14th and 22nd; the title devoting these dates to forensic scrutiny of a singular topic seen in the upcoming following section. Thirty three news topics were incorporated, with a quarter again devoted to analysis of foreign affairs (25%). In contrast with the predictive themes and events encountered in the policy phase, broadsheet newspapers utilised Second Leaders to discuss sudden and unexpected events which were outside the electoral cycle, notably the eruption of Eyjafjallajökull (16.07%) and its subsequent impact upon British and European transport networks (14.29%).

Bar Chart 15 (Appendix, pg. 46) presents the individual newspaper's discussions of global news topics for this news element. Whilst the *Guardian* (28.57%) relinquished its dominance upon foreign affairs to the *Times* (35.71%, an increase of 43%), the publication continued to retain the highest frequency with respect to discussions of Labour's campaign progress (21.43%). Second Leaders concerning the Liberal Democrats were carried by all

titles throughout this phase, with the *Independent* having the highest frequency of discussions (27.27%); a third higher than that devoted by the paper to Labour (18.18%) and two thirds greater than its coverage of the Conservatives (9.09%). Whilst policy discussions were largely marginalised by broadsheets, the *Telegraph* was found to have retained a similar rate of frequency towards discussions of standards (27.27%), using their Second Leader to revisit Clegg's expenditure record and his interactions with donors in light of his newfound prominence.

First Leader

The global frequency of news topics covering First Leaders is presented in Table 35 (Appendix, pg. 47). A full dataset saw thirty six news topics being identified for discussion, three more than the previous phase. Although similar themes were carried over from those highlighted in Chapter Five, the First Leaders primarily address the emerging phenomenon of Cleggmania (the most frequently mentioned topic in this phase with a rate of 42.86%). If one were to compile a dataset comprised of First Leaders taken across April 16th-25th, the compilation would highlight Cleggmania as appearing in sixty percent of the global total. A halo effect of the topic was also witnessed toward editorial discussions of the Liberal Democrats with mentions increasing in frequency by 55.56% (from 16.07% to 25%). In contrast, discussions of Conservative and Labour representatives declined to 39.29% (a decrease of 15.38%) and 28.57% (a decrease of 30.43%) respectively as editorial teams hypothesised how the election had become more of an open contest following the two Leaders Debates. Whilst the topics of tax (16.07%) and public services (19.64%) remained present, discussions of policy a similar decline in frequency; down 57.14 % and 38.89% respectively.

Bar Chart 16 (Appendix, pg. 48) highlights the individual newspapers' discussions of global news topics. The concentration of Liberal Democrat appearances in this phase is seen to shift away from the left leaning broadsheets (*Guardian* down 50% to 14.25% and *Independent* down 25% to 21.43%) towards the right leaning *Telegraph* (42.86%, an increase of 500%) and *Times* (from zero mentions in the policy phase to a frequency of 21.43%). The *Telegraph* extensively mused upon the threat Clegg posed to Conservative prospects of securing a majority government; the appearance of Cleggmania in 64.29% in its First Leaders correlating with an increase in frequency of Conservative coverage by a third (from 42.86% to 57.14%). Such was the *Telegraph's* concern about the Liberal Democrat leaders' influence that it was the sole broadsheet to dedicate this news element to scrutiny and disparagement of coalition government, either in a Conservative-Liberal Democrat or Labour-Liberal Democrat formation (14.29% each).

Editorial Cartoons

The global frequency of news topics covering editorial cartoons are presented in Table 36 (Appendix, pg. 49). Thirty six news topics were identified, identical to the figure highlighted in Chapter Five. Although the theme of Cleggmania was not the most frequently appearing topic globally (50%), an extrapolation of the dataset between April 16th-25th indicates Clegg's appearance in three out of every four editorial cartoons with illustrators embracing the challenge of conceptualising a settled caricature for this new political protagonist, a practice highlighted in Chapter Three. Whilst Conservative (51.79%) and Labour (50%) representatives both received similar degrees of frequency to those seen in the policy phase, the Liberal Democrats were catapulted into the cartoonist spotlight appearing in 46.43% of the global corpus; a frequency increase of 766%.

As media emphasis shifted towards the party leaders, so too did the focus of cartoonists. Visual references to policy references were entirely omitted in favour of scrutiny of the traits and personalities of Brown, Cameron and Clegg as they competed within the electoral arena; the three leaders collectively represented in 46.43% of all cartoons. The spontaneity and randomness of events such as the eruption of Eyjafjallajokull (12.50%) provided golden opportunities for cartoonists to change up otherwise predictable premises, as Figure 90 demonstrates.



Figure 90: *Eruption Smothers Britain (Adams, Telegraph, 15/4/2010)*

The visualisations of party manifestos were seen to appear with a frequency rate of 26.79%. Of note was the concentration of this particular imagery in cartoons across April 12th-15th, as illustrators endeavoured to devote space to each party's hypothetical programme for government. In the case of Labour and the Conservatives, Table 36 identifies a convergence of all broadsheet visuals on their respective launch dates. Whilst a similar convergence was noted with respect to the Liberal Democrats, Figure 91 demonstrates how

the *Telegraph's* Christian Adams elected to sidestep the topic on that day, illustrating Gordon Brown's public apology for past transgressions in office and comparing his actions to other unlikely occurrences. Additional convergences were identified with regard to: the *ITV Leaders' Debate* on April 16th; the emergence of Clegg as a credible challenger on April 18th; and the electoral process on April 25th.

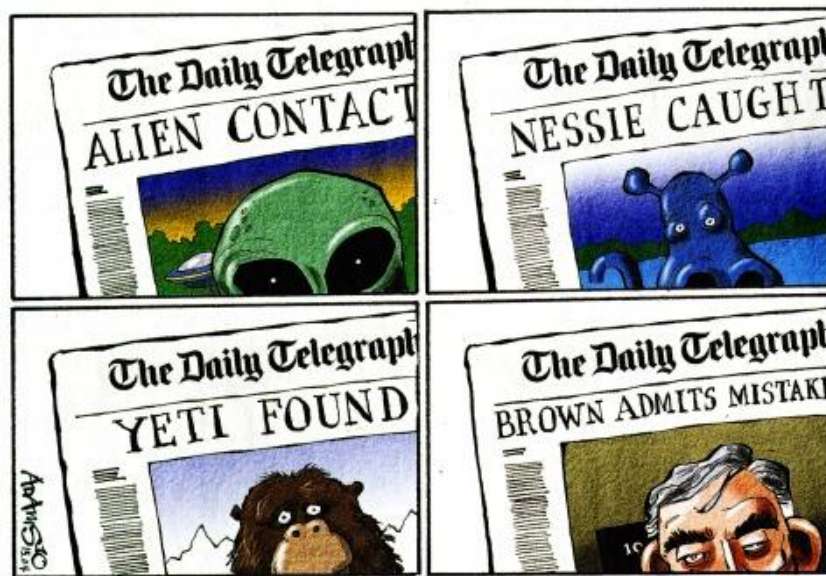


Figure 91: Untitled (Adams, Telegraph, 15/4/2010)

Turning towards the extent of recurring visual news topics in individual newspapers, Bar Chart 17 (Appendix, pg. 50) identifies how, in spite of a decrease of 15.39% compared to its treatment in the policy phase, almost eight out of ten *Guardian* cartoons still incorporated a Conservative representative (78.57%). Cartoonists for the *Independent* typified the tendency of illustrators to representation the three party leaders as a collective with the Conservatives appearing with a frequency of 71.43%, Labour 85.71% and Liberal Democrats 71.43%. In light of Clegg's ascendancy, the publication similarly maintained the highest frequency of images which speculated upon Brown's political future (42.86%, an increase of 20% upon the previous phase). Such tendencies were coupled to the paper being

the sole broadsheet to integrate a voters' perspective on events (14.29%). Figure 92 demonstrates how the inclusion of a secondary voice affords Peter Schrank the ability to express overt criticisms of all three parties' plans for government, in a comparable manner to that outlined in the Word and Image discussion in Chapter Two.

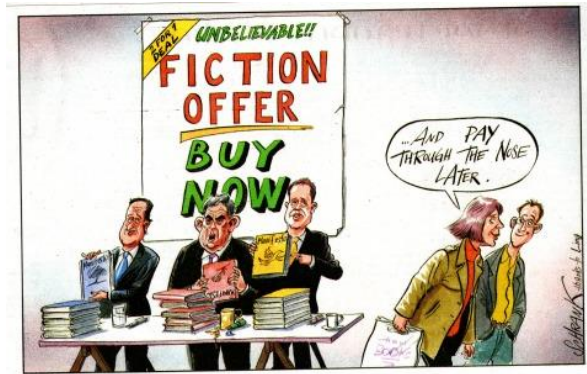


Figure 92: *Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent, 12/4/2010)*

Bar Chart 18 (Appendix, pg. 51) breaks down the cartoon news topics by their respective appearance in the dataset of each editorial cartoonist, the graph illustrating the keenness of each cartoonist to express an opinion towards Cleggmania. The *Times*' Peter Brookes incorporated the most themes in this phase, highlighting twenty separate news topics. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the fewest number of themes were again witnessed in Michael Daley's images for the *Telegraph*; a total of five across his two images. However, Figure 93 illustrates how the artist was the only one to broach the subject of political spouses. Here, Daley transposes a favourable caricature of Sarah Brown onto a police riot shield wielded by her husband, not only shielding him from the opprobrium of the electorate but masking the cudgel he intended to brandish upon his detractors.



Figure 93: *Untitled (Daley, Telegraph, 12/4/2010)*

Convergence of Editorial Cartoons to News Elements

Having assessed the frequency of appearance by each news topic within individual news elements, attention now turns towards providing a synoptic overview of the respective points of editorial cartoon convergence or divergence seen throughout this phase. Tables 37-50 (Appendix, pgs. 52-65) summarise the overarching news events of each day, identifying: the topics pursued by each news element across the four broadsheet newspapers; the editorial cartoon topics; and the points of correspondence achieved between the respective elements within and across the four papers. Editorial cartoons displaying a connection with the photo, front page, columnist and a minimum of one of the editorial articles were recorded as being fully convergent with the host newspaper. A lack of connection with any news element conversely resulted in the cartoon being catalogued as divergent. Those displaying a match with some but not all news elements were denoted as achieving a partial convergence by virtue of a particularised link to a news topic carried within an individual news element.

The degrees of convergence achieved by editorial cartoons throughout the debate phase are highlighted in Pie Chart 2 (Appendix, pg. 66) alongside the elements with which they converged. The chart highlights 98% of all editorial cartoons as attaining some degree of convergence with at least one news element within their host publication; an increase of

13.95% when compared to that of the policy phase. The number of fully convergent cartoons tripled over this fourteen day period, jumping from seven to twenty two. Of the thirty four partially convergent images, these were broken down into: six which correlated with discussions carried by front page, columnist and editorial (11%); three with front page, photograph and editorial (5%); four with front page, photograph and columnist (7%); nine with editorial and columnist (16%); three with front page and editorial (5%); two with front page and columnist (4%); one with photo and editorial (2%); two solely with the columnist (3%); and one solely with the front page (2%). Only one visual (2%) was identified as diverging fully from news topics covered by their host paper, namely Christian Adams' cartoon published in the *Telegraph* on April 25th.

Bar Chart 19 (Appendix, pg. 67) demonstrates the common points of news element convergence for editorial cartoons with respect to each broadsheet newspaper. The number of convergent cartoons is seen to increase by two hundred percent over the two phases analysed to this point from 13 to 39 whilst the number of divergent cartoons fell by 92.31%, decreasing from 13 to 1. Of those which partially converged, editorial cartoonist were seen to be moving away from reliance upon individual news elements such as the photograph (a 100% decrease) towards a broader panorama of their subject provided by varying permutations of news elements. Such shifts are typified by the migration of cartoonists away from sole usage of editorials highlighted in Chapter Five towards a combination of editorial *and* columnist news elements in this second phase. Addressing individual broadsheet newspapers, Bar Chart 20 (Appendix, pg. 68) highlights how over half of editorial cartoons for the *Guardian* (8) and *Telegraph* (7) displayed full convergence. The chart additionally reconfirms the *Times* as being the publication with the highest number of convergence permutations, displaying a total of nine.

The shift in visual convergence for each individual broadsheet across the two phases is seen across Bar Charts 21-24 (Appendix, pgs. 69-72). Whilst some cartoonists elected to remain at their desks, others (such as Bell and Adams) preferred to accompany the press corps on the campaign trail (Unknown author, 2016, online citation; Slattery, 2/11/2010, online citation). The bar chart data demonstrates how their ensuing visuals were found to incorporate more elements from the media presentations by party leaders, serving to complement the political discourse supplied by news reporters and contributors within other newspaper elements. Such a phenomenon is most notable in scrutiny of the datasets of the *Guardian* and *Telegraph* which recorded increases in their full convergence totals by 300% and 133% respectively. Lastly, Bar Chart 25's (Appendix, pg. 73) examination of the points of news element correlation for individual cartoonists reveals how Christian Adams achieved the remarkable feat of simultaneously being both the most convergent cartoonist (maintaining his position from the policy phase) and the most divergent (the sole artist to generate a visual without relation to any news element).

Qualitative Analysis

Attention now turns toward the qualitative presentation of notable themes, events, actors and opinions by editorial cartoonists. Highlighting the communicative, artistic and rhetorical devices discussed across Chapters 1-3, the examples will demonstrate points of convergence/divergence in terms of how such characteristics are visually selected, evaluated and discussed by the illustrator. These are subsequently contrasted with their treatment by the selected news elements taken from the host publication.

Example Four: Clegg's Powerful Punch



Figure 94: Untitled (Riddell, *Observer*, 18/42010)

The *mise-en-scène* (discussed in Chapter Three) of Figure 94 is of three varyingly aged men in differing physical states following a bout of boxing. The presence of tensioned ropes around the canvas and the wearing of boxing shorts, gloves and footwear confirm the sporting element of the visual, alongside the deliberate placement of individuals within the ring itself. The readers' perspective is one of being inside the ring with the boxers and

looking towards the corner of the ring where the corner post and stool are located. The collective interpretation of these elements identify the cartoon as primary parodies (a rhetorical device discussed in Chapter Three) of a pugilistic contest and of two battle-scarred competitors sitting wearily in the corner following the bout.

Employing a combination of caricature and grotesquery (artistic techniques detailed previously in Chapter Two), Riddell substantiates the identities of the men as being those of Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. Each party leader's facial features are heavily stylised: Brown with a square jaw, protruding ears, drooping eye lids and bags; Cameron with a high forehead and floppy fringe; and Clegg with a dimpled chin and spikey hair. Brown and Cameron's caricatures lean towards a more grotesque representation through the cartoonists' distortion of their respective physical features, notably their swollen faces, bruised eyes and misaligned noses. The alterations serve to illustrate Baran Sarigul's hypothesis of grotesquery being employed to amplify the judgmental commentary made by artists, an idea pursued further in Chapter Two. Whilst the body forms of each individual reflect their physical build, Riddell's use of over-exaggeration has an additional judgmental effect in correlating their respective political status to the weight categories applied to professional/amateur boxing: Brown a political heavyweight; Cameron a middleweight; and Clegg a lightweight.

The predictable nature of the boxing scenario is an example of what Robert Chambers describes as a parodic 'bang' wherein the three party leaders are integrated into their respective roles in a conjunctive fashion (2010, pg. 67). An interplay across political and cartoon domains is seen to occur through Riddell's weaving of party colours into the boxing shorts and gloves worn by Brown, Cameron and Clegg. The resulting apparel are

examples of what Chambers describes in Chapter Three as parodically banded binding artefacts (2010, pg. 83), the cartoonist layering sporting and political contexts together in a regimental fashion to supply further depth to his image. A further conjunctive 'bang' is seen to exist through the cartoonists' visual placement of the electorate in the role of referee. The implausible yet rational excuse Riddell supplies to each participant additionally serves to parody the hyperbole boxers supply to the press corps following box-office pugilistic encounters.

The visual narrative highlights the proclamation of Clegg as winner of the boxing contest, the reader/referee holding his arm aloft. Riddell provides an additional narrative by physically exaggerating the cowering caricatures of Brown and Cameron, proffering his belief that the lightest political contender has unexpectedly injured his weightier counterparts. Scrutinising the visual intertextuality behind these narratives, the cartoonists' employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to identify Brown, Cameron and Clegg through the association of party colours to each leader, reinforcing the parodic effect. The stitching around the gloves additionally serves to reinforce the political reputations of the three men prior to the contest; Brown as the "Clunking Fist" and Cameron the "Eton Blue". Riddell treats Clegg in a slightly different manner, his embroidery highlighting the moniker of Vince Cable instead. Such deviation indicates how the cartoonist perceives Clegg as having relied upon the public esteem and reputation of Cable to enter the contest, polling data in Chapter Four indicating how the Liberal Democrat leader possessed little or no political standing of his own prior to the election. Riddell's selection of a boxing match additionally supplies an example of Frank D'Angelo's idea of visual retro-

intertextuality, the cartoon frame being reminiscent of politicians going 'toe to toe' with each other on the main issues of the day over a variety of hustings (2010, pg. 35).

A binary juxtaposition exists between the *ITV Leaders' Debate* and the art of pugilism with Riddell visually appropriating the conventions of both events whilst incorporating a third competitor, generating imagery particular to the landmark nature of the televised contest. The positioning of Clegg at the forefront of the image highlights the cartoon as being protagonist-driven (Chalanoiva, 2011, pgs. 6-8), Cameron and Brown established as deuteragonists through their compact positioning in the corner. A visual sign is present in the form of Clegg's arm being held aloft by the referee, otherwise known as the winner.

To assist in the ordering of his narrative, Riddell incorporates a variety of verbal and visual stylistic elements to inform audiences: notably short-tailed speech bubbles for each character; trailing dots for Brown and Cameron to indicate the stream of hyperbole for their underperformance; and an exclamation mark for Clegg to indicate his surprise at victory. By making these additions, Figure 93 can be regarded as being explicitly humorous due to the incongruous nature in which the cartoonist conceives the three party leaders as pugilistic prize-fighters. The unexpected nature of Clegg's victory additionally highlights the presence of a superiority humour discussed in Chapter Three; the Liberal Democrat leader conceived as having prepared and adapted more quickly to the nature of the contest than his rivals.

Further scrutiny of the image reveals how the source domains of sport and boxing are mapped onto the target domains of politics and debate to generate topically-driven metaphors (Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 239-241). Using the CMT framework (discussed in Chapter Three) to establish the presence of master metaphors, the image relates the conceptual relationship between the three leaders' debate performances and the aggressive nature of

sport (boxing), summarised as “debate is combat” or “politics is a combination of punches”. By denoting an overall winner in the visual foreground, Riddell is signalling to readers of the *Observer* that the metaphorical foundation of his image is either “Clegg won the debate”, “Clegg beat Brown and Cameron” or “Brown and Cameron are losers”. Alternative metaphors can be additionally applied to the visual: namely “the underdog is the winner of the debate”; “Clegg is boxing his rivals into a corner”; “Brown and Cameron are punching below their weights”; “Brown and Cameron are on the ropes”; “Clegg has put Brown and Cameron’s noses out of joint”; or (more generally) “the *ITV Leaders’ Debate* is political box-office”.

Table 43 (Appendix, pg. 58) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Riddell with the *Observer* on April 18th 2010. His cartoon achieves a full convergence to the publication across all news elements. The front page photograph of the title captures Clegg on the campaign trail with his entourage in tow. By illustrating the party leader as a boxing champion receiving the adulation of press and supporters following victory, the cartoon can be seen as additionally signalling the metaphor of “Clegg is the people’s champion”. In doing so, Riddell’s visual can be seen to converge with the photographic representation on the front page.

The editorial cartoon additionally converges with Toby Helm and Anushka Asthana’s account of the Liberal Democrat leader’s aspirations of maintaining the party’s surge in the polls following his debate performance (18/4/2010, pgs. 1 and 4). When correlating the political correspondents’ sentiments with the image, one can visualise the intellect of a boxer as the participant engages in the pugilistic bout. This can lead to visual metaphors such as “Clegg is quick witted”, “the Liberal Democrat leader is planning for success” or

“Clegg will exploit Brown and Cameron’s current weaknesses”. In highlighting Clegg’s eagerness to sustain his newfound success, Riddell concurs with the sentiment and substance of the front page article.

Writing in the style of a boxing analyst, Andrew Rawnsley outlines the fundamental reasons behind Clegg’s victory:

[On Gordon Brown] Brown came into the studio clunking behind him the same ball and chain which he is forced to drag the whole length of the campaign trail. He is the unpopular leader of a government that has been in power for thirteen years [and] was the most egregious offender at trying to lever in jokes which were much too obviously pre-cooked (Rawnsley, 18/4/2010, pg. 35).

[On David Cameron] Cameron sagged under the weight of the number of changing and sometimes conflicting positions he adopted over the past four years. He was the most painfully over reliant on the American technique of using an anecdote to make a point...he was over coached, playing not to lose and straining too hard to seem Prime Ministerial, with the result that he looked anxious and sounded constipated (Rawnsley, 18/4/2010, *ibid*).

[On Nick Clegg] Clegg possessed the great advantage of having a simple clear message that fitted with his wider campaign. His skill was to use the debate to make himself the equal of Gordon Brown and David Cameron, as well as being a personable, reasonable and refreshing alternative to both of them (Rawnsley, 18/4/2010, *ibid*).

When correlating the sentiments of the *Observer* columnist to Riddell's image, it could be hypothesised how Brown and Cameron's underperformances were attributable to a variety of reasons; the former being battle weary from his tenure at the top of British politics, the latter over-prepared and too contrived. In depicting the verbal hyperbole of the losers (and winners) following a contest, the cartoonist is able to establish linkages between his visual and Rawnsley's discussion of the types of excuses deployed by party representatives when diffusing their success or failure. This is succinctly encapsulated in the columnists' use of the aphorism "the winners grin, the losers spin" (Rawnsley, 18/4/2010, *ibid*).

Further convergence occurs between the cartoon and the publication's First Leader, the news element dedicating its opening three paragraphs to the spectacle of the debate. The editorial highlights how the multi-dimensional nature of the debate saw party leaders competing across two levels, to out-argue one another and living up to (or confounding) expectations:

The debate was more than a test of thespian skill; it was an opportunity for the leaders to convey policy directly to voters. Nick Clegg, about whom the public knew the least, performed the best. Gordon Brown achieved a modest personal victory by overcoming an entrenched reputation for charmless pugnacity. By contrast, Cameron, of whom the most was expected, had the most to lose from a mediocre performance, which he duly gave (*Observer*, 18/4/2010, pg. 34).

Riddell's cartoon serves to qualify the *Observer's* narrative of the Liberal Democrat leader having outpunched his political opponents and confounded his own personal expectations

to be declared the winner; the primary visual sign indicated by the cartoonist. In asserting how Clegg was the key beneficiary of the *ITV Leader's Debate*, Riddell's illustration aligns with the verbal, visual and editorial opinions of his host newspaper, sealing the cartoon's full convergence.

Example Four: Three Studies for a PM

Rogues' Gallery: Three Studies For a PM



Figure 95: *Three Studies for a PM* (Brown, Independent, 17/4/2010)

The *mise-en-scène* (discussed in Chapter Three) of Figure 95 is of an artist's canvas depicting a triptych of three distorted male heads. The placement of the three images on a black background in tandem with varying degrees of anatomical layering applied to the skin and fascia of each serves to confirm the element of creative endeavour. The artistic style applied to each subject exemplifies what Leslie terms as biomorphic surrealism; an offshoot of surrealism incorporating elements of motion seen in media such as film and photography with the aim of “evoking nature and fear simultaneously” (1997, pg. 88). The leading proponent of this genre is Francis Bacon, a British artist whose work during the mid-20th Century examined humanity's capacity for self-destruction in an age of war. An example of Bacon's technique is seen in Figure 96. Owing to the highly stylised nature of the depictions in Brown's visual, the identities of the three men can be substantiated as being those of the three main party leaders; the absence of objects or additional features serving to query their geographical or physical location.



Figure 96: *Three Studies of a Head (Bacon, 1953)*

By agglomerating collective interpretations of surrealist abstractions, an understanding of Bacon's technique and the awareness of Brown's use of old masters in his regular Saturday cartoon (highlighted in Chapter Four), Figure 94 can be seen as operating as both a primary parody and pastiche of the original in Figure 95.

In spite of the degrees of grotesquery applied towards the trio of studies, their profiles are discernible as belonging to Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg respectively. Addressing each in turn, Dave Brown heavily distorts the Prime Minister's jowls, protruding ears and gaping mouth. Cameron receives similar (albeit more colourful) attack: bestowed with a high forehead; pointed nose and chin; rounded cheeks; wide eyes; and a receding floppy fringe. By contrast, the study of Clegg is less distorted than those of his counterparts, the leader being discernible by his high cheek bones, cleft chin and spikey hair. In removing chunks of anatomy from the fascia of each political leader, the cartoonist is able to generate further distortions of the men from their respective appearances in real life. The predictable correspondence of the cartoon to the original artwork (and the field of portraiture itself) is an example of what Chambers describes as a parodic 'bang' wherein the three party leaders are integrated into the role of the artistic subjects in Figure 94 in a conjunctive fashion (2010, pgs. 67 and 75).

The cartoon narrative invites readers to scrutinise each leader and establish their political makeup and imperfections, the triptych format hypothesising how an objective assessment of one cannot be made without consideration of the others. The close-up nature of each image allows audiences to ruminate solely upon the aesthetic features of the political actors themselves, rather than the wider party or policies they typify. Owing to the visually hyperbolic nature of Bacon's artwork and Dave Brown's hyper-exaggeration of his subjects, the illustration can be seen as lacking a sense of irony. Scrutinising the layers of intertextuality contained within Figure 94, Brown's employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to associate his triptych of Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg with their podium positioning during the *ITV Leaders' Debate*. The degrees of abstraction and hue applied to each figure can be additionally supposed as conveying a visual reading of the subjects' behaviours throughout the debate: Clegg acting cool and composed; Cameron lacking animation; and Brown appearing dour and analytical.

By adapting Bacon's title for Figure 95 ("Three Studies of a Head") into "Three Studies for a PM", the cartoonist is framing and anchoring his visual towards a singular verbal intertextuality, that of prompting *Independent* readers to reflect upon the performances of the three leaders and query which one they would choose as their next Prime Minister. Brown's conceptualisation of the flaws attributable to each candidate is comparable to the attribution of tropes to particularised objects or people outlined by van Enschoot and Hoeken in Chapter Three. Through the appropriation of Bacon's style, the cartoonist generates binary juxtapositions between the ideas of debating, performance (during the Leaders' Debate) and art itself; inducing a requirement for evaluative interpretation (Walker and Chaplin, 1997, pg. 142).

The positioning and spatial parity of each leader on the canvas highlights the image as being a protagonist-driven composite (Chalaniova, 2011, pg. 6-8). The visual sequencing of Figure 94 similarly correlates with Bacon's philosophy of triptych interpretation wherein images have to be taken 'in the round' to achieve the appropriate reading. Owing to the obvious nature of Dave Brown's narrative, Figure 94 is explicitly humorous; the incongruous natures of Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg being illustrated in the worst possible light. Superiority humour is additionally implied through the degrees of forensic scrutiny each party leader undergoes during a televised performance, a task which the wider electorate would ordinarily shy away from.

The editorial cartoon illustrates Brown's mapping of the source domain of human body onto target domains of politics, debate or performance in order to generate topically-driven metaphors arising from the *ITV Leader's Debate* (Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 239-241). Using CMT to establish the master metaphor, the image relates the conceptual relationship between human complexion and the outcome of the event: summarised as "beauty is power"; "performance is success"; or "politics is full of imperfections". The triplicated presence of the visual sign of anatomy (head/face) leads Dave Brown to signal to *Independent* readers that "Brown, Cameron and Clegg are all flawed" or "Beauty is skin deep". The cartoonist's deliberate choice of a triptych portrait gives rise to alternative linguistic metaphoric statements such as: "there is a hidden side to the leaders"; "the electorate needs to look deeper"; "party leaders are putting on a performance"; or "the role of Prime Minister only appeals to the vanity of party leaders". A further application of CMT to the biomorphic style of Bacon's original artwork generates metaphors such as "Clegg has the most substance", "Cameron is full of holes" or that "Brown's façade is cracking".

Table 42 (Appendix, pg. 57) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Brown's image with news elements of the *Independent* on April 17th 2010. This cartoon achieves a full convergence to the publication across all news elements. The front page photograph of the title captures Clegg disembarking the Liberal Democrat battle bus in Warrington and entering the media scrum to deliver his latest soundbite. The cartoon could be considered to be conceptualising the intensifying media scrutiny of the Liberal Democrat leader in order to divulge more details about Clegg's persona and personality, characterised in the metaphor "the media wants to know more about Clegg". By doing this, Brown's cartoon converges not only with the photographic representation seen on the front page but also with the Clegg's extreme close-up (shown in Figure 96) on page 7 inside the *Independent*.



Figure 97: Close up of Clegg at Warrington media gathering (Radburn in *Independent*, 17/4/2010, pg. 7)

Further correlations occur with the variety of policy analyses proffered by numerous editors for the paper. Eager to extrapolate as much insight as possible from the pledges presented during the debate, the journalists endeavoured to highlight the flaws inherent in

each participant's answer, replicating Brown's artistic dissection of the party leaders' underlying fascia:

[On the NHS] Responses to the question were dismal (Laurance cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, pg. 10).

[On the Economy] As usual we will get told the truth after polling day. No one ruled out raising VAT which said it all (O'Grady cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, ibid).

[On Education] A teenager who asked why pupils were being over examined and under taught got short shrift... there was no commitment from any of the three for any specific reductions in testing or examinations (Garner cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, ibid).

[On Defence] None of the three mentioned the grim facts, that there is no fool proof security against the bombers, and that there will be more casualties (Sengupta cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, ibid).

[On Crime] They say the solution to everything is more cops on the street; well, no it isn't. It is quite scary if people who are claiming to represent communities see the solution simply as more cops on the street while all the evidence shows if you are a patrolling officer the chance of coming within half a mile of a burglary is about 150 years (Orde cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, ibid).

[On Immigration] A potentially explosive issue. [All] three [men] appear at odds over the best way to control the numbers of refugees and migrant workers coming to

Britain (Verkaik cited in Laurance, O'Grady, Garner, Sengupta, Hughes and Verkaik, 17/4/2010, *ibid*).

Metaphoric conceptualisations of the types of critique levied towards masterpieces on public view generates binary metaphors such as “aesthetics is meaningless/everything”, “policy substance is all/meaningless” or “debate is vacuous”. By amalgamating the editors' verdicts under the collective strapline “forget the style, what about the substance”, the journalistic coverage of the *ITV Leaders' Debate* by the *Independent* converges with the aesthetic possibilities offered by Brown in his visual.

A similar convergence occurs within John O'Farrell's comparison of the televised debate to that of a public gallery. The columnist describes how the “millions sitting at home reacted to every phrase, grimace or hand gesture” employed by each party leader to engage the audience (and their rivals) in the topics highlighted throughout the broadcast (O'Farrell, 17/4/2010, pg. 41). In visually conceptualising Brown, Cameron and Clegg as performers, Brown's illustration correlates with O'Farrell's metaphoric sentiment of party leaders “putting on a façade” and “playing to the audience” in order to show themselves off in the best possible light.

Additional convergence occurs between the cartoon and the titles' First Leader. The news element highlights how the leaders' debate had opened up the electoral campaign into a genuine three party contest: with Cameron “uncharacteristically stiff and nervous” during the broadcast; Brown “lugubrious and analytical” in his answers; and Clegg “energetic, full of aplomb and superior in his capacity to communicate to the audience” (*Independent*, 17/4/2010, pg. 40). By presenting a *trptych* of Brown, Cameron and Clegg rather than a *diptych* of Labour and Conservative leaders, Dave Brown's illustration aligns

with the *Independent's* narrative of Clegg as a candidate of substance who was now on equal terms with his political counterparts. As a consequence, the cartoon not only converges with the Liberal Democrat leader's impact upon the televised head-to-head contest but also with the publication's editorial preference of a hung parliament in the upcoming election in order to facilitate wider reforms of the British political system.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Case Study Three (26th April-6th May 2010)-Election

The third phase of study is chronologically shorter than those undertaken in Chapters Five and Six, spanning the course of only eleven days. In choosing these dates however, the timeframe allows for the concluding events of the British electoral cycle to be viewed separately from the process of government formation discussed in Chapter Eight. Whilst the British General Election remained the dominant news strand, international news events such as the economic crisis in Greece received renewed prominence as contextual comparators to the potential electoral outcome. The phase notably highlights the challenges editorial cartoonists face when balancing electoral choreography with unseen events which perpetually threaten to overtake the campaign itself.

News Context

Tribulations of Labour- A Series of Unfortunate Events

With the *Sky News Leaders' Debate* failing to arrest Labour's decline in polling ratings, the party would enlist the services of an Elvis Presley impersonator to entertain supporters on the campaign trail, emulating the Conservatives' trend toward celebrity endorsement seen in Chapter Five. Reporting in the face of such bewildering campaign stunts, journalists such as Iain Watson were unable to resist the golden opportunity to intertwine political and musical puns for the amusement of readers:

The Prime Minister had left the hall - and almost left the building - he simply shook hands with the Elvis, and looked embarrassed as the snake-hipped impersonator sang about how 'nobody understands me'. Even in this most bizarre of election events, the Prime Minister still returned to type. He seems to have a statistic for everything, and reminded us that now only 4 per cent of people believe the real Elvis

didn't perish in his Graceland mansion 33 three years ago. Thank you very much, Gordon (Watson, 24/4/2010, *ibid*).

Expressing concern that the party was becoming trapped 'in the ghetto' of its core vote, the general secretary of the General Maritime Board sought to condemn Labour's campaign as a 'one trick pony' beset by a myriad of flaws:

The [Labour] party has been too reactive to Tory attacks and Nick Clegg's photogenic style. It really needs to be more positive about some of the worthwhile things contained in the manifesto (Kenny cited in Morris, 27/4/2010, pg. 6).

Fearing the party was losing control of the media narrative, Cabinet ministers began publicly countenancing how an alliance with the Liberal Democrats could be accommodated. Alan Johnson (Home Secretary) went so far as to advocate electoral reform beyond that promised by the party's own manifesto, urging colleagues not to be 'frightened' of coalition government or the difficulties surrounding how balanced parliaments would operate in the future (Morris, 26/4/2010, pg. 2). Such sentiments were echoed by sympathetic Labour-supporting organisations, notably the chair of Compass calling for the removal of the party's ban on tactical voting in order to prevent Conservative candidates from winning in marginal seats and to 'create the right mood music' for a pairing of the centre-left parties (Elliott, 27/4/2010, pg. 7). Party stalwarts such as Ed Balls however rebuked such overtures, articulating how 'coalition politics was not the [British] way of doing government' and that a fixation upon 'processes and hung parliaments' was hindering Labour's connection with core voters (Elliott, 27/4/2010, *ibid*).

Following on from the Elvis debacle, a second unfortunate event arose when Peppa Pig withdrew from a photo call at Labour's family manifesto launch in Kennington, London. Whilst the animated BAFTA-winning TV character had previously been employed to advertise government initiatives such as Sure Start, the BBC and Channel 5 jointly feared that the character's appearance within the electoral cycle would compromise broadcasting guidelines on impartiality; instructing E1 Entertainment to withdraw all prepared materials carrying her image from the launch. Thelwell chronicles how Balls and Lord Peter Mandelson attempted to explain away the titular character's non-appearance, to the guffawing of the assembled press core:

The Prime Minister understands that she has a very busy schedule and so couldn't make it. But Peppa did tell me that not only is she a supporter of universal Sure Start but that she'd be quite worried if George Pig lost his child trust fund (Balls cited in Thelwell, 27/4/2010, online citation).

I don't know what goes on between the BBC and Channel 5 on these matters; it's all far too political for me to understand. Obviously I feel intensely pig-sick about it (Mandelson cited in Thelwell, 27/4/2010, *ibid*).

The absurdities surrounding Labour inadvertently bounced Nick Clegg into making a public U-turn on his intended negotiation strategies in the event of a hung parliament. Coates, Elliott and Baldwin highlight how, over the space of 48 hours, the Liberal Democrat leader had radically altered his approach towards Labour should the party come third in terms of votes cast but second in terms of parliamentary seats:

[In televised interview with Andrew Marr on BBC] It seems to me that it's just preposterous, the idea that if a party comes third in terms of the number of votes, it still has somehow the right to carry on squatting in No. 10 and continue to lay claim to having the Prime Minister of the country.

[Speaking to journalists on campaign trail the following day] I think, if Labour do come third in terms of the number of votes cast, then people would find it inexplicable that Gordon Brown himself could carry on as Prime Minister, which is what the old convention would dictate (Clegg cited in Coates, Elliott and Baldwin, 27/4/2010, pg. 6).

Clegg's positional shift appeared to signal that the replacement of Gordon Brown would suffice for facilitating a Lib-Lab coalition, contrary to initial suggestions that he would deal with the 'leading party' following the counting of votes. Capitalising upon his political naivety, the Conservatives sought to paint the Liberal Democrat leader as being 'intoxicated by the publicity' of polling speculation:

It's all now becoming clear-the great plan of Nick Clegg's is becoming clear. He's only interested in one thing and that is changing our electoral system so that we have a permanent hung Parliament (Cameron cited in Coates, Elliott and Baldwin, 27/4/2010, *ibid*).

'Bigot-gate'

It was the day Gordon Brown met a real voter and in his own words, it was a day of disaster (Porter and Prince, 29/4/2010 pgs. 1-2).

Following on from the *Sky Leader's Debate*, the Labour leader undertook to campaign solely across Labour strongholds in the North West of England. On Wednesday 29th April, Brown arrived in the marginal seat of Rochdale to bolster support for Simon Danczuk; the party's challenger for the constituency. Under pressure to maintain a strategy of dialogue with 'real people', Brown's press officer Sue Nye steered the retired council worker Gillian Duffy towards the leader, generating 'the sort of face to face confrontation [the Prime Minister] detests'. The *Times'* Ben Macintyre details how the ensuing five minute exchange touched upon a variety of issues, most notably immigration:

(Mrs Duffy) You can't say anything about the immigrants, all these eastern Europeans what are coming in (sic), where are they flocking from?

(Brown) No, no. A million people have come from Europe, but a million British people have gone into Europe. You do know that there are a lot of British people staying in Europe as well? (Macintyre, 29/4/2010, pg. 8)

Whilst the pair parted on pleasant terms following their conversation, the Prime Minister alighted to his waiting car and began a heated exchange with aide Justin Forsythe:

Brown: That was a disaster. You should never have put me with that woman. Whose idea was that?

Forsythe: It's Sue I think. I don't know. I didn't see her.

Brown: Just ridiculous.

Forsythe: What did she say?

Brown: Everything, she was just a sort of bigoted woman who said she used to be Labour (Macintyre, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

Unbeknownst to the Prime Minister, a microphone attached to his lapel captured the exchanges with sound technicians immediately replaying the audio to all rolling news channels, as well as a visibly shocked Mrs Duffy. Believing their exchanges had been cordial, she now openly queried her already cast postal vote:

It's very upsetting. He is an educated person – why did he come out with words like that? I don't want to speak to him again really. I want to know why those comments were said, why he called me a bigot. What did I say that was bigoted? (Duffy cited in Macintyre, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

Labour strategists and party representatives scrambled to contain the damage, justifying Brown's remarks as those of an individual 'letting off steam' following a difficult conversation. The BBC subsequently relayed an unedited version of the exchange to the Prime Minister during a live interview with Jeremy Vine on Radio Four an hour later. Upon its commencement, Brown made a second media faux-pas by slumping forward in his chair

and holding his head in his hands; forgetting the entire exchange was being recorded on camera. Vine asked Brown for his instant reaction:

You've got to remember that this was me being helpful to the broadcasters...I was dealing with a question about immigration and I wasn't given a chance to answer it because there was a mêlée of press around us (Brown cited in Macintyre, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

As the crisis snowballed out of control, Brown's preparations for the *BBC Prime Ministerial Debate* were swiftly cast aside. Upon completion of the interview, the Prime Minister personally telephoned Duffy to apologise and then went 'hurtling back' to Rochdale to atone for any hurt inflicted. Following a 45 minute audience with the slighted voter, Brown emerged to address the bewildered press corps:

I am mortified by what has happened. I have given her my sincere apologies. I misunderstood what she said. She has accepted my apology. If you like, I am a penitent sinner... sometimes you say things that you don't mean to say, sometimes you say things by mistake and sometimes when you say things you want to correct it very quickly. I blame myself (Brown cited in Macintyre, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

In the space of three hours, Brown's 'off the cuff' remark had wreaked untold damage to Labour's overall strategy. Andrew Sullivan highlights how the Prime Minister had attacked his own base "in the most condescending, two faced manner possible through a live microphone on every broadcast" (Sullivan cited in Coates, 29/4/2010, pg. 9). In doing so,

Brown had committed the cardinal sin of revealing his private and political thoughts in public, painting himself as simultaneously hypocritical of personality politics and irascible in his inclination to blame others for his setbacks. Whilst campaign commentators asserted how the initial exchanges had shown the Prime Minister in a good light, it was his subsequent reaction to interacting with Mrs Duffy which had 'revealed the most unattractive aspect of his personae'; his temper (Macintyre, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

The helplessness of Labour party staff at its London headquarters was captured by Sam Coates, describing Mandelson 'looking like death' and rendered impotent as international news feeds scrambled to cover the Prime Minister's apology (29/4/2010, pg. 9). Reactions across social media platforms were immediate and unanimous; the word bigot re-appropriated by users to mean 'Brown is going on Thursday'. McSmith notes how the publicity agency Bell Pottinger North strived to negotiate an exclusive for the *Sun* newspaper in which Mrs Duffy would reveal all about her private conversation with the Prime Minister (30/4/2010, pgs. 6-7). In a solitary moment of principle arising from the episode, Mrs Duffy publicly refused to either endorse Cameron or condemn Brown for his actions, electing to take her planned vacation in Canada and shunning the limelight.

BBC Leaders' Debate

Had Brown's microphone been removed from his person prior to his fateful discussion, the Labour leader would have continued to finalise his last pitch to voters, intending to capitalise upon positive polling data and a published letter by senior economists endorsing Labour's approach to tackling Britain's deficit (Grice, 29/4/2010, pg. 5). With a degree of hindsight, Labour's scramble to disregard its own prep-work for the *BBC Leaders' Debate* in light of 'Bigot-gate' was rather fortuitous. Burrell highlights how the media training undertaken by all party leaders prior to the election had proved to be 'a

complete waste of time and resources'; failing to mask their mannerisms or their behavioural weaknesses when in front of the camera lens (29/4/2010, pgs. 6-7). Sensing his rivals would strive to make political capital out of his exchanges with Mrs Duffy, Brown tackled the affair in his opening address to the BBC audience with a view of mitigating some of his self-inflicted disadvantage:

There's a lot to this job. And as you saw yesterday, I do not get all of it right. But I do know how to run the economy in the good times and the bad; I am the one to fight for your future. [Cameron and Clegg] aren't ready for government because they haven't thought through their policies (Grice and Morris, 30/4/2010, pgs. 2-3).

Moderated by David Dimbleby and an audience of 8.4 million viewers, the *BBC Leaders' Debate* saw 'three very different, highly intelligent politicians conducting (sic) a civilised and deeply serious argument' on a complex sphere of policy (Macintyre, 30/4/2010, pgs. 8-9). The economic focus of the debate enabled the Prime Minister to adopt a combative stance towards his two rivals, 'drawing blood' with regard to Cameron's plan to raise the inheritance tax threshold and Clegg's support for reducing tax credits. Cameron retaliated by arguing that Brown was over-exaggerating the scope of the Conservatives' plans to frighten wavering low-income voters, contributing more to their plight (through the removal of favourable tax bands and minimal pension increases) than helping them prosper. Lacking Vince Cable's economic fortitude, Clegg found himself marginalised from proceedings; meekly offering to work with either rival towards a way out of the 'economic horror' in consultation with the Bank of England (Macintyre, 30/4/2010, *ibid*). Mirroring the snap polling results of the *Sky Leaders' Debate*, Cameron (35-41% across pollsters) was

declared the winner with Clegg (27-38%) and Brown (23-29%) coming second and third respectively.

As the final credits rolled, journalists were keen to analyse the transformative impact of the debates upon the structure and style of British electoral campaigning. Matthew Parris was eager to proclaim how television had become the lightning rod by which voters could rage at Politics in all its guises:

Avaunt, twitterati! Be off, blogosphere. Scarper, new media. And come back John Logie Baird. It is you who could chuckle last night at what for millions of voters was the deciding match and closing chapter of Britain's general election, the rest of the campaign may as well pack up and go home (Parris, 30/4/2010, pgs. 12-13).

For others however, the debates (and more particularly that of the BBC's) failed to provide the electorate with the information necessary to inform their upcoming vote:

So we are [still] none the wiser about which public services will be cut and what it will mean on the ground. You will just have to wait and see if your local library will be closed, how many child protection officers will be getting the sack, how bad the potholes in your street get and so on. We know full well that none of them is telling us the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Maybe that's why we find it so hard to choose between them (O'Grady, 30/4/2010, pg. 4).

Closing Arguments

The final days of electoral campaigning saw parties calibrating their final messages to voters. In spite of Cameron's winning performance in the *BBC Leaders' Debate*, McSmith notes how senior figures were warned by Conservative Central Office not to behave as if the outcome was a forgone conclusion, strategists warning 'they hadn't sealed the deal with voters yet' (1/5/2010, pgs. 8-9). To counter this, a leafleting strategy echoing Tony Blair's compact in 1997 was devised to overcome voter cynicism about promises made at election time.

The Conservative Contract represents our side of the bargain, what we're going to do for you, the British people. I urge people to read it, to hold us to it, to make sure we deliver it (Cameron cited in McSmith, 1/5/2010, *ibid*).

In synthesising the manifesto's 'Big Society' theme into a series of promises, Conservatives hoped the 'contract' would sharpen their electoral messaging whilst simultaneously futureproofing themselves from breaking any specific pledge and being publicly caught out. In tandem with such actions, Oliver and Oakeshott outline how Cameron was additionally preparing himself for the rigors of Downing Street and the step change from Opposition to Government, the Conservative leader timetabling a list of Labour policies to be repealed from the moment he entered office (2/5/2010 pgs. 1-2).

Labour, by contrast, redoubled its efforts to portray Brown as the electoral underdog. Unnerved by 'Bigot-gate', party strategists were forced to maintain the pretence that the Prime Minister could spearhead the campaign towards a victorious outcome, capitalising upon his considerable economic acumen (Savage, 1/5/2010, pg. 10). Helm and

Asthana outline how Brown was routinely imploring activists to follow his lead in ‘trying harder, working longer and digging deeper’; evoking the Olympian spirit of *Chariots of Fire* (2/5/2010, pgs. 1 and 4). Despite such efforts, the Prime Minister found himself heckled by all and sundry as he continued his tour of Labour seats, members of the public berating his lack of interaction with voters and constituency agents expressing concern at the lack of direction coming from Labour’s headquarters:

It’s becoming that much harder to persuade our core vote to turn off the *One Show* and get down to the polling station. The morning planning meetings have been abandoned. There is no sense of direction or any command or control of the narrative. Nobody knows who is in charge or what is going on. We’re in meltdown here (Labour insiders in Oliver, Oakeshott & Woolf, 2/5/2010, pgs. 13-16).

Whilst Labour’s campaign lurched from crisis to crisis, the Liberal Democrats commenced attempts in squeezing the centre-left vote to their advantage, deploying their ‘secret weapon’ of newly registered voters enthused by Cleggmania (Morris and Kenber, 1/5/2010, pg. 11). McSmith describes how their efforts received an additional boost through unexpected editorial endorsements from the *Guardian* and *Observer* respectively (3/5/2010, pg. 4). Advocating tactical voting in constituencies where Conservatives were the main challenger, both papers eschewed their longstanding stance towards Labour, asserting that the best route for securing electoral reform was the election of Liberal Democrat candidates. With the centre-right newspaper bloc reformulating itself (notably the *Times*’ first explicit endorsement of the Conservatives in almost two decades), Labour would find itself editorially side-lined by all broadsheet publications.

With media scrutiny intensifying upon the likelihood of a hung parliament, Oliver and Oakeshott describe how the Civil Service endeavoured to establish a holding pattern for the British state in view of such an outcome (2/5/2010, pgs. 1-2). With all Cabinet Ministers remaining in post throughout negotiations, Whitehall representatives publicly declared that Brown (as the incumbent Prime Minister) would have the first opportunity to formulate a new government, resigning from office if negotiations broke down and only after instructing the Queen that a different politician would command greater parliamentary support. Faced with the prospect of the Conservatives being shut out despite having the most seats, Grice details Cameron's willingness to challenge the precedent on constitutional grounds, drawing upon his education background in constitutional law and a belief that "Whitehall convention and parliamentary practice are not always quite the same thing" (3/5/2010, pgs. 2-3). Now realising the strength of their position, Labour deliberately began underplaying the risk of a hung parliament to assuage wavering voters, dismissing concerns that such an outcome would adversely impact upon the British economy and wider society:

If there is a partnership government, it would be an agreed programme and an agreed timescale. It would be logical to form a partnership government on the basis of a fixed term. So the senior partner could not pull the rug on any party with whom they were in partnership (Hain in Grice, 4/5/2010, pg. 2).

The final 48 hours saw the three leaders traversing the nation as party insiders sought potential alliances with other political factions. David McKittrick outlines the extent of courting made by the Conservative and Labour parties to those in Northern Ireland; Cameron forging an electoral pact with the Ulster Unionists and Democratic Unionist Party

and Brown pledging to maintain public spending in the devolved territory for the first year of a Labour government (6/5/2010, pgs. 12-13). Unencumbered by such pressures, Clegg was free to persuade sceptical voters that his party was now in a position to make a real difference to British politics for the first time since the era of David Lloyd George.

Deepwater Horizon

Beyond the electoral realm, an environmental disaster was rapidly unfolding. Goddard reports how an explosion on the BP-owned Deepwater Horizon had created an oil slick covering four hundred square miles in the Gulf of Louisiana (26/4/2010, pg. 26). Worse was to follow when, three days later, an uncapped sea-floor oil well was discovered to be leaking crude oil at a rate of a thousand barrels a day, conflicting with BP's earlier assurances that this was merely platform detritus. As government agencies raced to aid the oil producer in plugging the well, the United States Homeland Secretary described how the environmental damage would exceed that caused by the *Exxon Valdez* in the 1980's (Usborne, 30/4/2010, pg. 12). Sensing the political ramifications, President Obama went to the affected area to witness the response efforts and was blunt in his placement of blame:

BP is responsible for this leak. BP will be paying the bill. As President of the United States I am going to spare no effort to respond to this crisis. I am not going to rest until the leak at the site is stopped and the oil that has spilt is cleaned up (Obama in Usborne, 3/5/2010. pg. 14).

Prior to the spill, Pagnamenta outlines how BP had 'pleased investors' by posting increased revenue results and a doubling of profits in comparison with its previous years' performance (28/4/2010, pgs. 40-41). With Deepwater Horizon becoming the corporation's largest

operational disaster since a similar 2005 incident in Texas, its public relations department went into overdrive by employing local fisherman to assist with clean-up operations in the hope these attempts would calm Obama's political ire. Wighton catalogues how, in spite of such measures, BP's stock price would continue to plummet by tens of billions of pounds daily; the market recognising the escalating cost of the clean-up as the well remained unplugged as well as the lingering political (and ecological) implications the corporation now faced. Whilst the well was successfully 'sealed' five months later, Usborne illustrates how this singular source of oil percolated into an environmental disaster of global magnitude and notoriety, its scale appreciable only from the air:

The slick here looks like the deep cuts of the Grand Canyon, but painted on water. If the streaks of sheen pretend a certain beauty, this thicker, ruder stuff does not. It is vile; a terrible ruddy intrusion on a landscape that, but for us, should be virgin. It is lurid in its awfulness. It is not a mess that is going to go away (Usborne, 6/5/2010, pgs. 28-29).

Quantitative Analysis

Having presented the news themes, the case study now employs the quantitative approach outlined in Chapter Four to establish convergence/divergence in terms of themes, topics and actors in the cartoons versus other newspaper elements.

Sample Size

The third phase of the electoral cycle supplied a total of 283 news elements for quantitative scrutiny. In contrast with Chapters Five and Six, the *Guardian's* position as the newspaper group with the largest dataset was usurped by the *Independent*; the latter comprising 74 separate news elements. The *Times* was found to possess the smallest dataset over the eleven days of study with a total of 68.

Frequency of Article Type

Table 51 illustrates the breakdown of news elements carried by the four broadsheet newspapers for this phase. In a comparable manner to previous phases, all broadsheet newspapers were found to incorporate front page photographs, headlines, columnists, First Leaders and editorial cartoons. Of those not featuring on a recurring basis, the frequency of Second (81.81%, a 6.50% decrease compared to figure seen in Chapter Six) and Third Leaders (61.36 %, a 21.90% decrease) diminished as newspapers intensified editorial focus towards the upcoming vote. Whilst the papers continued to run one to three editorials per edition, two publications were identified as presenting their First Leader as part of their front page; the *Independent* on May 5th and *Times* on May 6th. No individual title had a full dataset of editorial content with the *Independent* being closest with thirty articles, followed by the *Guardian* (28), *Telegraph* (25) and *Times* (24) respectively.

The lowest frequency of Third Leaders appeared in the *Times* (36.36%); a notable reduction of 60.84% compared to its frequency of appearance discussed in Chapter Six. The

decrease is attributable to the title switching from their typical presentation of three Leaders to two in order to provide further editorial weight to its political coverage. The lowest frequency of Second Leaders in this phase occurs in the *Telegraph*, decreasing by 15.16% to 72.73% as it distilled its editorial coverage to a singular First Leader on critical dates to maximise the title’s contribution to the wider electoral debate.

Newspaper	Editorial Cartoon	Front Page Photograph	Front Page Article	Columnist	First Leader	Second Leader	Third Leader
Guardian	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	81.82% -18.18%	72.73% -27.27%
Independent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	90.91% +15.71%	81.82% +14.55%
Telegraph	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	72.73% -15.14%	54.55% +9.09%
Times	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	72.73% -27.27%	36.36% -60.84%

Table 51: *Frequency of Appearance for each News Element within Broadsheet Newspapers*

across Election Phase, including increase/decrease in frequency rate from Debate Phase

News Topic Frequency

Front Page Photograph

Table 52 (Appendix, pg. 74) illustrates the global frequency of news topics covered by front page photographs across all broadsheet titles. Twenty one news topics were visually presented; one less than those seen during the debate phase. As the election neared its climax, front page visual were seen as endeavouring to capture the competing politicians (Conservatives 31.82%, Labour 27.27% and the Liberal Democrats 9.09%) on the campaign trail (34.09%), continuing the upward trend in frequency noted in Chapter Six by 90.87%. The frequency of appearances by Conservative representatives notably increased

by 62.01% over the eleven day period whilst those of Labour and the Liberal Democrats decreased by 4.55% and 15.12% respectively. Front page photographs were seen as converging on the same news topic on two separate occasions; namely April 29th with reference to Bigot-gate and the media and on April 30th with reference to the *BBC Leaders' Debate*. The unexpected and public nature of Bigot-gate catalysed visual interest in the Prime Minister and his 'victim' Gillian Duff on the former; the pair being incorporated collectively or individually across all broadsheet front pages. In spite of such heightened interest, the topic is seen as being visually isolated to a single day; appearing with a global frequency of only 9.09%.

The global news topic elements are deconstructed in Bar Chart 26 (Appendix, pg. 75) into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The *Telegraph* incorporated the highest frequency of Conservative appearances (54.55%, an increase of 90.93%), whilst the *Independent* usurped the *Guardian* in having the highest recurrence of Labour figures in its front page visuals, appearing in 36.36% of its global dataset (an increase of 27.27%). In the same period, decreases were noted in the frequency of photographs incorporating Labour within the *Guardian* and *Telegraph*, falling by 42.46% and 33.33% respectively. With a global frequency of 9.09% the phenomena of Cleggmania (catalogued in Chapter Six) largely dissipated from front pages during this phase, with photos of the Liberal Democrat leader being confined mainly to the *Guardian*, achieving a frequency rate across its papers of 27.27% (an increase of 282%).

Front Page Article

Table 53 (Appendix, pg. 76) outlines the global frequency of news topics covered in the front page articles of the four broadsheet groups. The phase sees a marked decrease in the number of themes occurring within this news element; a total of thirty three compared

to the thirty eight identified in Chapter Six. The most recurring themes were those of Labour (50%), the Conservatives (43.18%) and a grouping of topics comprised of polling, the wider electoral process and campaigning (40.91% respectively). The looming spectre of a hung parliament saw discussions concerning the topic increase in frequency by almost 173% (12.50% to 34.09%) as journalist speculated over the accommodations each party leader would have to make in order to enter government. Emphasising the transient nature of party manifestoes within the electoral cycle, mentions of the topic predictably reduced from a frequency of 17.86% in Chapter Six to 6.82% in this phase; a decrease of 61.81%.

The breakdown of global news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers is highlighted in Bar Chart 27 (Appendix, pg. 77). Although the *Guardian* continued its trend in increasing front page article coverage of Labour politicians from 64.29% to 72.73% (an increase of 13.13%), the title's discussion of the Liberal Democrats markedly proliferated in frequency from 21.43 % to 65.64%; an increase of 197%. Parallel to this was the paper's expanded coverage of electoral reform, a point of contention likely to arise in any prospective coalition negotiation. Having been marginalised during the debate phase (7.14%), the topic was now discussed with a frequency of 36.36%; an increase of 509%. Differing attitudes were seen in broadsheets with respect to polling, the *Guardian* (up by 11.37% to 63.64%) and *Telegraph* (up by 69.69% to 72.73%) recording increases in coverage whilst the *Independent* and *Times* shifted away from the topic, decreasing by 15.16% and 68.18% respectively. The front page news articles converged with each other on six separate occasions: namely discussions of Labour of April 26th; the economy on April 28th; the aforementioned Bigot-gate on April 29th; the BBC Leaders Debate on April 30th; Conservative deliberations concerning a hung parliament on May 3rd; and the final campaigning push by all party leaders before polling day on May 6th.

Columnist

Table 54 (Appendix, pg. 78) records the global frequency of news topics covered by regular and guest columnists across the four publications. Thirty seven news topics were identified with three achieving a frequency rate above fifty percent: namely Labour (54.55%); the electoral process (52.57%); and the future of Brown (50%). The latter is of note due to its 55.57% increase in frequency from the previous phase as contributors intensified speculation upon the Prime Minister's fate as Labour's electoral campaign remained subject to prolonged periods of self-inflicted or unintentional crises. The economic downturn affecting Greece additionally served to concentrated columnist discussions towards Britain befalling a similar fate in the event of an inconclusive election result. The lingering effects of the *BBC Leaders' Debate*, coupled with a lack of clarity across all party manifestos, saw the topic commented upon with a frequency of 34.09%, an increase of 52% since the start of the electoral cycle.

The news topics are separated into their respective coverage by individual newspapers in Bar Chart 28 (Appendix, pg. 79). *Telegraph* columnists were eager to dwell upon the dysfunctionality of Labour (63.64%, representing little change compared to the previous phase), Brown's gaffes (a doubling in coverage to 72.73%) and their combined misfortunes, rather than championing the Conservative cause (a frequency decrease of 80.42%). In spite of a global increase in broadsheet coverage of the economy, the treatment of the topic is seen to vary across papers; the *Guardian* and *Times* increasing the frequency of its appearance by 36.36% each whilst the *Independent* and *Telegraph* decreased theirs by 15.17% and 9.10% respectively. With *Guardian* titles gravitating towards an endorsement of the Liberal Democrats, mentions of the party experienced a 52.76% upswing in frequency when compared with discussions in the debate phase. Such a trend was additionally

corroborated by similar increases in frequency with regard to discussions concerning electoral reform (up by 6.05% to 45.45%) and tactical voting (up by 92.04% to 27.27%). In stark contrast with Chapter Six, columnists of all broadsheet newspapers were seen to topically converge on a singular date, namely the summarising of the entire electoral process on May 5th.

Third Leader

The global frequency of news topics covered by Third Leaders is detailed in Table 55 (Appendix, pg. 80). As with discussions of this news element across previous chapters, gaps continued to appear within the dataset owing to the Third Leaders' non-appearance of across all broadsheet newspapers: the *Guardian* on May 1st, 2nd and 6th; *Independent* on April 26th, May 1st and May 2nd; *Telegraph* on April 28th, April 30th and May 2nd, 3rd and 5th; and the *Times* on April 29th and May 1st-6th as the paper recalibrated its editorial coverage highlighted earlier. Of those published, twenty five news topics were identified; a similar number to those identified in Chapter Six. The largest proportion is attributable to the *Guardian's* editorial discussion of prominent figures within classical and contemporary music, with disparate individuals such as David McVicar (director of Covent Garden Opera House) and Iggy Pop appearing with a frequency of 9.09%.

Bar Chart 29 (Appendix, pg. 81) divides the news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The *Times* concluded its series of Third Leaders concerning politicians the title deemed worthy of re-election, utilising the remainder to cover a broad variety of topics. The *Telegraph* and *Independent* did likewise, albeit with little focus towards a singular topic. Providing a lighter take on the wider world outside that of the British General Election, Third Leader topics included those of: wildlife; ecology; nautical

excursions; and bank holiday traditions involving home maintenance and domestic accidents (often in tandem).

Second Leaders

The global frequency of Second Leader news topics are denoted in Table 56 (Appendix, pg. 82). Owing to the desire of broadsheet newspapers to endorse a preferred party, a number of Second Leader absences were found to exist in the dataset: namely the *Guardian* across May 1st–2nd; the *Independent* on May 2nd; the *Telegraph* on May 2nd, 3rd and 5th; and the *Times* on May 6th. Thirty news topics were incorporated, a decrease of three from the debate phase. A third of all Second Leader coverage is devoted to analysis of foreign affairs, appearing with a frequency of 31.82%; an increase of 27.28%. As with the eruption of Eyjafjallajökull detailed in Chapter Six, the unfolding nature of an unforeseen environmental event is evident in discussions surrounding the Deepwater Horizon oil spillage (9.09%) and its corresponding impact upon British Petroleum, the operator of the oil well; the latter (under the theme of business) appearing with a frequency of 11.36%, an increase of 27.21%.

Bar Chart 30 (Appendix, pg. 83) presents the individual newspaper's discussions of global news topics for this news element. Second Leaders in the *Independent* and *Telegraph* were utilised in opining upon the Greek economic crisis, with foreign affairs appearing with a frequency rate of 50% in both publications (an increase of 83.35% and 175% respectively over that of the previous phase). A dovetailing effect was additionally identified with respect to their correlation of events abroad with those potentially occurring to the British economy in the event of a hung parliament, the subject representing 10% and 12% of their respective article coverage. The culmination of the electoral process saw the *Guardian*

increasing Second Leader discussions of a hung parliament and the electoral process by over 200%.

First Leader

The global frequency of news topics covering First Leaders is presented in Table 57 (Appendix, pg. 84). A full dataset saw thirty-five news topics being identified for discussion, one less than that in the previous phase. As newspaper titles directed readerships towards a voting preference (either on a national, constituency or tactical basis), the topic of the voter experienced an increase in appearance from 1.79% in the debate phase to 25%; an exponential increase of 1837.98%. Half of all articles within this news element are devoted to the issue of the economy, up 154.58% on its corresponding figure in Chapter Six. The unfolding economic turmoil in Greece over the eleven days of this phase (foreign affairs 31.82%; up by 256.32%) provided a further narrative for broadsheets in counselling their readerships towards a considered vote. By doing so, evanescent electoral topics heavily discussed by other news elements, notably Bigot-gate (11.56%) and Cleggmania (20.45%, down 52.29%), were largely side-lined.

Bar Chart 31 (Appendix, pg. 85) highlights the individual newspapers' discussions of global news topics. The *Telegraph* focussed upon news topics correlating with its factual justification of a Conservative endorsement to readers: notably the economy (72.73%, up 154.57%); polling (doubling from 21.43% to 45.45%); and the future of Brown (45.45%, up by 536.55%). Of interest to readers is the titles' substantive focus upon the wider policy issues surrounding Bigot-gate when compared to Gordon Brown's media transgression, the topic of immigration (36.36%) receiving double the coverage attributed to that of the event itself (18.18%).

Whilst pledging editorial support to the Liberal Democrats, both the *Guardian* and *Independent* can be seen as having placed a series of editorial caveats upon their endorsement, twinning the topic with that of tactical voting for Labour (18.18% and 9.09% respectively) to maximise the prospects of a progressive majority in the new parliament. In spite of the historic nature of the *Times*' endorsement for the Conservatives, the publication carried the fewest mentions of the party across all broadsheets (27.27%) in marked contrast to that of the *Telegraph* (54.55%) and the centre-left left leaning broadsheets (*Guardian* and *Independent* both with a frequency rate of 45.45%). A convergence of broadsheet First Leaders occurs on three separate occasions: namely economic discussions arising from the *BBC Leaders' Debate* on April 30th; the summarising of the electoral cycle in tandem with editorial endorsements by Sunday editions on May 2nd; and the final Conservative push to secure an overall majority on May 4th.

Editorial Cartoons

The global frequency of news topics covering editorial cartoons are presented in Table 58 (Appendix, pg. 86). Thirty seven news topics were identified, one more than that highlighted in the previous phase. Three topics appear with a frequency of more than 50%: namely the Conservatives (68.18%, up by 31.65%); the electoral process (56.82%, up 22%); and Gordon Brown's political future (52.27%). Whilst David Cameron is seen as providing the focus for representations of the Conservatives for all editorial cartoonists, only Dave Brown situates the leader with another figure, that of Margaret Thatcher (2.27%). Highlighting the party's last-minute change in campaign strategy and adoption of the slogan "vote Clegg get Brown", Figure 98 sees the *Independent* cartoonist inviting readers to muse

upon how a vote for Cameron would similarly translate into a continuation of Thatcherite ideals.



Figure 98: *Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent 5/5/2010)*

In a comparison fashion to First Leaders, a notable increase is seen in the cartoonists' dataset with regard to representations of the voter (22.73%, up by 536.70%). Broadsheet illustrators endeavoured to highlight the stark economic reality facing the British electorate irrespective of their party preference, with Gerald Scarfe's artistic technique being ideally suited for such purposes. In his sole image across the eleven days, Figure 99 shows the cartoonist "binding" the British voter into the role of a condemned man facing execution by beheading. By depicting each of the main party leaders as potential executioner, Scarfe correlates the uncertainty of voting with the fatalistic assumption that whatever choice is made, the consequence will be severe. Figure 100 achieves a similar representation with Dave Brown situating the voter as a patient on the operating table with all party leaders looming over them, each asserting themselves to be the most qualified to perform the necessary surgery.



Figures 99-100: Editorial cartoon treatment of the voter during Election Phase (Scarfe, *Sunday Times*, 2/5/2010; Brown, *Independent* 30/4/2010)

During this phase, the news topic of electoral campaigning experienced a resurgence in visual discussions, appearing with a frequency of 36.36%; an increase of 578.35%. The campaign roadshows and corresponding miss-steps provided a wealth of opportunities for cartoonists to be acerbic in their treatment of party leaders. Figure 101 illustrates how Dave Brown seizes upon Peppa Pig's non-appearance at a Labour presentation to highlight how Lord Mandelson was continually attempting to repurpose Gordon Brown for differing audiences with little positive effect. Conversely, Figure 102 by Christian Adams accentuates Tony Blair's tour of marginal constituencies across Britain, correlating the efforts of the former Prime Minister to that of the Deepwater Horizon oil slick threatening the coastline of Louisiana.



Figure 101: *Untitled, (Brown, Independent, 28/4/2010)*



Figure 103: *Slick Reaches Coast, (Adams, Telegraph, 1/5/2010)*

Turning towards the extent of recurring visual news topics in individual newspapers, Bar Chart 32 (Appendix, pg. 87) identifies how *Guardian* cartoonists reverted to type in having a Conservative representative appear in over 90% of their images (up from 78.57%). The highest frequencies of Labour representatives were found in cartoons for the *Times* (63.64% an increase of 196.97%) with the *Telegraph* having a similar frequency with regard to discussions concerning the fate of its leader (the news topic of the future of Brown up by

345.35% to 63.64%). The *Telegraph's* Nicholas Garland was the sole cartoonist to employ the creative vehicle of mythology (18.18%), the artist endeavouring to incorporate policy issues which he felt party leaders on the campaign trail were ignoring or shying away from. Figure 103 sees the illustrator hypothesising the monstrous dangers lurking in the waters surrounding the British Isles, in a comparative manner to the warnings highlighted by Ptolemy to sea farers in his “mappa mundi” outlined in Figure 104.



Figures 102-103: *Here Be Monsters*, (Garland, *Telegraph*, 28/4/2010) compared to Ptolemy's *mappa mundi*

Bar Chart 33 (Appendix, pg. 88) breaks down the cartoon news topics by their respective appearance in the dataset of each editorial cartoonist. The *Independent's* Dave Brown incorporated the most themes over the course of this phase, highlighting twenty four separate news topics. All cartoonists, however, were keen to highlight the impending climax of Labour's tenure in office and the final meanderings of the electoral process. Such sentiments are typified by Figure 105, Peter Schrank's singular image for the *Independent on Sunday*. In his cartoon, Schrank employs fewer number news topics (three in total) than those of his peers. However, in synchronising both the strap line 'cliff-hanger' and the positioning of Gordon Brown, the artist is seen as projecting two separate word-image

relations to readers, namely the melodramatic ending to come with respect to the British electoral process and the Prime Minister's precarious position. Two further word-image relationships are further visualised, the sound of Brown's clunking fist hitting his head and the symbiosis of the phrase 'New Labour' into the setting sun; marking the end of the political project he embodies.

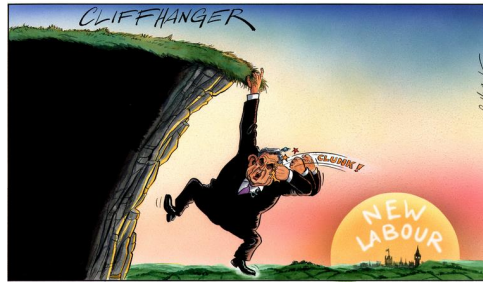


Figure 105: *Cliff-hanger (Schrank, Independent on Sunday, 2/5/2010)*

Convergence of Editorial Cartoons to News Elements

Having assessed the frequency of appearance by each news topic within individual news elements, attention now turns towards providing a synoptic overview of the respective points of editorial cartoon convergence or divergence seen throughout this phase. Tables 59-69 (Appendix, pgs. 89-99) summarise the overarching news events of each day, identifying: the topics pursued by each news element across the four broadsheet newspapers; the editorial cartoon topics; and the points of correspondence achieved between the respective elements within and across the four papers. As with previous Chapters, editorial cartoons displaying a connection with the photo, front page, columnist and a minimum of one of the editorial articles were recorded as being fully convergent with the host newspaper. A lack of connection with any news element conversely resulted in the cartoon being catalogued as divergent. Those displaying a match with some but not all news elements were denoted as achieving a partial convergence by virtue of a particularised link to a news topic carried within an individual news element.

The degrees of convergence achieved by editorial cartoons throughout the election phase are highlighted in Pie Chart 3 (Appendix, pg. 100) alongside the elements with which they converged. The chart highlights 95% of all editorial cartoons as attaining some degree of convergence with at least one news element within their host publication; a decrease of 3.06% when compared to the figure seen in Chapter Six. The number of fully convergent cartoons over the eleven-day period marginally increased by one to twenty three. However, Bar Chart 34 (Appendix, pg. 101) demonstrates how, if expressed as a percentage relative to the reduced size of this dataset, the proportion of cartoons displaying total synchronicity increased by 38.46% from the previous phase to 54%. Such a finding suggests that greater convergence was occurring between the editorial cartoon and the host newspaper as the British General Election drew to a close. Of the twenty partially convergent images, these were broken down into: four which correlated with discussions carried by front page, columnist and editorial (9%); three with front page, photograph and editorial (7%); two with front page, photograph and columnist (5%); four with editorial and columnist (9%); one with front page and editorial (2%); two with front page and columnist (5%); one with front page and photo (2%); and one solely with the columnist (2%).

Two editorial cartoons (5%), namely those by Peter Brookes for the *Times* on May 4th and May 6th, are identified as diverging fully from news topics covered by their host publication. The latter visual is noteworthy owing to the paper's inclusion of a second editorial cartoon on the front page shown in Figure 106, the only broadsheet paper to do so. Scrutinising the images in turn, it can be seen how the front page re-publishes an earlier cartoon (April 8th) which depicts the Prime Minister examining his reflection in a mirror whilst holding a graph representative of Britain's economic downturn, deluding himself that the inverse was taking place. By contrast, Figure 108 highlights how the editorial cartoon in

the 'default' position parodies Marilyn Monroe's pre-publicity photographs for the *Seven Year Itch* (1955) (Figure 107) with Lord Mandelson being substituted for the actress. The visual demonstrates Mandelson's caricature being parodically "bound" into Monroe's pose by Brookes; his ermine robe experiencing a similar process with respect to her billowing dress. The use of text additionally serves to bind the peer's rumoured threat of a 'kiss and tell' account of his tenure in government with that of the publicity stunt undertaken by the actress to get cinema audiences interested in the film.



Figure 106: Front Page Editorial Cartoon carried by Times on Election Day (Brookes, Times 6/5/2010)



Figures 107-108: *Parodic Comparison of Marilyn Monroe publicity photograph with 'default' Editorial Cartoon carried by the Times on Election Day (Brookes, Times 6/5/2010)*

Bar Chart 35 (Appendix, pg. 102) demonstrates how more than three quarters of the *Guardian's* editorial cartoons display full convergence in this phase (a total of eight). The only other broadsheet newspaper recording a full convergence above fifty percent within its cartoon dataset was that of the *Telegraph*; a total of six out of its eleven images. Although the *Times* continued to have the highest number of convergence permutations, this accolade was shared across this case study with the *Independent* and *Telegraph*; each publication displaying five configurations.

The shifts in visual convergence for each individual broadsheet across the three phases are seen across Bar Charts 36-39 (Appendix, pgs. 103-106). The *Guardian*, *Independent* and *Times* are jointly noted as displaying similar trends with respect to the increasing numbers of full convergence cartoons and a corresponding decrease in the number utilising a singular news element such as the columnist. By contrast, the number of fully convergent cartoons in the *Telegraph* which had peaked during the debate phase now diminished slightly. In concluding this section, Bar Chart 40's (Appendix, pg. 107)

examination of the points of news element correlation for individual cartoonists reveals Dave Brown to be the most convergent cartoonist, with Peter Brookes the sole artist to generate divergent illustrations.

Qualitative Analysis

Attention now turns toward the qualitative presentation of notable themes, events, actors and opinions by editorial cartoonists. Highlighting the communicative, artistic and rhetorical devices discussed across Chapters 1-3, the examples will demonstrate points of convergence/divergence in terms of how such characteristics are visually selected, evaluated and discussed by the illustrator. These are subsequently contrasted with their treatment by the selected news elements taken from the host publication.

Example Five: Brown's Mixed Signals



Figure 109: *Untitled (Bell, Guardian, 29/4/2010)*

The *mise-en-scène* (discussed in Chapter Three) of Figure 109 is of a British ensign presenting a mix of signs, symbols and theoretical concepts to *Guardian* readers. The use of formal colours (red, white and blue) and the layering of the crosses of St George, St Andrew and St Patrick confirm the symbology of the ensign as that of the Union Jack. For residents

of the British Isles, the ensign symbolises patriotism, sovereignty and pride in the political union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. By adding a crest and two separate mottos to the ensign, Steve Bell is seen as amplifying a particular message. The crest at the ensign's centre represents a series of terraced houses typical of a British working class community, with the motto situated above it affirming the nation's pride in its citizens. By contrast, the motto below the crest is formed by a male figure being contorted into in a series of poses to depict letters of the alphabet; the ensuing message generated running counter to that of the first.

Taken in concert, Bell's artistic representation presents a primary parody of the Union Jack which is embellished with a message which maligns the working classes. Employing the use of caricature discussed in Chapter Two, the cartoonist substantiates the identity of the contorted figure as belonging to Gordon Brown; discernible through facial features such as square jaw, heavy eye lids and protruding ears. Bell additionally caricatures the Prime Minister's build and the gestures he utilises during press conferences in asserting his particular messages. By playing upon audience familiarity of the Union Jack, Bell's visual is an example of what Robert Chambers describes as a parodic 'bang' wherein the cartoonist integrates the Labour leader into the tapestry of the flag in a disruptive manner, distorting his physical appearance to spell out the letters in the lower motto (2010, pg. 67).

The cartoon narrative highlights a number of visual and verbal themes: the paying of lip service to a voter and their subsequent maligning; Brown's denigration of core Labour supporters; and the Prime Minister making matters worse when attempting to atone for his mistakes. Scrutinising the visual intertextuality behind these narratives, the cartoonists' employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to identify the wider Labour

movement through the application of the party's colour to Brown's tie and a rose into an apostrophe. Bell's use of terraced houses on the crest additionally supplies an example of Frank D'Angelo's idea of visual retro-intertextuality, the cartoon frame serving to evoke reader reminiscence upon the historical roots of the party in Britain's working class communities (2010, pg. 35). The polarisation between the mottos ascribed to the ensign ("Salt of the Earth" versus "God Fuck 'Em") serves to highlight a binary juxtaposition between Labour's working class origins and its current leadership's apparent disdain towards stalwart supporters during the 2010 election. The mottos additionally serve in anchoring and framing the visual *vis-à-vis* Brown's difficulties with working class voters whilst on the campaign trail, Bell encouraging *Guardian* readers to actively reflect upon the events of Bigot-gate.

Figure 109 can be regarded as being explicitly humorous due to the incongruous differences between Bell's ensign and the Union Jack, with both symbols being highly recognisable yet different enough to provoke audience response. The use of both visual and verbal narratives in tandem serves to amplify additional incongruities in the cartoon, notably the contrasts between the two mottos and the exaggerated degrees of contortions undertaken by Brown in apologising to a slighted voter. The image can be read in a conventional Western manner from left to right, but also from top to bottom. The lettering used for the top motto highlights a further parodic source seen in Figures 110-111, namely the text which features on union banners carried by supporters on marches and demonstrations. As discussed in Chapter Four, it is the membership of such organisations which serve as the bedrock of Labour's political standing on both local and national levels. If one conceives Figure 109 as a union banner, Bell could be additionally hypothesised as

having adapted the rallying call to members and created a new standard more suited to Labour's predicament at the time of the election.



Figures 110-111: Examples of Trade Union Banners (Google stock images)

Further scrutiny of the image reveals how the source domains of flag and people are mapped onto the target domains of politics and communication by the cartoonist to generate topic and topically-driven metaphors (White, 2010, pgs. 104-108; Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 239-241). Using the CMT framework (discussed in Chapter Three) to establish the presence of master metaphors, the image relates the conceptual relationship between the sloganeering politicians undertake during elections and the communicative (and unifying) power of the flag: summarised as “politics is people”; “communication is design”; or “communication is a series of symbols”. In combining Gordon Brown with the mottos seen on the ensign, Bell is signalling to readers of the *Guardian* readers that the metaphorical foundation of his image is either “Labour is being derogatory towards supporters” or “Gordon Brown dislikes working-class people”. Alternative metaphors can be additionally applied to the visual: namely “Labour is dividing rather than uniting”: “Labour is failing to

rally voters behind their cause”; “Gordon Brown is desecrating the flag” or (more generally) “Gordon Brown is letting the Labour movement down”.

Table 62 (Appendix, pg. 92) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Bell with the *Guardian* on April 29th 2010. His cartoon achieves a full convergence to the publication across all news elements. The front page photograph captures the Prime Minister listening to a replay of his comments during Jeremy Vine’s live radio broadcast on BBC Radio Four. Slumping forward and attempting to cover his face, Figure 112 highlights how Brown’s contortions visually converge with those depicted by Bell, amplifying the degrees embarrassment and discomfort he found himself in as a result of his outburst.



Figure 112: *Physical Contortion of Brown listening to comments (BBC Press Office cited in Guardian, 29/4/2010, pg. 1)*

The editorial cartoon additionally converges with Patrick Wintour and Polly Curtis’s description of how the Prime Minister’s rambling attempt to justify his actions had thrown the Labour campaign into disarray:

Sometimes you say things you don't mean to say, sometimes you say things by mistake and sometimes you say things you want to correct very quickly. So I wanted

to come here and say that I made a mistake but to also to say I understood the concerns she was bringing to me and I simply misunderstood some of the words she used (Brown cited in Wintour and Curtis, 29/4/2010, pgs. 1-3).

Writing in a separate column in her role of political analyst, Curtis articulates how such off-the-cuff remarks “displayed all the poorest characteristics of the Prime Minister: rude and scornful of a voter moments after embracing her warmly in public; [and acting] two faced by shifting the blame onto others” (29/4/2010, pgs. 2-3). Taken in concert, such remarks correlate with Bell’s core idea of articulating juxtaposed messages to opposing constituent groups during electoral campaigning. In so doing, Figure 108 converges with the verbal sentiment and visual substance of the *Guardian’s* front pages.

Contextualising Bigot-gate with respect to the wider electoral outcome, Seamus Milne describes how Labour leaderships had marginalised core voters through a succession of policies which encouraged “war, social-authoritarianism, privatisation and widening inequality” (29/4/2010, pg. 35). A metaphoric conceptualisation of the type of organisation carrying Bell’s ensign (the Labour Party in its modern guise) synchronises with the *Guardian* columnist’s analysis in approximating the lengths the party is prepared to go to in exploiting the goodwill of its membership in pursuance of political aims at odds with their core principles. The column additionally signals a potential visual conclusion for Bell’s image, namely “the disintegration and effective exclusion of any working class or union presence from mainstream politics” (29/4/2010, *ibid*).

Further convergence occurs between the cartoon and the publication’s Second Leader. The news element highlights the tension being exerted upon Labour’s relationship with its core vote as a result of the Prime Minister’s communicative gaffe:

[On the relationship between Labour and its supporters] Gillian Duffy was Labour family, part of the hereditary working class. When she met the boss in Rochdale; she told him bluntly what she thought he was doing wrong. They parted with a warm handshake; he climbed into the official car and turned a minor conversation into what now looks set to go down as the political catastrophe of the 2010 campaign (Guardian, 29/4/2010, pg. 36).

[On the gaffe itself] Election gaffes are all different, but they have a common anatomy. They confirm an essential truth. When Mr Brown angrily blamed the staff member every gossipy charge made about his personality suddenly became more plausible. It revealed, again, the arrogant disdain of the elected for the electorate (Guardian, 29/4/2010, *ibid*).

Bell's denotation of terraced housing within the crest of his ensign correlates with the *Guardian's* narrative of Brown as having maligned both the ancestry of the working class voter and the organisation he represents. By manifesting Brown's contortions in visual form, the cartoon additionally aligns with the publication's opinion of the Labour leader as seeking to blame anyone (or anything) for the transgressions occurrence rather than himself. As a consequence, Figure 109 serves the *Guardian's* purpose of covering the error made on the campaign trail, the consequences such actions could pose, and the exposure of a facet of the Prime Minister previously hidden from public view but now emblazoned for all to see.

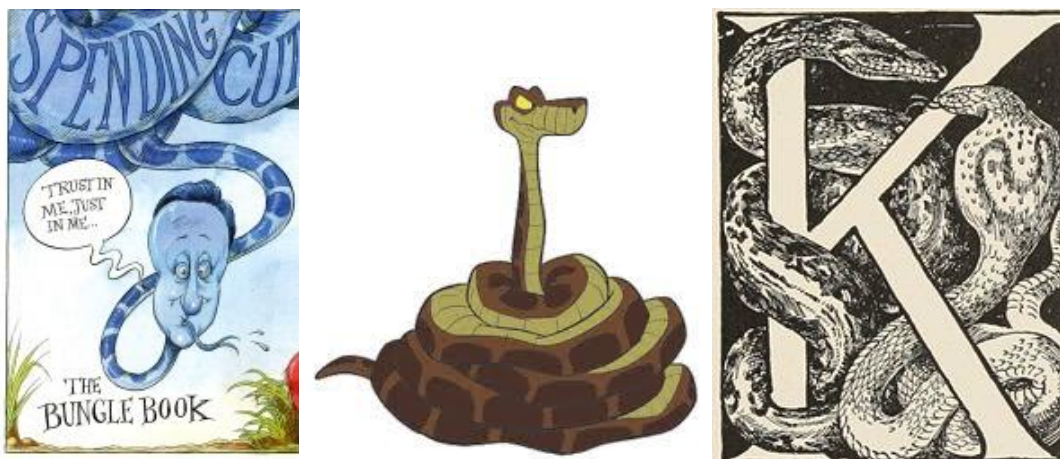
Example Six: The Bungle Book



Figure 113: *The Bungle Book* (Riddell, *Observer*, 2/5/2010)

The *mise-en-scène* of Figure 113 is that of three animals, namely a bear, orang-utan and snake, all congregating at a hypothesised meeting in a jungle clearing. The presence of long grasses, leafy branches and the undulating terrain confirm the jungle element of the visual. Employing the use of caricature (discussed in Chapter Two), Riddell substantiates the identities of the animals as being those of David Cameron, Gordon Brown and Nick Clegg. Each party leader is anthropomorphised into an animal form which retains key facial characteristics of the three individuals: namely Cameron's high forehead, narrowing eyes and bulbous nose; Brown's square jaw, heavy eyebrows and pursed lips; and Clegg's spiky hair and angular chin. The technique is outlined in greater detail in Chapter Three alongside discussions of variants used by illustrators in attributing human, animalistic or conceptual characteristics to a corresponding form.

The artistic interpretations of each animal identify the visual as that of a primary parody of animal behaviour in the wild. The image's strapline "The Bungle Book", in tandem with the dialogue delivered by the three protagonists, further signpost two additional parodic interpretations covering Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894). The foundational parody relates to the author's published texts wherein anthropomorphic animals deliver moral lessons to readers, outlining the tenets of life which protect individuals, families and communities from danger and corruption. The second, more expansive parody alludes to Walt Disney's 1967 animation film which takes creative liberties towards the original tales by introducing new characters particular to the cinematic version and presenting Kipling's moral messages through a series of songs which are discussed in detail later. Figures 112-121 illustrate how, by integrating the three party leaders into their corresponding animal forms in a conjunctive fashion, Riddell is able to facilitate the production of parodic 'bangs' which capitalise upon both the predictable nature of the jungle scenario and reader familiarity with Disney's interpretation of the source text (Chambers, 2010, pgs. 67 and 75).



Figures 114-116: Comparisons of Kaa across media (*Left: Riddell, Centre: Disney, Right: Kipling*)



Figures 117-119: Comparisons of Baloo across media (*Left: Riddell, Centre: Disney, Right: Kipling*)



Figures 120-121: Comparisons of King Louie across media (*Left: Riddell, Right: Disney*)

The cartoon narrative highlights the party leaders pontificating as to what they will do next; each of their behaviours being determined by their respective animal forms. Appearing as a snake, Cameron is coiled and hanging from a branch; his forked tongue protruding and spitting venom. Brown appears as a wounded bear, sitting docilely in the centre of the image and waving his paws ineffectually at flies. In contrast, Clegg is portrayed as an orang-utan hanging from a branch in a playful manner with one arm actively pointing

towards the other two creatures. Scrutinising the visual intertextuality behind these narratives, Riddell's employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to identify each political party through the application of the respective colour to the skin and fur of each animal form. In doing so, the visual quotation emphasises the cinematic domain of *The Jungle Book* as the cartoon's primary focus, stripping away the complexities of Kipling's narrative in favour of one-dimensional characterisations for the benefit of the reader.

In having Cameron look directly at the reader and smiling as he delivers his venomous remarks, the cartoonist is able to indicate a degree of visual irony as being present in the image. The scales on the snake's body (normatively used for camouflage by reptiles) are stylised by Riddell to display a singular message of "Spending cuts". By doing this, he effects a binary juxtaposition between the danger of the creature and that posed by the Conservatives through their proposed spending cuts. Riddell additionally adapts the Sherman Brothers song lyrics to allocate each creature with a verbal intertextuality which explains their electoral position to *Observer* readers prior to polling day. Cameron's hypnotic intonation to "trust in me" highlights the Conservative leader's struggle in connecting with voters as they fixate instead upon the visual dangers his party poses. Likewise, the optimistic pledge of Brown to "cut the bare necessities" emphasises his dismissal of the extent of cuts required to keep Britain on the right track. Lastly, Clegg's jocular "don't wanna be like you two-oo" simultaneously signifies the Liberal Democrat leader's policy of pursuing equidistance (outlined in Chapter Four) and highlights his successful exploitation of voter dissatisfaction with the two main parties.

The positioning and spatial parity between each leader in the jungle clearing highlights the image as being a protagonist-driven composite (Chalantova, 2011, pg. 6-8). A degree of zoomorphism is seen to exist in parallel with the anthropomorphic technique utilised in Figure 113; Riddell assigning the conventions of each animal to convey some aspect of each leader's persona (Groensteen, 2001). Addressing each in turn, the snake zoomorphoses Cameron as an agent of fear attempting to lure unsuspecting prey into his grasp and devouring them before moving to its next target. In the same vein, Brown becomes slothful, asocial and riled by the smallest of threats rather than using his strength and ferocity to retaliate against it. As the orang-utan, Nick Clegg is conceptualised as the most congenial of the group; closer in evolution to the human condition and displaying tendencies towards innovation, opportunity and humour.

The lack of a dominant protagonist in the visual means that the cartoon can be read both in a conventional Western manner from left to right and vice versa. To facilitate this interchangeability of readings, Riddell incorporates a variety of verbal and visual stylistic elements which accentuate the nature and delivery of the text assigned to each protagonist. Although Brown and Clegg have short tailed speech bubbles which are direct and to the point, Cameron's speech bubble tail wriggles in tandem with how Kaa (the name of the snake in both literary and cinematic versions of the book) speaks, highlighting the slippery nature of his performance. Trailing dots are also present in all speech bubbles to denote pauses within the lyrics of each character, the cartoonist hypothesising that *Observer* readers are familiar with each of the songs and are able to anticipate the next line of delivery.

Owing to the incongruous nature by which Riddell simultaneously conceives political leaders as animals and cartoon characters, Figure 113 can be seen as being explicitly

humorous. The repurposing of Kipling's "moral" characters with the basest of human traits (indolence, exploitation and economical with the truth) is additionally incongruous with the original text's core messages concerning virtue within society. A case could be put forward that superiority humour exists within the visual, with Clegg adapting better to the political jungle than that of his peers. However, the visual superiority of the Liberal Democrat leader can also be turned against him through consideration of the cinematic purpose his character (King Louie) serves in the cinematic version made by Disney; that of providing a foil to the lead protagonists and advancing the plot from point A to point B. Armed with such insight, it could be hypothesised how Riddell conceptualises Clegg as fulfilling a similar remit, providing an amusing diversion for audiences whilst contributing little to the decisive outcome of the election.

The editorial cartoon illustrates the cartoonist mapping the source domain of animals onto target domains of morality and politics in order to generate topic triggered metaphors (White, 2011, pgs. 104-108). Using CMT to establish the master metaphor, the image relates the conceptual relationship between the behaviours of politicians on the campaign trail and the classification employed to denote animals within the animal kingdom: summarised as "behaviour is category"; "politics is a kingdom"; or "parliament is a group of phyla". In utilising the jungle setting, Riddell is signalling to *Observer* readers that "Brown, Cameron and Clegg are the big beasts of the jungle" or "Brown, Cameron and Clegg are political creatures".

His particularised use of animals additionally enables him to conceptualise alternative metaphors which are both specific and wide-ranging to the main party leaders: In the case of David Cameron, these include: "Cameron speaks with forked tongue"; "Cameron is poisonous"; "Cameron is hypnotic"; "Cameron is cold blooded"; or "Cameron is

dangerous". For Gordon Brown, metaphoric statements could include: "Brown is wounded"; "Brown is ineffectual"; or "Brown has little fight left in him". Sentiments applicable to Nick Clegg by the cartoonist include: "Clegg is monkeying around with the electorate", "Clegg is making mischief for the other two leaders" or, if taking the view he has the most human-like characteristics, "Clegg is most human of the three". Finally, collective metaphors of the three could include: "Brown, Cameron and Clegg are the highest of their political classes" or "Politics is subject to laws of the jungle". In drawing parallels to the Disney version, Riddell could also be seen as metaphorically conceptualising how "the party leaders are performing to the electorate", "Brown, Cameron and Clegg are two-dimensional in character" and that "the three party leaders aren't a patch on the original".

Table 65 (Appendix, pg. 95) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by Riddell's image with news elements of the *Observer* on May 2nd 2010. This cartoon achieves a full convergence to the publication across all news elements. Both the front page and inside photographs capture all three party leaders on the campaign trail: Clegg and his wife smiling and engaging with the crowds whilst campaigning in the marginal seat of Wells; Cameron fixing his gaze into the camera lens during a photo-call with schoolchildren; and Brown staring out of the window as he sits waiting to be interviewed by the *Observer's* Anushka Asthana and Toby Helm on a train. The collection of photographs visually confirms Riddell's allocation of animal type (and their corresponding behaviours) to each of the three leaders.

Further correlations exist within Asthana and Helm's subsequent write-up of their exchanges with the Prime Minister, the pair acknowledging Brown's personal conception of himself as an embattled warrior "fighting with every inch of being, every second of every day" in the run up to polling day (2/5/2010, pgs. 1, 4-5). In reinforcing the Prime Ministers' belief of being besieged on all fronts and having to fight to maintain his political terrain,

Riddell's image converges with Brown's personal sentiment of the election campaign to that point. An additional verbal correlation to the cartoon is seen in Robert McCrum's analysis of Cameron's charismatic campaigning style; the Conservative leader "practising the art of politics-lite in which message and reality are never allowed into troubling conflict" (2/5/2010, pg. 24).

Discussing the tactics deployed by the main party leaders, Andrew Rawnsley describes how Cameron, Brown and Clegg were deliberately tailoring their final campaigning pitches to the British electorate:

[On David Cameron] He wants to chill the blood of voters with the allegedly calamitous consequences for Britain if the election does not produce a clear winner. When [he] says Britain will be let down if there is not a single party government, he means it will be unpatriotic not to vote for him; a contention at once presumptuous and condescending.

[On Gordon Brown] The Prime Minister looks like a boxer who has been hit once too often. He breaks the cardinal rule of electioneering that you should always maintain that you're going to win, [yet] will only relinquish his grip on the door knob of Number 10 when all his fingers are broken.

[On Nick Clegg] After decades when they have been the victims of the squeeze, the Lib Dems are at last in a position to flip that game back on Labour and the Tories. Clegg's dream is to turn the election into one enormous by-election (Rawnsley, 2/5/2010, pg. 37).

Correlating the columnist's sentiments with Riddell's image, it could be hypothesised how Brown's weariness visually translates into the wounds on the bear and the creature's reluctance to cede its position at the top of the political jungle. Rawnsley's description of Cameron wanting to 'chill the blood' of voters, in tandem with the Conservative leader's twin messaging of scaring and enticing the British electorate, harmonise with reader conceptualisations of the snake as it goes about its daily life, evoking fear and wonder. In contrast, the text in Clegg's speech bubble synchronises with the manner in which the orang-utan adapts and evolves to its surroundings, highlighting how Liberal Democrats prosper electorally by metamorphosing themselves into a vehicle to defeat one or both main parties according to the constituency they compete in. A further convergence with the columnist occurs between the visual's strapline "The Bungle Book" and Rawnsley's overall assessment that "In truth, a cross in the box for any of them will be a vote for uncertainty"; the cartoonist highlighting the inadequacy of all three to deal with the coming challenges which face their political jungle (2/5/2010, *ibid*).

Finally, correlation is seen to exist between Riddell's cartoon and the *Observer's* First Leader, the news element describing the tactics of Brown, Cameron and Clegg over the course of the campaign in tandem with a visual triptych of each leader in their party hue:

[*On Cameron*] He is campaigning against the voters instead of pitching for their support. He deploys the language of civic duty to salve patrician Tory consciences over what would really be a Thatcherite assault on public sector jobs and services.

[*On Brown*] The money has run out and Labour looks spent with few ideas and a crumpled leader. [Brown] has failed to inspire party or country with a coherent agenda for government. As a result his election offer has been too retrospective, a plea to preserve old achievements with little promise of greater things to come.

[*On Clegg*] He has developed a habit of getting things right. He resisted the temptations of causal populism and stated his case with passion and clarity by advocating these things with refreshing urgency. As a result, the country wants [Clegg] to take a place of equal standing alongside the other main [party leaders] (*Observer*, 2/5/2010, pg. 36).

Riddell's conceptual usage of a snake, bear and orang-utan in his image serves to qualify the *Observer's* narrative of Cameron being fluent in political doublespeak, Brown lacking a body of accomplishments despite his political heft and Clegg being eager to embrace a myriad of policy positions in order to maximise his public standing. In so doing, Figure 113 encapsulates the *Observer's* verbal and editorial thrust concerning the threat of spending cuts to the British public sector, the obsolescence of the Labour party and the publication's desire to effect change through an endorsement of Clegg, sealing the cartoon's full convergence with its host publication.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Case Study Four (May 7th-16th 2010)-Coalition

Whilst notionally the shortest timeframe of analysis (encompassing a total of ten days), the final case study contextualises the events surrounding the formation of the first British coalition government since the end of World War Two. With the 2010 British General Election producing an atypical electoral outcome of a hung parliament, party leaders were eager to choreograph the presentation of political events to assert their claims of governance whilst respecting the constitutional processes set by the Civil Service (discussed in Chapter Seven). The rapid, unfolding nature of such events would challenge newspaper editors, compelling them to marginalise non-electoral and international news events as the media continued to adjust to the shifting composition of the incoming government and its ideological nature.

News Context

Election Result

Question: In which country could a prime minister see his party come third in a general election and remain in office?

Deliberation: A banana republic? A dictatorship?

Answer: Er...well, no, Britain actually (Grice, 7/5/2010, pgs. 10-11)

Table 70 illustrates the electoral permutations arising from the 2010 British General Election alongside a comparison with each party's previous results in 2005. The data shows how the British electorate expressed its displeasure with a tired Labour government, the party experiencing heavy losses in both votes and seats. However, in spite of achieving the largest swing away from a governing party since 1931, the Conservatives still fell short of an

overall majority. The Liberal Democrats aspiration of capitalising upon the media interest generated by Nick Clegg over the televised debates was similarly dashed; the party sustaining its first losses since its inauguration in 1989.

Party	Leader	2005 Votes	2005 Seats	2010 Votes	2010 Seats
Conservatives	David Cameron	8,784,915 (32.4%)	210 (30.7%)	10,806,015 (36.4%)	306 (47.1%)
	Labour Party	Gordon Brown	9,552,436 (35.2%)	349 (55.2%)	8,609,527 (29.0%)
Liberal Democrats	Nick Clegg	5,985,454 (22.0%)	62 (9.6%)	6,836,824 (23.0%)	57 (8.8%)
Democratic Unionist Party	Dr Ian Paisley	241,856 (0.9%)	9 (1.4%)	168,216 (0.6%)	8 (1.2%)
Scottish National Party	Alex Salmond	412,267 (1.5%)	6 (0.9%)	491,386 (1.7%)	6 (0.9%)
Sinn Féin	Gerry Adams	174,530 (0.6%)	5 (0.8%)	171,942 (0.6%)	5 (0.8%)
Plaid Cymru	Ieuan Wyn Jones	174,838 (0.6%)	3 (0.5%)	165,394 (0.6%)	3 (0.5%)
	SDLP	Margaret Ritchie	125,626 (0.5%)	3 (0.5%)	110,970 (0.4%)
Alliance	Naomi Long	28,291 (0.1%)	0	42,762 (0.1%)	1 (0.2%)
Green Party	Caroline Lucas	257,758 (1.0%)	0	265,243 (0.9%)	1 (0.2%)
	UK Independence Party	Lord Pearson	605,973 (2.2%)	0	919,471 (3.1%)
British National Party	Nick Griffin	192,745 (0.7%)	0	564,321 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)

Table 70: Comparison of 2005 and 2010 British General Election Results by votes cast and number of seats won (excluding Speaker/Independents)

The inconclusive nature of the election saw the Prime Minister utilising his post-election address from Downing Street to outline his constitutional duties in view of such an outcome:

The outcome of this country's vote is not yet clear. My duty to the country coming out of this election is to play my part in Britain having a strong, stable and principled government. (Brown in Grice, 7/5/2010, pg. 2)

In spite of Labour's losses Brown ploughed ahead in seeking a partnership with the Liberal Democrats, capitalising upon his constitutional right to form an administration on the grounds of incumbency. To reinforce his claim, the party deployed Lord Mandelson to underline the normality of such a situation, stating to perplexed commentators how 'it's not the party with the largest number of seats that has the first go, it's the sitting government' (Morris, 7/5/2010, pgs. 6-7). Despite such moves, Morris highlights the surfacing of tensions between critics of the Prime Minister and Brown's coterie of supporters; the former criticising his micromanagement of the campaign, the latter defending his willingness to tackle every criticism head-on and, in turn, ensuring a degree of 'salvation' in preventing the Conservatives from securing an overall majority (Morris, 7/5/2010, *ibid*).

David Cameron, by contrast, was eager to emphasise his margin of victory over Labour, espousing how voters had decisively rejected Brown and given the Conservatives the political basis to govern. As Cameron accepted acclamations from foreign dignitaries however, Colin Brown illustrates the lingering discontent within Conservative circles at the failure to secure an outright majority, the outcome being attributed to an electorate whipped into an anti-political frenzy by forces outside their control (8/5/2010, pgs. 8-9). Far

from preparing to enter Downing Street, Cameron now found himself having to formulate a new political strategy accommodating the horse trading to follow.

Dissecting the underwhelming nature of the Liberal Democrats' performance, Savage outlines how strategists failed to respond to shifts in polling data across marginal constituencies in the final twenty-four hours of campaigning (7/5/2010, pg. 8). By allowing Labour and the Conservatives to 'shout from every orifice' that a vote for the Liberal Democrats was a proxy vote for Cameron or Brown, the party's polling surge triggered by Cleggmania (discussed in Chapters Six) had largely dissipated, translating instead into a loss of five seats (Savage, 7/5/2010, *ibid*). Despite their weakened position, Clegg found himself in the position no third party leader had experienced since the Liberal Party's Jeremy Thorpe in the 1974 (February) British General Election, that of the political kingmaker.

Coalition Negotiations

In light of the results, the British press (and gathering global media) began scrutinising the Cabinet Office's procedures for the upcoming negotiations. Grice outlines how the protocols would maximise the window of opportunity for parties to secure agreement and ensure "a functioning British government at all times", in spite of Cameron's protestations that the guidelines were anti-constitutional and "put civil servants in the driving seat", (7/5/2010, pgs. 10-11). Labour ministers voted out of their seats were instructed to remain in post, continuing to receive classified documents and being involved in day-to-day affairs (Morris, 8/5/2010, pgs. 12-13). Whilst providing a stay of execution for lesser-known ministers, the spectre arose of Alistair Darling entering into international agreements which any incoming government (coalition or minority) would be compelled to honour. Such concerns would manifest into reality over May 8th-9th as the Labour Chancellor agreed to supply a Treasury guarantee of £15bn as part of a wider EU emergency bailout for

Greece, storing up consternation for Eurosceptic backbenchers when the financial measure came up for ratification by Parliament some weeks later.

Morris outlines how Brown initiated his courtship of Clegg by instructing his ministers to privately coerce their Liberal Democrat counterparts, accentuating their progressive similarities and their pre-planned agreements with other minority parties (8/5/2010, pgs. 12-13). However, two major stumbling blocks were quickly identified. The first was a growing chorus of Labour MP's keen to reconcile themselves to their loss and unwilling to countenance sharing power with "a ragbag coalition", publicly telling the Prime Minister to "take [defeat] on the chin" (Wicks cited in Morris, 10/5/2010, pg. 5). The second was that of Brown's continuing presence within Labour's negotiating team. Mistrustful that any deal agreed by the Prime Minister would be cast aside once returned to office, Liberal Democrat representatives insisted that his resignation was a pre-requisite to the party entering any form of negotiations; an action Brown refused to agree to.

'Big, Open Comprehensive Offer'

Articulating Cameron aspiration of securing a formal arrangement with the Liberal Democrats within three days, Grice describes how the Conservative leader utilised his first post-election press conference to highlight how he preferred something "more stable [and] more collaborative" than a mere confidence and supply agreement (Cameron cited in Grice, 8/5/2010, pg. 4). To facilitate the creation of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, O'Grady identifies three tests which had to be overcome. First, could Cameron and Clegg come to agree upon a joint programme? Second, would their respective party members acquiesce to the policy compromises to be made? Finally, and more importantly, could such an administration work on a day-to-day basis? (8/5/2010, pgs. 6-7). Whilst the third test

could only be answered *'in praxis'*, Cameron and Clegg set to work in addressing the practicalities of the other two.

With regard to policy, Cameron sought to publicise elements of his manifesto to which his prospective partners had already agreed. O'Grady outlines how, to bridge the differences in economic opinion expressed by both parties during campaigning (highlighted in Chapters Five and Six), Cameron alighted upon the idea of the two camps 'splitting the difference'. Such a strategy would entail a Liberal Democrat Chief Secretary being installed alongside Osborne and working in tandem on a measure-by-measure basis to cut the deficit more slowly and pull Britain's economy back under control (8/5/2010, *ibid*). For the Liberal Democrats however, electoral reform remained at the forefront of discussions. Savage and Morris illustrate how, prior to the election, Clegg had secured a commitment from Brown to a referendum on implementing the Alternative Vote (AV) voting system; serving as a transitional measure towards the introduction of proportional representation (10/5/2010, pgs. 2-3). Now holding the balance of power, members of the party's negotiating team expected 'an absolute promise' from the Conservatives, insisting off-the-record that 'If we don't take the opportunity, we may not get another for 50 years' (Savage and Morris, 10/5/2010, *ibid*.)

Addressing the views of their respective memberships, Cameron calculated that whilst he would never appease grassroots supporters who craved a second general election, his charisma and personal conviction would enable him to convince the 1922 Committee (the parliamentary organisation of Conservative backbenchers) of the merits of such an alliance. Despite his optimism, Morris records the disgruntlement expressed by many of Cameron's own colleagues with regard to his blind faith in securing a coalition:

Cameron's arrogant little gang are being smug and dismissive of their own MP's. The manifesto was a policy-free zone and, surprise surprise, the public were reluctant to vote for us. Having dissipated a twenty point lead, we have to grovel to the Lib Dems to get Labour out. It is a joke (Unnamed Conservative MP in Morris, 10/5/2010, pg. 4).

O'Grady explains how the Liberal Democrat's 'triple lock' principle towards coalitions effectively became the bulwark of Britain's political state: any arrangement requiring three quarters of support from MP's and the Federal Executive; the consent of a majority of delegates at a special conference; or, if all else failed, the consent of its full membership (8/5/2010, pg. 6) Recognising that any deal with the Conservatives would be treated with scepticism by members, Clegg worked on the basis of attempting to satisfy the criterion surrounding the former two 'locks'. However, Savage and Morris illustrate the disinclination of party grandees in acquiescing to their leader and agreeing to work with their Conservative 'nemeses' in the face of their ideological preference towards a progressive alliance:

Propping up Gordon Brown would be toxic [in the short term] but once he goes, things become much easier. The arithmetic is very much possible (Senior Liberal Democrat MP cited in Savage and Morris, 10/5/2010, pgs. 2-3).

Resignation/Formation

The unfolding nature of events in Westminster across May 10-11th would prove to be politically tumultuous. Having disclosed to journalists that a viable coalition deal had been struck by his negotiating team over the weekend, Clegg was suddenly presented with a parliamentary roadblock. Meeting with parliamentary colleagues in Westminster, McSmith highlights how a majority of Liberal Democrat MP's privately expressed their opposition towards working with the Conservatives on any basis (11/5/2010, pgs. 4-5). Furthermore, a significant minority were prepared to question his rationale for not establishing any form of dialogue with Labour in spite of their repeated public and private overtures. With his peers 'laying down the law' that he nominally establish the terms of reference to a Labour agreement, Clegg found himself having to retract his earlier assertions that an agreement was nigh, to the consternation of the British media (McSmith, 11/5/2010, pgs. 4-5).

Capitalising upon the Liberal Democrat leader's moment of prevarication, Gordon Brown would now 'stun the political world' by making an unforeseen gambit. Grice describes how the Prime Minister expressed his intent of stepping down as Labour leader to pave the way for a Lib-Lab coalition whilst remaining in the role of Prime Minister in a caretaker capacity whilst the party selected his replacement (11/5/2010, pg. 2). Stung by the course of events, Cameron continued to play the political and media percentages by raising the spectre of a newly-appointed Labour leader who had neither participated in the televised debates nor been scrutinised by voters 'leading a coalition of losers' (Morris, 11/5/2010, pg. 12).

Cameron's forceful stance was rapturously received by Conservative backbenchers' angered by the way their leader had been treated by Clegg and his negotiating team in their haste to meet with their centre-left counterparts; some publically condemning the Liberal

Democrats as akin to political 'tarts' (Morris, 11/5/2010, *ibid.*). In spite of this, Brown's gambit made a noticeable impact on negotiations between the Conservative and Liberal Democrats; the former being forced to make a binding commitment to legislate for reform of the House of Lords and a referendum on AV as part of their 'final' offer on electoral reform.

It was now decision time for the Liberal Democrats. However, Grice notes how an unbridgeable gap emerged between the Labour and Liberal Democrat negotiating teams. Both parties realised such dialogue would fail to amount to anything concrete; negotiators for the former outlining a £27bn 'shopping list' of Liberal Democrat policy demands, those of the latter convinced Labour were 'giving the impression of wanting the process to fail' (12/5/2010, pg. 2). With discussions rapidly unravelling, senior Labour representatives expressed a suspicion that Clegg had engineered the outcome as a means of demonstrating the implausibility of such a deal to his parliamentary colleagues; forcing them into accepting the Conservative proposals:

In the final analysis, I am wondering whether that is what they actually intended. [We were] up for a deal with them, but it became clear their instincts lay on the Conservative side rather than the progressive side (Mandelson cited in Grice, 12/5/2010, *ibid.*).

Faced with the insurmountable parliamentary arithmetic and the prospect of senior Cabinet members resigning in the event of any coalition, Brown quickly realised his gambit had failed. The solitary placement of a lectern outside Downing Street triggered the political choreography surrounding the transition of power between outgoing and incoming

governments in British politics: Brown announcing his resignation at 7:17pm on May 11th and departing from Downing Street with his young family in front of the gathered press corps; policy negotiations between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrat teams being formalised on paper at 7:35pm; and Cameron's arrival in Downing Street to the cheers of supporters at 10pm. With the Conservative leader tending to the formal congratulatory calls from foreign heads of state, Clegg announced his parliamentary party's approval of the coalition agreement shortly after midnight, the new Deputy Prime Minister recommending the wider membership additionally approve the deal at a special conference to be arranged soon afterwards.

Rose Garden and Recriminations

I believe [the coalition] is the right way to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly. Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences and work hard for the common good and the national interest. This is going to be hard and difficult work. But I believe together we can provide that strong and stable government that our country needs (Cameron, 12/5/2010, pg. 3).

With negotiations concluded, media focus now fell upon the initial public performance the coalition in partnership. The British press was eager to chronicle the first sighting of Cameron and Clegg together in the Rose Garden of Ten Downing Street; commentators utilising descriptors more suited to a marriage than a press conference:

It was a glorious spring day, with blazing sun and birds singing. The partners bounced lightly passed the wisteria and down, nicely in step, into the garden. Political Jedwards, they wore different coloured ties so the ignorant could tell them apart.

This may have been a shotgun wedding, but the couple were determined to convince us that they really have fallen in love. The body language was carefully coordinated. So too was the joshing-about past gaffes and future by-elections. The sense of double act was so overwhelming that hacks all around were reaching for comedy comparisons: TweedleCam and TweedleClegg, Fry and Laurie, Morecombe and Wise-though they looked like a couple of Ernns (Vallely, 13/5/2010, pg. 4).

Savage outlines how detractors on both sides were forced into ‘holding their tongues’ and presenting a united front to the British electorate (13/5/2010, pg. 10). Cameron would subsequently urge coalition colleagues at their first Cabinet sitting that any disagreements or differences should remain private, prompting Vince Cable to retort how the new government was comparable to an arranged marriage ‘often working better than one borne out of love’ (Grice, 14/5/2010, pg. 4). Whilst Liberal Democrat parliamentarians sought to trumpet the policy concessions made by the Prime Minister, others reconciled themselves to the prospect of having to share power with Conservatives:

I think there is no doubt whatsoever there will be party members who will walk away because they want the total purity. It will be difficult to swallow having to work with people we were campaigning against but the electorate asked us to do that and that’s what we will have to deliver (Foster cited in Savage, 13/5/2010, pg. 10).

Detailing the Conservative-Liberal Democrat deal in depth, Grice pinpoints how the agreement would shape the fate of both parties in the years ahead (13/5/2010, pgs. 12-13). By placing key allies at the helm of the core offices of state, Cameron would be empowered to implement the bulk of his manifesto with the command of a sizeable parliamentary majority. This would enable him to push ahead with some of the Conservatives' more contentious reforms to the public sector, notably welfare reform and a reconfiguration of the National Health Service in England. In relegating or sacking former shadow ministers to accommodate the influx of Liberal Democrats however, the Prime Minister would himself facing ongoing backbench disgruntlement which conspired against him throughout his premiership.

Armed with ministerial and cabinet positions throughout government departments, the Liberal Democrats would have their first taste of national political power since 1923, having the opportunity to implement its headline policies on income tax and education. Clegg believed the residual benefits of governance would enable the party to tackle policy areas of historical weakness and empower it to become a credible political force. However, such optimism proved to be misguided. A series of policy miscalculations and Clegg's failure to overcome perceptions of being the 'junior partner' in the coalition sent the Liberal Democrat's polling figures into a tailspin. Aside from the Fixed Term Parliaments Act (2011), the political reforms long cherished by its supporters failed to materialise: the AV referendum being lost in 2011 following an abrupt about-turn by Cameron; the equalisation of parliamentary constituencies being postponed until 2018; and reform of the House of Lords being similarly side-lined through Labour's parliamentary tactics. Taken in concert, the events would conspire to result in the number of Liberal Democrat MP's eroding from fifty-

seven to eight at the 2015 British General Election, relegating the party to fourth behind the Scottish National Party (in terms of seats) and UKIP (in terms of votes cast) respectively.

Labour Leadership

Brown's resignation saw Labour MP's entering Opposition in an uncharacteristically celebratory mood. Representatives were eager to pronounce how the party's de-mob atmosphere was comparable to that of winning the British General Election itself. Calculating that they would now be in a prime position to capitalise upon any discontent or policy shortcomings within the coalition, Labour party stalwarts began emphasising the need for a 'genuine, real contest with many contestants' in order to intellectually reinvigorate the party for the challenge ahead (McSmith, 13/5/2010, pgs. 18-19).

McSmith highlights how, following a party-wide moratorium on candidacies throughout the duration of coalition negotiations, David Miliband (the former Foreign Secretary) swiftly announced his intention to stand for the Labour leadership. Whilst the 'heir apparent' appeared with his coterie of supporters on the steps of the Palace of Westminster, commentators notice how his brother Ed was 'conspicuously absent' (McSmith, 13/5/2010, *ibid.*). Rumours began circulating that he too was formulating a challenge, joining Andy Burnham (former Health Secretary), Ed Balls (Schools Secretary) and backbench MP Diane Abbott in declaring an intention to run. Keen to avoid the contest reopening the wounds between Blairite and Brownite wings, Harriet Harman saw her role as interim leader to be the effective referee of the contest:

We all know that the party expects the contest to be a credit to the party. Each contestant's supporters will be generous to the others. This will be a contest within the team (Harman cited in McSmith, 13/5/2010, pgs. 18-19).

Ed Miliband would subsequently emerge victorious from the five-way leadership contest at the party's annual conference in September 2010. Capitalising upon Harman's decision to prolong the contest over the summer, he defeated his elder brother in a knife-edge vote having cultivated sufficient support from trade unionists and Labour's younger, more left-leaning membership.

Quantitative Analysis

Having presented the news themes, the case study now employs the quantitative approach outlined in Chapter Four to establish convergence/divergence in terms of themes, topics and actors in the cartoons versus other newspaper elements.

Sample Size

The final phase of the electoral cycle supplied a total of 229 news elements for quantitative scrutiny. With a total of 63, the *Guardian* returned to being the publication with the largest dataset of news elements, followed closely by the *Times* (62) and *Independent* (60). The *Telegraph* was conversely found to possess the smallest dataset with a total of 54.

Frequency of Article Type

Table 71 illustrates the breakdown of news elements carried by the four broadsheet newspapers for this phase. In a similar fashion to Chapters 5-7, all broadsheet newspapers were found to incorporate front page photographs, headlines, columnists, First Leaders and editorial cartoons. Of those not featuring on a recurring basis, the decrease in Second and Third Leaders frequencies seen in the election phase continued; the former by 23.60%, the latter 42.96%. Although papers continued to run one to three editorials per edition, no individual paper possessed a full dataset of editorial content; the *Guardian* having the highest number (23) followed by the *Times* (22) and *Independent* (20) respectively. The *Telegraph* was noticeably lower with a total of fourteen, the broadsheet using its editorial column inches to reinforce its displeasure at the prevarications displayed by the main parties in forming a government. Similar frustration was also expressed by the paper over Brown's unwillingness to respect the will of the electorate and resign from office, displaying a wilful ignorance of the constitutional protocols set down by the Civil Service in the event

of such a scenario outlined earlier. With this in mind, it is of little surprise to find the lowest frequency of Second and Third Leaders appearing in the *Telegraph*, decreasing by 58.75% and 81.67% respectively when compared to the same figures in Chapter Seven.

Newspaper	Editorial Cartoon	Front Page Photograph	Front Page Article	Columnist	First Leader	Second Leader	Third Leader
Guardian	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	90% +9.99%	40% -45%
Independent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	60% -34%	40% -51.11%
Telegraph	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	30% -58.75%	10% -81.67%
Times	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	70% -3.75%	50% +37.51%

Table 71: *Frequency of Appearance for each News Element within Broadsheet Newspapers across Coalition Phase, including increase/decrease in frequency rate from Election Phase*

News Topic Frequency

Front Page Photograph

Table 72 (Appendix, pg. 108) illustrates the global frequency of news topics covered by front page photographs across all broadsheet titles. Twenty three news topics were visually presented; one more than those seen during the election phase. The most frequent topic was that of the Conservatives, appearing in 40% of all global images following the election; an increase of 25.71%. Whilst Labour did record a marginal increase in their frequency of photographic coverage (27.5%, up 0.84% on the previous phase), the onset of coalition negotiations saw the Liberal Democrats' visual presence increase by over 110% when compared to its showing in Chapter Seven, having a frequency rate of 22.5%. The final phase displays the largest number of cross-broadsheet photographic convergence of the

four case studies with the same news topic visually represented on five separate occasions: namely the Conservatives on May 7th; Labour on May 9th; the resignation of Brown on May 11th; the entrance of Cameron into 10 Downing Street on May 12th; and the first media presentation of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in the Rose Garden of Number 10 on May 13th.

The global news topic elements are deconstructed in Bar Chart 41 (Appendix, pg. 109) into their respective coverage by individual newspapers. The publications with the highest proportion of images devoted to the Conservatives were the *Independent* and *Telegraph* respectively, the topic appearing with a 50% frequency rate in both newspapers. However, a marked difference exists between the titles when comparing their presentations of the same topic during the election case study. Whilst visual coverage in the *Telegraph* decreases by 8.34%, the *Independent* is seen as increasing its frequency by 175% compared to its rate during the election phase. A similar phenomenon occurs in the centre-left papers' treatment of the Liberal Democrats, increasing by over 230% from 18.18% to 60% over the ten day period.

Front Page Article

Table 73 (Appendix, pg. 110) outlines the global frequency of news topics covered in the front page articles of the four broadsheet groups. The dataset highlights a continuing reduction in the number of themes occurring within this news element; a total of twenty eight compared to the thirty three identified in Chapter Seven. Having achieved their best share-of-vote performance in the party's history (and their second-best in terms of number of seats), the Liberal Democrats were recast as political kingmakers in the newly hung parliament by broadsheet journalists and appearing across 45% of all front page articles; an increase of 80% from the 25% seen in the previous case study). A correlative increase is

additionally seen with respect to discussions concerning electoral reform, the topic rising from 13.64% to 40% (an increase of 193%). However, it would be Cameron's unexpected offer of forming a Conservative-led coalition which fundamentally shaped front page discourse. As the arrangement evolved from theory to practice, the topic would appear with a frequency rate of 72% over the ten day period; an exponential increase of 956% compared with mentions of the same topic in the previous phase. Labour's impotence throughout the coalition negotiations and its subsequent transition into opposition would lead to mentions of the party decreasing by 45%, falling from the 50% figure seen in Chapter Seven to 27.5% as publications realigned their focus upon the incoming government.

The breakdown of global news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers is highlighted in Bar Chart 42 (Appendix, pg. 111). Acting as the principle reporter of abortive efforts by Labour and Liberal Democrat grandees to formulate a progressive alliance (70%), the *Guardian* was seen as featuring the Liberal Democrats in nine out of its ten front page stories. Although the prospect of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition was widely mentioned across all papers, the *Telegraph* notably dovetails its discussion of the topic with how rank and file Conservative representatives would respond to such a partnership (60%). Journalists for the *Independent* undertook a similar exercise from the perspective of Liberal Democrat member, albeit to a lesser extent (40%). As with the front page photograph news element, this case study similarly displays the highest number of cross-broadsheet convergences with respect to the front page article with eight of the ten days utilising the same topic. These include: the inconclusive election result and its impact upon Brown's premiership on May 7th; the fateful decision to be made by Clegg on May 8th; the prospect of electoral reform within a Conservative-Liberal Democrat government on May 9th; Brown's resignation as Labour party leader (but not as Prime

Minister) on May 11th; and the political genesis of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government across May 12th– 14th and May 16th, the latter in tandem with its formal presentation in the Rose Garden at Downing Street on May 13th.

Columnist

Table 74 (Appendix, pg. 112) records the global frequency of news topics covered by regular and guest columnists across the four publications. Thirty nine news topics were identified (three less than the election phase) with two achieving a frequency rate of sixty percent: the Conservatives (an increase of 12% on the previous phase) and the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (a marked increase of 560%). As columnists followed their journalistic counterparts in side-lining the party, discussions concerning Labour were seen to decrease from 54.55% to 42.50%. By contrast, speculation upon the role Liberal Democrat Ministers would play in the incoming government resulted in their frequency rate increasing by 134%. The increasing media attention towards politicians such as Danny Alexander and David Laws served to generate a corollary effect with respect to mentions of Nick Clegg. The party's underwhelming performance on polling day led to the electoral phenomenon of Cleggmania decreasing by 63.33% from its figure in the previous phase.

The news topics are separated into their respective coverage by individual newspapers in Bar Chart 43 (Appendix, pg. 113). Irrespective of party efforts to create a coalition or rainbow alliance, every *Guardian* columnist was eager to signal their individual dread of a Conservative-led administration. The failure of Clegg to electorally capitalise upon his elevated public status served to fuel columnist analysis of the direction he would now take his party in a hung parliament; the *Independent* and *Guardian* both discussing his dilemma with a frequency of 30% in tandem with the future prospects of the Liberal

Democrats (60%). Championing the idea that the Conservative leadership should concede only the bare minimum to their prospective partners, seven of the *Telegraph's* ten columns are overtly antipathetic towards electoral reform serving as the crux of coalition negotiations. Columnists of all broadsheet newspapers were seen to topically converge on three occasions: notably the continuing negotiations between the two parties on May 9th; the last-gasp efforts to facilitate a Labour-Liberal Democrat alliance in light of Brown's resignation on May 11th; and the first tentative steps of the newly formed Conservative-Liberal Democrat government across May 15th-16th.

Third Leader

The global frequency of news topics covered by Third Leaders is detailed in Table 75 (Appendix, pg. 114). The dataset displays the smallest number of this particular news element type with twenty six absences noted. This increase from the number seen in Chapter Seven is attributable to both formatting decisions taken by the publications and the need for editorial focus to concentrate upon coalition negotiations (particularly across the period 8th-13th May 2010). Of those published, a total of fourteen news topics were identified; a decrease of eleven from the previous phase. As seen in the figures outlined in Chapters Five and Six, the topic of sport appeared with the greatest frequency (7.50%), followed closely by standards, religion and the media with 5% each. Of significance was the *Times'* use of Third Leader on May 13th which would highlight quirks and foibles within the composition of the newly-formed coalition, namely the gender imbalance within the Cabinet and their homogenised societal upbringing. Although Bar Chart 44 (Appendix, pg. 115) divides the news topics into their respective coverage by individual newspapers, these will not be discussed further owing to the lack of sufficient data.

Second Leader

The global frequency of Second Leader news topics are denoted in Table 76 (Appendix, pg. 116). The impulse of broadsheets to assess electoral results and provide running commentaries of the unfolding developments in British politics resulted in a total of fifteen Second Leaders being absent from the dataset: namely the *Guardian* on May 9th; *Independent* on May 8th, 9th, 12th and 16th; the *Telegraph* across May 8th-12th and May 15th-16th respectively; and the *Times* on May 7th, 9th and 16th. In spite of these omissions, twenty-eight news topics were incorporated; a decrease of two from the previous phase. A quarter of all Second Leader coverage is devoted to analysis of the international events highlighted earlier in the news context, albeit appearing with a decreased frequency of 21.43%. However, a residual impact of coalition negotiations would see mentions of the economy increasing by 157% within this news element type. Bar Chart 45 (Appendix, pg. 117) presents the individual newspapers' respective discussions of Second Leader news topics, highlighting how the *Independent* and *Telegraph* returned to themes which were familiar and of appeal to their core readerships, notably the environment and standards.

First Leader

The global appearance of news topics covering First Leaders is presented in Table 77 (Appendix, pg. 118). A full dataset saw thirty-five news topics identified for discussion, with no change from the number seen in the election phase. The most recurring topic was that of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in both its hypothetical (i.e. pre-May 12th) and manifest (post-May 12th) forms, appearing with a frequency of 77.50% (an increase of 1036.36% from its number identified in Chapter Seven). Corollary increases were similarly noted with respect to discussions of the constituent parts of the coalition; the Conservatives

up 21.58% to 52.50% and the Liberal Democrats up 83.35% to 50%. Although broadsheet First Leaders did entertain the prospect of a Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition (22.5%, up by 891.19%), the theme appeared with a lower frequency owing to the implausible parliamentary arithmetic surrounding such an arrangement. The exposure of shortcomings within the 'Westminster model' of British democracy (outlined in Chapter Four) additionally saw electoral reform piquing editorial interest as it became a point of contention between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats prior to the consummation of their coalition; up 318.13% to 47.5%.

Bar Chart 46 (Appendix, pg. 119) highlights the individual newspapers' discussions of global news topics. As with other news elements discussed in this chapter, the final phase illustrates the highest number of broadsheet First Leader convergences. Eight of the ten days are seen as displaying newspaper consensus toward a singular or collective group of news topics, with May 7th and 14th proving the sole exceptions; the former being justifiable by the lack of electoral results available to broadsheets and hampering substantive synopsis of the outcome. Echoing the sentiments of its columnists, *Telegraph* First Leaders were seen to repudiate electoral reform as serving as the crux for coalition negotiations (60%; an increase of 560%), reinforcing their view that the British economy should take priority instead (80% an increase of 10%). At the same time, the *Guardian* and *Independent* concentrated their discussions upon the Liberal Democrats (70%) with both striving to advise party negotiators as to how they should simultaneously prevent the worst excesses of a Conservative led administration whilst extracting the best policy outcome for themselves. The two centre-left publications would additionally champion the idea of a Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition, persisting with the notion until Brown's departure from Downing Street on May 12th.

Editorial Cartoons

The global frequency of news topics covering editorial cartoons are presented in Table 78 (Appendix, pg. 120). Twenty-seven news topics were identified; ten fewer than those highlighted in the previous phase. Such a reduction points toward a concentration of cartoonist focus upon the twists and turns of coalition negotiations highlighted in the earlier news context. In a comparable manner to First Leaders, the most recurring topic was the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, appearing with a frequency of 65.50% within the dataset; an increase of 160% from its figure during the election phase. Cartoonists from all broadsheet publications were seen as grappling with how best to represent this new type of political administration to audiences; their endeavours being discussed in the upcoming qualitative analysis.

As illustrators speculated upon the political fates of Cameron (45%) and Clegg (55%), the number of visuals addressing their respective futures would increase in frequency by 41.42% and 141.97% respectively. Figure 122 demonstrates the hypothetical tightrope being navigated by the pair as they partook in coalition negotiations. In the image, Morten Morland depicts the duo as preparing to embark upon funambulism without the aid of a safety net. By binding their ankles in a similar fashion to that seen in a three-legged race, the cartoonist signals to *Times* readers the degrees of co-operation and trust required for both to retain their political balance; one false move leading to the downfall of both.



Figure 122: *Untitled (Morland, Times 9/5/2010)*

Morland's visual serves to highlight the irrelevance of Gordon Brown to the wider coalition negotiations. Although appearances of the Prime Minister were shown in 20% of cartoons globally, these images are primarily concentrated into the period of May 7th-11th; the Labour leader appearing in half of all images for this isolated dataset. The representation of Brown by all cartoonists is one of imminent demise: Figures 123-125 showcasing him being measured up by an undertaker (Brookes); infested with maggots (Rowson); and being hung, drawn and quartered (Brown). In a likewise manner, Figures 126-128 indicate the finality of Brown's political career with illustrators conceptualising his resignation through the handing of his head on a platter (Bell), the self-strangulation with his tie (Dave Brown) and his voluntary walking off a cliff (Garland).



Figures 123-125: Post election cartoonist treatment of Gordon Brown (Brookes, *Times* 7/5/2010; Rowson, *Guardian*, 8/5/201; Brown, *Independent*, 8/5/2010)



Figures 126-128: Editorial cartoonist treatment of Gordon Brown's resignation (Bell, *Guardian* 11/5/2010; Brown, *Independent*, 11/5/2010; Garland, *Telegraph*, 11/5/2010)

Turning towards the extent of recurring visual news topics in individual newspapers, Bar Chart 47 (Appendix, pg. 121) identifies how *Guardian* cartoonists maintained their obsessive focus upon the Conservatives (90%, no change from the election phase). To achieve this, illustrators were seem to expand representations of the party beyond Cameron

to incorporate incoming Cabinet Ministers such as Eric Pickles, William Hague, Michael Gove and George Osborne. A similar exercise occurs with the expanded pool of Liberal Democrat representatives (up 28.32% to 70%), cartoonists integrating figures such as Vince Cable, Chris Huhne, David Laws and Danny Alexander alongside Clegg to reflect the party's newfound prominence in the new administration.

In contrast to other two main parties, Labour's waning political importance is illustrated through decreases in representations of the organisation across all broadsheet newspapers: the *Guardian* down by 63.33%; the *Independent* by 8.34%; the *Telegraph* by 44.99%; and the *Times* by 68.57%. However, the impending leadership contest did supply opportunities for cartoonists such as Christian Adams to belittle Labour's effort to repackage itself in light of its rejection by the electorate. Through the use of a triptych of visuals, Figure 129 endeavours to remind *Telegraph* readers of how three of the prospective leadership candidates (David Miliband, Ed Miliband and Ed Balls) were part of the original collective behind New Labour in the 1990s alongside Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. As the cartoon progresses from left to right Adams adds an additional 'New' to his starting strapline of 'New Labour' to infer how little had changed in spite of repeated efforts by the trio to repackage and rebrand themselves.



Figure 129: *Triptych of Labour* (Adams, *Sunday Telegraph*, 16/5/2010)

Bar Chart 48 (Appendix, pg. 122) breaks down the cartoon news topics by their respective appearance in the dataset of each editorial cartoonist. Returning to his position seen in Chapters Five and Six, the *Times*' Peter Brookes again incorporates the most themes by highlighting eighteen separate news topics in this phase. Conversely, Gerald Scarfe was seen as having the fewest with a total of seven. All broadsheet illustrators were eager to speculate upon Clegg's future as he embarked upon his new political alliance with the Conservatives, with the notable exception of Adams.

Figure 130 typifies Martin Rowson's fascination with the coalition negotiations, the illustrator keen to contrast Clegg's idealistic aspirations against the practicalities of having to toe Cameron's line. By caricaturing Clegg as the fictional character of Pinocchio, Rowson agglomerates two separate source domains: Carlo Collodi's (1883) original work and the 1940 animated film version produced by Walt Disney. The film domain is signified by the presence of Jiminy Cricket (renamed Jiminy Liberal by Rowson), the character promoted

from a minor role in the text into a deuteragonist acting as the titular character's conscience in the movie. In spite of the upbeat and encouraging nature of the song to motivate Clegg, Rowson underscores the visceral reality of coalition politics by having Cameron crush the cricket in front of the Liberal Democrat leader (reinforced by a spiky speech bubble containing the onomatopoeia 'SPLAT!' in bold red capitals) and enticing him towards an unpleasant fate.



Figure 130: Untitled (Rowson, Guardian, 10/5/2010)

Convergence of Editorial Cartoons to News Elements

Having assessed the frequency of appearance by each news topic within individual news elements, attention now turns towards providing a synoptic overview of the respective points of editorial cartoon convergence or divergence seen throughout this phase. Tables 79-88 (Appendix, pgs. 123-132) summarise the overarching news events of

each day, identifying: the topics pursued by each news element across the four broadsheet newspapers; the editorial cartoon topics; and the points of correspondence achieved between the respective elements within and across the four papers. As with previous Chapters, editorial cartoons displaying a connection with the photo, front page, columnist and a minimum of one of the editorial articles were recorded as being fully convergent with the host newspaper. A lack of connection with any news element conversely resulted in the cartoon being catalogued as divergent. Those displaying a match with some but not all news elements were denoted as achieving a partial convergence by virtue of a particularised link to a news topic carried within an individual news element.

The degrees of convergence achieved by editorial cartoons throughout the coalition phase are highlighted in Pie Chart 4 (Appendix, pg. 133) alongside the elements with which they converged. The chart highlights 98% of all editorial cartoons as attaining some degree of convergence with at least one news element within their host publication; an increase of 3.16% when compared to the figure identified in Chapter Seven. The number of fully convergent cartoons over the ten-day period increased by four from twenty three to twenty seven. When expressed as a percentage relative to the size of the dataset, the proportion of cartoons displaying total synchronicity was again seen to increase from 54% in the previous phase to 66%; an increase of 22.22%. Approaching the four case studies in this analysis as a singular body of data, Bar Chart 49 (Appendix, pg. 134) demonstrates how the percentage of editorial cartoons achieving full convergence experiences a fourfold increase over the course of the 2010 British General Election cycle (up by 407.69% from 13% to 66%); a key research finding of this study. Of the thirteen partially convergent images these were broken down into: three which correlated with discussions carried by front page, columnist and editorial (7%); two with front page, photograph and editorial (5%); one with front page,

photograph and columnist (2%); three with editorial and columnist (7%); one with front page and columnist (2%); one with front page and photo (2%); one with the editorial (2%); and one solely with the columnist (2%).

Only one editorial cartoon (2%) is identified as diverging fully from news topics covered by their host publication, again that of Peter Brookes in the *Times* on May 7th. In a similar manner to the title's presentation of two cartoons in a single edition discussed in Chapter Seven, the broadsheet again carried a pair of illustrations on its fifth print edition on May 7th; one on the front page and one in the default position. Figure 131 highlights how Brookes' fully convergent front page visual, a triptych of images collectively titled 'How They've Measured Up', presents readers with a coherent narrative of the final election result. The cartoonist portrays Cameron as having performed successfully enough to start measuring up Downing Street for new fixtures and fittings. In contrast, Clegg is depicted as pretending he has expanded politically whilst the electoral reality demonstrates otherwise. The final image of the trio sees Mandelson measuring Brown up for his coffin as highlighted earlier in the discussion.

In contrast with the image above, Brookes' divergent cartoon depicts the Four Horsemen of The Apocalypse awaiting deployment by the incoming government and wielding the weapons they intended to use in order to wreak economic havoc upon the land. Figure 132 highlights how the illustrator reinforces the visual message of his 'default' cartoon further through the employment of the sporting analogy 'Under Starters' Orders' as the overall strapline. In doing so, Brookes is signalling to *Times* readers how the horseman are ready to act once all coalition negotiations had been completed and waiting for the order to be given by the incoming Prime Minister, whomsoever this would be.



Figures 131-132: Front Page/Default Editorial Cartoons carried by the *Times* on the day of the election result ('How They've Measured Up' and 'Under Starter's Orders, Brookes, *Times*, 7/5/2010)

Bar Chart 50 (Appendix, pg. 135) demonstrates how more than half of the editorial cartoons for each broadsheet display full convergence across this phase, the *Guardian* having the highest amount with a total of nine. The coalition dataset sees the *Telegraph* usurping the *Times* to possess the highest number of convergence permutations (six) whilst the *Guardian* had the fewest (two). The shifts in cartoon convergence for each individual broadsheet across the four phases are seen in Bar Charts 51-54 (Appendix, pgs. 136-139). The *Guardian*, *Independent* and *Times* each display a similar trend with respect to the increasing number of full convergence cartoons across the study. By contrast, the *Telegraph* is seen as continuing its gradual decrease in its number of full convergence cartoons outlined previously in Chapter Seven. In concluding this section, Bar Chart 55's (Appendix, pg. 140) examination of the points of news element correlation for individual cartoonists reveals Dave Brown and Peter Brookes as retaining their respective roles as the most convergent and divergent cartoonists, the latter once again being the sole artist to generate a divergent visual.

Qualitative Analysis

Attention now turns toward the qualitative presentation of notable themes, events, actors and opinions by editorial cartoonists. Highlighting the communicative, artistic and rhetorical devices discussed across Chapters 1-3, the examples will demonstrate points of convergence/divergence in terms of how such characteristics are visually selected, evaluated and discussed by the illustrator. These are subsequently contrasted with their treatment by the selected news elements taken from the host publication.

Example Seven: Contrasting Four Interpretations of Coalition Day 1

The nature of the electoral outcome meant that editorial cartoonists had to address the incoming Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in a markedly different manner to that of previous administrations. To reflect this, the final case study utilises a differing qualitative approach to those in Chapters 5-7 wherein four images (published on the same day) are collectively analysed to highlight the differing guises, forms and narratives applied towards the alliance, their party leaders and the inherent tensions between the two camps. Identifying the same duo of male protagonists in the form of David Cameron and Nick Clegg, Figures 133-136 demonstrate how all cartoonists were eager to make a snap judgment as to how their personal and professional relationship (as well as the direction of government travel) would fare once the novelty factor of coalition receded.



Figure 133: *Untitled (Bell, Guardian, 13/5/2010)*



Figure 134: *Untitled (Brown, Independent, 13/5/2010)*

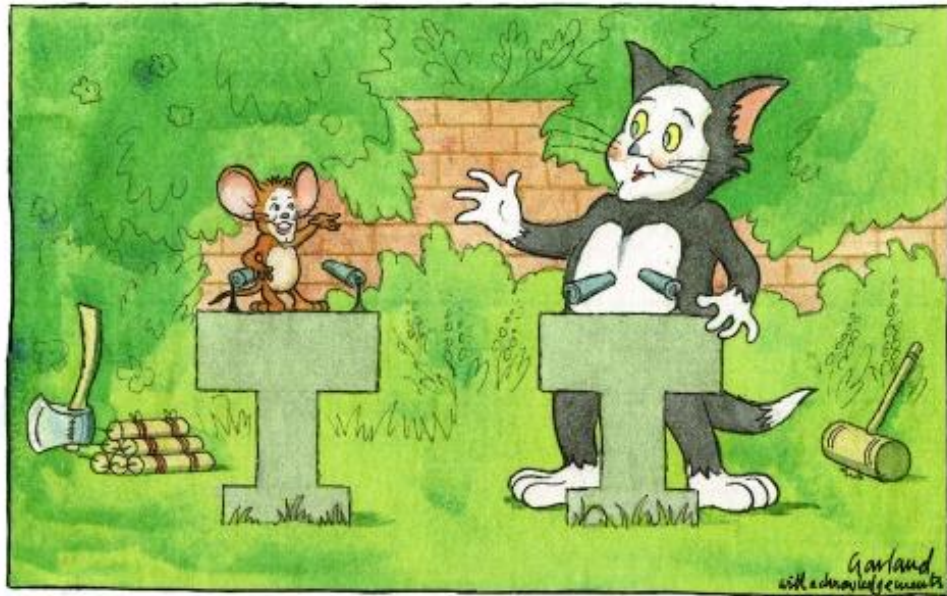


Figure 135: Untitled (Garland, Telegraph, 13/5/2010)



Figure 136: The New Politics... (Brookes, Times, 13/5/2010)

Consideration of *Mise-en-Scène*, Caricature, Parody and Irony



Scrutinising each in turn, the *mise-en-scène* (discussed in Chapter Three) of Figure 136 sees Brookes conceiving the politicians in a boarding school setting; the taller figure tasking the shorter to do his bidding. An element of servitude exists in the visual through the action of the taller male holding a pair of brogues out for the other to take and polish, in tandem with his issuing of a verbal instruction. Employing the use of caricature discussed in Chapter Two, Brookes substantiates the identities of Cameron and Clegg through facial features: Cameron having a high shiny forehead, ruddy cheeks and quaffed hair; and Clegg with a pointed nose and short spikey hair. By depicting the new Prime Minister with one hand in his pocket, the cartoonists is signalling how the Conservative leader is either comfortable in his role or displaying a deliberate gesture of defiance. In contrast, the Liberal Democrat leader is presented as standing passively with his arms at his side awaiting instruction. A degree of visual incongruity exists in Figure 136 through the disparate heights allocated to Cameron and Clegg; the latter being considerably shorter in stature.

Brookes' particular use of clothing supplies an example of Frank D'Angelo's notion of visual retro-intertextuality (2010, pg. 35). The cartoon frame serves to evoke reader reminiscence of British boarding schools wherein male pupils from elite families reside in dormitories throughout the academic year, returning home only at weekends or at the end of term. In clothing Cameron in Harris Tweed trousers, Union Jack waistcoat and a tail coat

edged with piping, the cartoonist is seen to denote him as having an elevated status. By contrast, Clegg's oversized black tail coat and trousers lack any personalisation and serves to correlate the visual with the hierarchal nature of boarding schools in which junior pupils are denoted by adherence to a formal dress code, seniors being afforded the privilege of sartorial individuality upon reaching the age of maturity.

Brookes' artistic representation of the disparity between the uniforms presents a primary parody of the boarding school prefect system where younger pupils are expected to act as personal servants to older boys (known as fag or prefects). Figure 136 additionally serves as a primary parody of the discussions between Cameron and Clegg when forming the coalition government. By referencing the regimented nature of the boarding school scenario, Brookes' is seen to generate two example of what Robert Chambers describes as a parodic 'bind', integrating Cameron and Clegg into their respective roles of senior pupil and fag and utilising familiar accessories of the setting (toasted crumpets, sporting paraphernalia and team photography) to create a bunched bind of the Conservative leader's private chambers.



The concept of servitude is similarly pursued by Bell in the *mise-en-scène* of Figure 133. The cartoon presents two males standing in front of a door with one waving to the audience whilst the other carries a tray with a drink and soda siphon. Through an entwining of ties and the bearing of a singular glass containing Cameron's favourite tippie (whisky and

soda), the cartoonist is seen as amplifying the ideas of bondage and performing a duty or service for another. The lack of expression on the servant's face and the smugness of his master towards audiences both highlight Burgers, van Mulken and Schellens' concept of visual irony (discussed in Chapter Three) in action, the visual serving to reinforce the literal evaluation of the corresponding dialogue (2013, pg. 300).

Employing the use of caricature, Bell substantiates the identities of Cameron and Clegg through facial features; the latter being stylised with a cleft chin, high forehead and spikey hair. The *Guardian* cartoonist takes a particular approach to Cameron's caricature in highlighting notable facial features (high forehead, pointed chin, ruddy cheeks and receding hair) and parodically 'banging' them into a condom, replicating Daumier's technique of integrating the characteristics of Louis Phillipe into a pear as discussed in Chapter Three. Unlike his French counterpart whose sole artistic aim was to highlight the flaws of the French King, Bell is seen as making a crude statement of opinion with regard to the Conservative leader, conceptualising him as morally opportunistic with a "complete, engorged and erectile sense of his own responsibility" (cited in Slattery, 2/11/2010, online citation). The artistic interpretations of each individual identify the visual as being a primary parody of the relationship between master and butler. The predictive nature of the relationship within Figure 133 enables the *Guardian* cartoonist to parodically 'bind' Cameron and Clegg into their respective roles as master and servant (Chambers, 2010, pg. 83).



The *mise-en-scène* of Figure 134 adopts a different approach towards the protagonists depicted in Figures 133 and 136. Brown depicts one male carrying a caged bird into a mineshaft whilst holding his nose to protect himself from the creeping gas emanating from within. The combined presence of a tunnel with narrow gauge mine railway tracks, alongside the visual perception of a descent into darkness, both serve to confirm the mining element of the image. As with Bell and Brookes, Brown employs the use of caricature in substantiating the identity of Cameron: denoting his high shiny forehead; ruddy cheeks; quiff of hair; and furrow lines. In depicting Clegg as a canary, however, the *Independent* cartoonist is seen to be conjunctively ‘banging’ the Liberal Democrat leader’s facial features and spikey hair onto the head of the bird (Chambers, 2010, pg. 67). Whilst the Conservative leader displays confident body language in his descent of the mineshaft, Clegg appears more fearful; the bird unable to escape and fluttering its wings in terror.

Brown’s particular use of a caged canary supplies a further example of visual retro-intertextuality discussed previously in Chapter Three. The cartoon frame serves to remind *Independent* readers of John Haldane’s 19th century theory which outlines how the safety of miners depends upon by the canary’s ability to breathe in confined areas. The combined artistic interpretations of the mining elements and the two party leaders serve to identify Figure 134 as a primary parody of a collier setting down the shaft and the inherent dangers present within mining. In such a scenario, a further, more fundamental primary parody can

additionally be seen to exist in the shape of a person keeping a bird as a pet and their skill toward animal husbandry (or lack thereof). The predictive nature of the relationship within the scenario enables Brown to parodically bind Cameron into the role of the keeper of the canary and Clegg into the role of the bird (Chambers, 2010, pg. 83).



Of the four cartoons analysed in this case study, Figure 135 is the sole image to embrace anthropomorphic representations of both Cameron and Clegg for its *mise-en-scène*. Nicholas Garland depicts two animals (a cat and a mouse) participating in a joint press conference within a walled garden, the presence of media apparatus such as podiums and microphones serving to confirm the element of a media event. The creatures are anthropomorphised with humanistic attributes such as speech and stance and are heavily stylised in a cartoon manner.

The stylisations applied by the *Telegraph* cartoonist serve to substantiate the identity of the duo as that of Tom and Jerry, the eponymous film and television characters shown in Figures 137-139 as perpetually striving to get the upper hand over each other through duplicitous or violent means. By integrating the facial features of Cameron (high forehead, rosy cheeks and pointed nose), Clegg (spikey hair and cleft chin) into the constructs of Tom and Jerry, Figure 135 is seen as typifying Robert Chambers' notion of mimic blending discussed in Chapter Three (2010, pg. 105). The presence of weaponry used by both to attack the other (namely an axe, mallet and sticks of dynamite) additionally

severs to reinforce an element of slapstick which is always prevalent in Hanna-Barbera's animations of the pair.



Figures 137-139: Comparison between source and cartoon version of Tom and Jerry

By conceptualising his protagonists as looking directly at each other and smiling, Garland incorporates a degree of visual irony which negates the necessity for further dialogue to take place inside the frame; a technique similar to that outlined by Caucci and Kreuz (2012) in Chapter Three. The overt placement of the weaponry act as visual markers of irony (Burgers, van Mulken and Schellens, 2013, pg. 300), highlighting the incongruity between the congenial exchanges of the characters in public and their propensity for conflict in the cartoon. The characterisation of Cameron and Clegg as Tom and Jerry additionally substantiates Frank D'Angelo's idea of visual retro-intertextuality (2010, pg. 35), the cartoonist drawing upon the ability of *Telegraph* readers to recall the comical escapades and ludicrous fighting between the pair from their childhood. Taken in concert, Figure 135 is

seen as illustrating two separate primary parodies, namely the cartoon series and the Rose Garden press conference undertaken by Cameron and Clegg discussed later in the case study. The predictive nature of the relationship between the characters (in addition to their propensity towards confrontation) enables Garland able to parodically ‘bang’ both leaders into their respective roles of Tom and Jerry in a conjunctive manner (Chambers, 2010, pg. 67).

Narrative and Intertextuality



Scrutinising the narratives applied across Figures 133-136, it can be seen how the editorial cartoons of the *Guardian* (Figure 133) and *Times* (Figure 136) both conceptualise the relationship between Cameron and Clegg as one of exploitation. Brookes’ image highlights the Conservative party leader issuing Clegg with a set of instructions, expecting him to comply without dissent and to complete the tasks in a timely manner. A further series of intertextualities exist in tandem with the retro-nostalgia of the boarding school, namely the visual adaptation of the prefect’s chamber and the verbal simulation of discourse between a senior pupil and his junior fag. Brookes’ employment of visual quotation (Werner, 2004, pg. 66) serves to identify the notion of Britishness to international audiences, integrating stereotypical items such as: Harris Tweed trousers; a Union Jack waistcoat; toasted crumpets; cricket bats; rowing oars; and a tennis racquet. The

hypothetical phrasing of ‘Cleggers old son’ additionally acts in reinforcing the established hierarchy in Figure 136 as well as providing an example of Serafini and Moses’ (2010) concept of memes; a word-image device discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.



Bell’s narrative is more passive towards the theme of exploitation, conceptualising more of a symbiosis between the pair. His narrative highlights the changes of status both Cameron and Clegg have undergone to bring the coalition to fruition; the former becoming master and the latter servant. The drinks tray which the Liberal Democrat leader holds aloft provides a visual sign of Clegg’s servitude, signalling the character as a servant. Scrutinising the visual intertextuality behind the narrative, Bell’s employment of visual quotation serves to identify both the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats through the application of their party colours in Cameron and Clegg’s respective ties. In entwining the ties together and having the two leaders lean into each other whilst standing on the doorstep of 10 Downing Street, the cartoonist supplies a further quotation of the coalition itself.

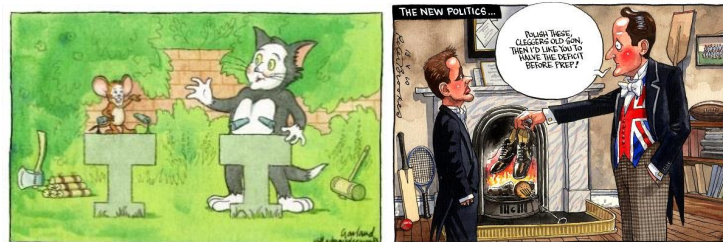
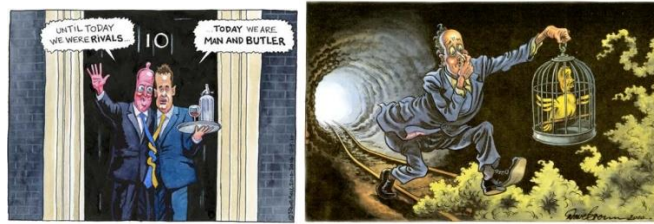


In contrast to the previous two images, Dave Brown's narrative in Figure 134 contains a much darker dimension, illustrating Clegg's fear of being poisoned and Cameron's intent to press ahead regardless of the outcome for the bird. Aside from the retro-nostalgia of 19th and early-20th Century mining practices, Brown is seen to integrate additional intertextualities by omitting conventions which are associated with modern mining and personal safety: namely the use of safety clothing; protective equipment; breathing apparatus; alarms; or lighting. The cage which Cameron uses to carry the bird down the mineshaft additionally operates as a visual sign of ensnarement. Through the parodic 'banging' of Clegg's features onto his party logo (the bird of liberty), Figure 134 is seen as employing visual quotation to identify the wider Liberal Democrat party beyond that of its leader. Further visual quotation can be seen in Cameron's tie which serves to highlight the party colour of the Conservatives (blue). In providing colour to the otherwise invisible gas and giving the form tendril-like extensions, a binary juxtaposition occurs between the ideas of gas being hazardous to personal health and the perils which lie ahead for the coalition according to the *Independent* cartoonist.



Garland's narrative takes a markedly different approach to the coalition, correlating the banter displayed by the Conservative and Liberal Democrat leaders in the Rose Garden with the orchestrated interplay between Tom and Jerry. However, by situating the weaponry in close proximity to both protagonists, the *Telegraph* cartoonist conceptualises the relationship as one which could turn volatile in an instant (or, in Figure 135's case, through a sound bite). The anthropomorphised forms of cat and mouse act as visual signs of both the verbal idiom 'cat-and-mouse' and the pattern of pursuit, capture and escape associated with the game of the same name. As a consequence, the parodic elements identified earlier act as Figure 135's core intertextualities. Whilst Garland differs from his peers in his non-usage of visual quotation, a binary juxtaposition is seen to exist in correlating the notion of predator and prey with the respective status of the two parties in the new government, building upon the established relationships between a cat and mouse.

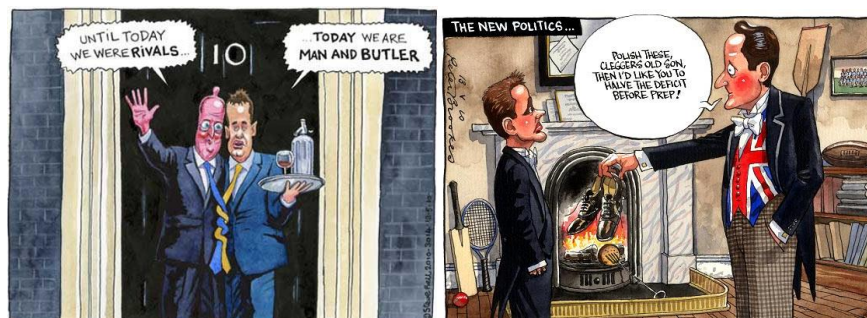
Integration of Characters, Humour and Verbal Stylistics



Through their concentrated foci upon Cameron and Clegg, all four visuals synchronise with Chalantova's (2011, pg. 6-8) concept of images which are driven by a singular or core of protagonists. Although unanimous agreement exists with regard to Cameron's status as main protagonist, degrees of variation are seen to exist between cartoonists with respect to Clegg's standing; Brookes, Brown and Garland all reducing his size vis a vis the Prime Minister and conceptualising him as fulfilling deuteragonist roles such as a junior pupil, caged canary or playful mouse. The latter two's use of zoomorphic techniques to illustrate the emotions of fear (in the canary) and glee (in the mouse) additionally emphasise the juxtapositions which the artists believe exist within the personal relationship between the leaders. Only Steve Bell conceptualises the pair to be on an equal footing, albeit denoting Clegg as the secondary of the pair through his carrying of the drinks tray.

Owing to the manner by which each cartoonist conceives the Cameron-Clegg partnership as unequal, Figures 133-136 can all be seen as being explicitly humorous. Addressing each in turn, the humour of Peter Brookes' cartoon lies within his incongruous extension of boarding school relationships into the realms of adulthood and coalition

politics. In this vein Cameron is seen to be superior to Clegg owing to his seniority at the school. For Bell, the humorous incongruity resides within the transference of the master-servant relationship into the context of coalition government, serving to reinforce the primacy of the role of Prime Minister. In so doing, the superiority humour of Figure 133 lies within Cameron's delegation of menial task to Clegg, relieving himself of the more mundane aspects of governance. Dave Brown's illustrative disregard for health and safety and animal welfare in Figure 134 underscores the superiority humour of seeing the Liberal Democrat leader as a dispensable political tool; being cast aside by Cameron once his purpose has been served. Lastly, Garland is seen to visually manifest the incongruous idea of political leaders as both animals and cartoon characters, in tandem with the notion of Tom and Jerry interacting together without either of them coming to blows. Whilst a nominal superiority humour exists in Figure 135 (owing to the predator-prey relationship between cat and mouse), the conventional narrative of Tom and Jerry serves to visualise Cameron and Clegg as capable of attacking each other, pointing to an interchangeability of roles according to the context of daily politics.



Bell and Brookes both incorporate a variety of verbal and visual stylistic elements which accentuate the order of their narratives. In the case of the former, each character is

supplied with an elongated speech bubble with jagged borders and a short tail, indicating a coolness and hostility towards each other as they pose for the audience. The use of trailing dots both at the start and end of these utterances serve to indicate pregnant pauses in the narrative, highlighting the pair as being in the honeymoon phase of their relationship; so in sync with each other that they are able to finish each other sentences. The idea of marriage is substantiated further by Bell's specific highlighting of key words such as rivals, today, man and butler in bold font.

In Brookes' case, the suffixing of a singular, rounded speech bubble with short crooked tail to Cameron illustrates his capacity to give orders to Clegg; the latter being rendered mute in the image. Figure 136's speech bubble is significantly larger than the bold capitalised words contained inside, serving to further underline the Conservative leader's primacy over his Liberal Democrat counterpart. Utilising Forceville's (2011, pg. 877) classification of pictorial runes, the exclamation mark denotes Cameron's strength of feeling in the instruction being issued to Clegg, emphasising an expectation of compliance. Lastly, Brookes' application of a series of trailing dots to his strapline 'The New Politics' generates a verbal parody of the coalition's assertions about creating a new British political culture; the *Times* cartoonist taking the contrary view that this new landscape simply mirrors the protocols and conventions of the old boys network-the informal system through which politicians use their positions of influence to help others who share a similar academic or social background.

Use of Conceptual Metaphors

Further scrutiny of Figures 133-136 reveal how each cartoonist applies a variety of metaphoric mappings to generate bespoke topically-triggered metaphors for their respective image (Kövecses, 2005, pgs. 239-241). Both Steve Bell and Peter Brookes can be

seen as pursuing a similar strategy of mapping the source domains of building and occupation onto target domains of politics and human relationships. Using the CMT framework (discussed in Chapter Three) to establish the master metaphors of Figures 133 and 136, the two images relate the conceptual relationship between coalition, government and servitude: summarised as “co-operation is task”, “politics is a series of chores” or “government is the servant of the people”. In visually signposting the servile nature of the Liberal Democrat leader towards the Prime Minister, both Bell and Brookes are signalling to their respective readerships that “Clegg now has to serve Cameron”.

However, further metaphoric developments arise from the visual vehicles these particular illustrators present when conveying the notion servitude. In depicting Clegg in the role of butler (the chief manservant of the house responsible for catering to the whims of his master), Bell is inferring to *Guardian* readers how: “Cameron is Lord of the Manor”; “Clegg is at Cameron’s beck and call” and that “the Liberal Democrat leader should be seen and not heard within the Coalition household”. By contrast, Brookes’ visualisation of the junior coalition partner as a terrified youth attending their first day at school triggers metaphoric statements that: “Clegg is the new boy”; “Clegg is naïve to the workings of government”; “Cameron is the head boy/ school bully”; or “Cameron is exploiting the trappings of power”. The oversized clothing additionally provides hope to Liberal Democrat sympathisers that “Clegg will eventually grow into his new surroundings”.



The metaphoric mappings of Figures 134 and 135 are more particular. For his visual, Dave Brown maps the source domains of movement, light and darkness onto the target domains of politics, life and death. Using the CMT framework, the cartoon is seen as relating the conceptual relationship between political risk and the lack of light found in enclosed spaces; summarised as “government is light “or “politics is a step in the dark”. By accentuating the presence of gas in the mineshaft and the Prime Minister’s determined direction of travel, Brown is signalling to readers of the *Independent* that “the coalition government is entering into the unknown”. The caged bird also supplies a range of alternative metaphors: namely how “Clegg’s wings have been clipped”; “the Liberal Democrats are trapped”; or that “Clegg/Liberal Democrats are now at the mercy of the Prime Minister”.

Lastly, Garland can be seen as mapping the source domains of entertainment and animals onto target domains of politics and human relationships. Using the CMT framework, his image relates the conceptual relationship between political choreography and entertainment double-acts; characterised as “performance is chemistry” or “politics is a show”. By ascribing the two party leaders’ facial features onto the characters of Tom and Jerry, the *Telegraph* cartoonist is primarily signalling to readers that “Cameron and Clegg are now a double act” and that “the Conservative leader is the foil/ straight man to his political counterpart”. Garland’s usage of animals additionally evokes a series of metaphoric conceptions applicable to each party leader, from “Clegg being politically miniscule in stature” to “Cameron acting as a predator”.

Convergence with Editorial Content of Newspapers

Table 85 (Appendix, pg. 129) indicates the extent of convergence achieved by all cartoonist with their respective host newspapers on May 13th 2010. Each are catalogued as

achieving full convergence to their corresponding publication across all news elements. Each broadsheet features the same jovial image of the pair as their front page photograph; Figures 140-141 capturing Cameron and Clegg's first public exchanges at a press conference in the Rose Garden of Downing Street. The duo's presence across the newspaper corpus serves to correlate all four editorial cartoons with the front page photographic news element.



Figures 140-141: *Alternative Angles to Clegg's Reaction to Cameron's Rose Garden*

Joke

Taking each front page article in turn, the *Guardian's* Patrick Wintour articulates the effusive efforts made by both leaders to present the coalition as an "entirely inspiring form

of new consensual politics” (13/5/2010, pgs. 1-3). Throughout his article, the author is seen as directly lifting catchphrases and buzz words espoused by the pair throughout their press conference, notably Clegg’s quote that “until today, we have been rivals: now we are colleagues” (Wintour, 13/5/2010, *ibid*). By reformatting the Liberal Democrat leader’s remarks into those seen in Figure 133, Bell is able to articulate his own opinion of the newly formed alliance, enabling the visual to converge with the substance of the front page article. The illustrator’s use of the phrase “man and butler” additionally invites *Guardian* readers to conceptualise the coalition as a marriage, correlating the image with Wintour’s article title “The Happy Couple at Number 10”.

Embracing the matrimonial theme further, the *Independent* overshadows the *Guardian* in presenting their front page photographs of the events in the style of a wedding album. Allied to this is Andrew Grice’s substantive discussion focusing upon the thought processes behind the coalition itself. The journalist highlights how an alliance with the Liberal Democrats would enable Cameron to complete “the detoxification of the [Conservative] brand” which the party had failed to achieve through the electoral outcome (13/5/2020. pg. 2). Applying CMT towards Brown’s use of creeping gas in Figure 134, the illustrator is able to conceptualise language-driven metaphors such as “Clegg is about to be poisoned” or “the Conservatives will suffocate the Liberal Democrats in office”. In highlighting the Prime Minister’s ability to asphyxiate the bird of liberty as he proceeds down the mineshaft, the image can be posited as correlating with the substance of Grice’s article.

Turning to the *Telegraph*, Andrew Porter’s outline of the Rose Garden press conference concentrates upon the theatricality of the two party leaders’ performance and delivery to the gathered journalists:

The personal chemistry between the two men was evident throughout the appearance. Mr Cameron was asked about a remark he had once made when he was asked for a joke and had replied: "Nick Clegg." The Prime Minister looked embarrassed and Mr Clegg said "Right, I'm off" then pretended to walk away. "Come back!" cried Mr Cameron in mock despair, amid laughter from the gathered ranks of press and Downing Street staff (Porter, 13/5/2010, pg. 1).

The highlighting of the rapport between Cameron and Clegg verbally correlates the *Telegraph's* front page article with Garland's conception of the duo as a double act comfortable in each other's company, each requiring the presence of the other in order to perform at their best to the cameras. The cartoon's sentiment additionally correlates to the front page headline "A Special Relationship". In contrast, the *Times'* Roland Watson (13/5/2010, pg. 1) identifies how coalition politics will impact the two leaders, recording the Prime Minister's acknowledgment how "compromise, give and take [and] reasonable, civilised, grown-up behaviour is not a sign of weakness but a sign of strength". By illustrating the civility of the pupil and prefect relationship, Figure 136 serves to underline the actuality of how such cooperative relationships can work, conceptually visualising how "Clegg will do as he is told".

All broadsheet newspaper columnists were eager to postulate upon the chain of events leading up to the events in the Rose Garden. The *Guardian's* Polly Toynbee (appearing on the front page) and Katherine Vine endeavour to describe the privileged backgrounds and appearance of Cameron and Clegg:

In the spring garden the Clegg-Cameron civil partnership looked magnificent; the two men perfectly cloned in face, age, education, accent and style (Toynbee, 13/5/2010, pg. 1).

Perhaps someone can explain to the charmed double-act of David Cameron and Nick Clegg what the rest of the country looks like. It's not their fault that these 43-year-old white ex-public schoolboys have piles of cash and nuclear families. But they need to realise that they, and their cabinet, are anything but reflective of the country (Viner, 13/5/2010, pg. 35).

Correlating each columnist's sentiment with Figure 133, it could be hypothesised how the Conservative and Liberal Democrat leaders' affluent background and public school education enables the cartoonist to naturally cast the pair into the roles he ascribes to each. Further convergence occurs between Bell's visual and the First and Second Leaders of his host paper, both scrutinising the chain of events leading up to their alliance and their formalised programme for government. The First Leader highlights how the congeniality of the new coalition represented an extraordinary turn in British politics:

The sight of the two youthful leaders swapping jokes at their lecterns as their two parties stopped pummelling and started to embrace one another was astonishing. And, yes, uplifting too (*Guardian*, 13/5/2010, pg. 35).

Acting as a corollary, the Second Leader scrutinises the relationship of the men to understand how both Cameron and Clegg expected to make such a deeply unconventional

union work; “their answer, in essence, being that they could muddle through because they trusted each other” (*Guardian*, 13/5/2010, pg. 35). Applying CMT to Bell’s idea of relationship in Figure 133, a myriad of possibility arises which cover the gamut of personal interactions: professional; cordial; personal; or hostile. In this light, the cartoonist’s master and servant dynamic casts the coalition in a professional capacity wherein one trusts the other to undertake the tasks asked of him; the other being treated with respect and rewarded accordingly for his efforts. As a consequence, the cartoon confirms the *Guardian’s* narrative of a political coalition built upon trust, albeit with one partner slightly more equal than the other.

Taking a more pessimistic view of the coalition, the *Independent’s* Steve Richards articulate his opinion of the union being “doomed to fragility” despite the initial goodwill displayed by both leaders (13/5/2010, pg. 8). Highlighting the ambition of both Cameron and Clegg to enter Downing Street, Patterson underscores how their “hunger for power became the new pre-requisite for entrance [and participation] in the political game”, with the new Prime Minister prepared to do “whatever it takes” in order to secure power (13/5/2010, *Viewspaper*, pg. 3). The sentiments of the pair are seen as correlating with Brown’s conception of a single-minded David Cameron willing to sacrifice anything to achieve his ambition, visually indicated through the holding of his nose and his tenuous grasp on the cage as he descends into the toxic gas.

Further convergence exists between Figure 134 and the *Independent’s* First Leader, the latter positing how the “personal rapport and bonhomie on display” would be tested by the disparate party personnel and the policy compromises inherent within the coalition arrangement (13/5/2010, *Viewspaper*, pg. 2). In view of this context, a CMT understanding of a mineshaft leads to the hypothesis of additional dangers existing beyond the gas cloud

that Cameron and Clegg can visually see. Such dangers could include: the shaft collapsing; an explosion within; unforeseen pitfalls; flooding; or the pair getting trapped or pinned down by rock. By encouraging *Independent* readers to look beyond the obvious risks to Cameron and Clegg, Figure 134 is seen as correlating with the myriad of ways by which the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition will be tested over the coming months and years.

Coming to terms with the innovation of coalition government, the *Telegraph's* Philip Hensher catalogues how the party leaders had managed to manufacture a short-term political ceasefire between the two parties; the columnist suggesting the coalition would break up as soon as the turbulence of British domestic politics resumed:

No one will be throwing stuff just at the moment. The internecine warfare is taking a breather, and politicians are going to get out of their muddy trenches to play a brief, friendly game of football (Hensher, 13/5/2010, online citation).

Correlating Hensher's sentiment with Garland's image, Figure 135 highlights the uneasiness of the truce generated by the two leaders and how both would revert back to their antipathetic stance in subsequent elections. The cartoonist achieves this by exploiting audience awareness of the brevity of truces repeatedly attempted by Tom and Jerry before the pair inevitably reverted back to previous hostilities. The *Telegraph's* First Leader embraces a similar viewpoint, highlighting how:

No one should be under any illusion that if the electoral dice had fallen differently, it would have been business as usual. It is only the arithmetic of a hung parliament that has brought these two rivals together (*Telegraph*, 13/5/2015, online citation).

By presenting the Conservative and Liberal Democrat leaders as cat and mouse respectively, Figure 135 fully converges with the *Telegraph's* opinion of the pair as having taken considerable risks in entering into partnership and acknowledging how many bumps, scrapes and head-on collisions lay ahead for Cameron and Clegg; their tenure in office subsequently being "far from dull" (*Telegraph*, 13/5/2010, *ibid*).

Writing as a guest columnist for the *Times*, Leon Brittan outlines the ideological commonalities Cameron and Clegg share towards key issues, assisting the pair in the forging of their alliance (13/5/2010, pg. 29). Using the verbal device of an anecdote, the former European Trade Commissioner and Cabinet minister highlights his role in the Liberal Democrat leader's political development by making Clegg a member of his staff during his tenure in Brussels during the mid-1990's; the pair subsequently striking up a close personal and political friendship. In light of this background, a CMT understanding of the fag and prefect relationship correlates Brittan's sentiment with Figure 136; Clegg and Cameron being metaphorically "tied to one another" and having to "look out for each other for their collective benefit". Echoing the notion of a unifying bond further, Aaronovich hypothesises how the relationship between the two leaders is something more inherent:

Dave and Nick seemed to have "good personal chemistry", said someone, but it was much more than that — the two men seemed to have the same personal chemistry, clearly sharing more DNA than most twins (Aaronovich, 13/5/2010, pg. 25).

Further correlation occurs between Brookes' cartoon and the *Times* editorial output; the broadsheet devoting its First, Second and Third Leaders to the sole theme of coalition.

Whilst the former news elements deal primarily with the substantive policy issues faced by the incoming government, the latter highlights a more visible issue, that of the lack of female representation in the Cabinet:

We look at these two men and like to think that we recognise a reflection of our own values. Mr Cameron has done much to turn the Conservatives into a modern, tolerant party, comfortable in its own skin. But while he has made it more metrosexual, it remains genetically very male. The challenge facing the Liberal Democrats—who resemble the Garrick Club in exile—is greater still (*Times*, 13/5/2010, pg. 2).

By typifying Cameron and Clegg as products of an elitist network of British males who uphold archaic conventions and traditions, Figure 136 aligns with the news element's narrative of the pair having descended from backgrounds of privilege which neither tolerate nor integrate women into their clique. In so doing, the Third Leader and cartoon jointly highlight the core juxtaposition within the party leaders' claims of representing a new type of politics. Writing in his caustic manner, the *Independent's* Mark Steel succinctly verbalises Brookes' overall sentiment:

'The friendly greeting given by David Cameron to Nick Clegg at Downing Street was a highly encouraging start.' Well what did [we] think Cameron would do? Say: 'Oi Clegg, never mind shaking hands, be a decent fag and toast me a crumpet while I chat to Nick Robinson?' (13/5/2010, *Viewspaper*, pg. 4)

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter draws together the principal discussions developed by this thesis, reflecting upon the visual, verbal and rhetorical devices utilised by editorial cartoonists towards political themes, actors, events and opinions throughout the 2010 British General Election cycle. Underpinning this is a central argument that the historical development of the cartoon form has evolved from low art grounded in deformity into a vehicle containing a myriad of complex communicative devices. In an electoral context, I argue that the editorial cartoon holds an integral role in newspaper discourse, that of supplementing (and sometimes challenging) editorial narratives with visual commentary which summarises complex personalities and policies into a singular illustration.

The Function of Editorial Cartoons, and their Reflective Capacity and Reflexive Relationship to Editorial Content

This thesis contextualised the role and function of editorial cartoons during an election campaign, outlining the evolution of political communication as a vehicle of socio-political commentary. The discussion chronicled how political communication can be appreciated as an intricate and complex dynamic, shaped by politicised practitioners within a variety of social systems and organisations or between political cultures. I proposed how the form retains an enduring capacity to transcend 'normal' political discourse, reaching into numerous spheres and activities affected by the practice of politics (Blumler, 2015, pg. 426). Subsequent analysis of communicative theories identified how the field was in the process of transition, moving away from its original post-war fixation concerning *who* made the news or *what* determined the news cycle towards an understanding of *how* news can be expressed and transmitted in the context of a fragmented information climate.

By reviewing how political communication has become increasingly commercialised, the study illustrated how practitioners had seemingly lost their ability to restrict the transmission of news content (McChesney, 2014). In such a vacuum, citizens were seen as becoming active participants with expectations of what degree of access they should have (Livingstone, 2013; Coleman and Moss, 2014) and being empowered with an ability to switch over, turn off or seek out communicative outlets agreeing with their personal perspective (Bennett, Freedon, Hussain and Wells, 2013). To this end, political communication was conceptualised as being no longer solely concerned with the communication of a message but instead with highlighting the worth, deficiencies and norms of (and within) the message itself.

Chapter One broached the extent of connectivity between editorial cartoons and political communication. Owing to their capacity in highlighting fresh perspectives behind a topic or emphasising the weaknesses of subjects, the thesis accepted the view that editorial cartoons should be treated as critical objects which illuminate societal deficiencies. In so doing, the editorial cartoon was conceived as more than an aesthetic form, armed with an ability to communicate political messages which encapsulated a myriad of words through layered visual, verbal or rhetorical devices; providing critique, social commentary or amusement in a comparable fashion to textual sources highlighted in Chapter Three and the case studies of Chapters 5-8. Further discussions outlined how the form could be perceived as a suitable barometer of freedom in political systems, reflecting the cultural attitudes and values of its citizens and recording and perpetuating commonly held beliefs in the society being analysed. Such an assertion was notably seen with respect to Figure 109's depiction of

the denigration of Labour core voters by Gordon Brown during the electoral flashpoint of Bigotgate, discussed in Chapter Seven.

This thesis showed the editorial cartoon's capacity to simplify complex issues, combining rhetorical devices and universal values in order to create vivid and intentional political messages. The qualitative analysis undertaken throughout Chapters 5-8 highlighted the capacity of illustrators to translate manifesto policy and government states into understandable images, notably the conception of National Insurance as a goal during a football match by Nicholas Garland and the power relationship within the newly formed coalition government as a cage within a mining context by Dave Brown. Table 89 (Appendix, pg. 141) demonstrates how, across the duration of study, 5% of all editorial cartoons visualised topics or themes considered unsuited for editorial commentary yet deemed by the cartoonist as being worthy for inclusion within their host publication. The highest proportion were found to exist within the dataset of the *Times*, suggesting that the newspaper acknowledged the additional communicative value of Peter Brookes and Morten Morland, their regular contributors.

I suggest in Table 89 that 40% of all editorial cartoons across the timeframe of analysis draw upon influences taken from all news elements within their corresponding newspaper; the *Guardian* having the highest proportion of fully convergent cartoons (those which correlated with the front page, photograph, article and any Leader) with respect to its individual dataset (55.1%). Of the remaining broadsheet publications, the *Telegraph* was found as having the second highest with 43.75%, with the figures of the *Independent* (32.65%) and *Times* (30.61%) being markedly lower. Table 89 additionally indicates how papers which were more centrist in viewpoint (namely the *Independent* and *Times*) had a

higher proportion of less convergent cartoons than those identified in Chapter Four as having polarised ideological leanings (*Guardian* and *Telegraph*).

My findings are substantiated further in terms of the number of editorial cartoons converging with editorial content (i.e. having a linkage with a newspaper's First, Second or Third Leader). The *Telegraph* and *Guardian* achieved convergence rates of 89.58% and 85.71% respectively whilst the *Times* and *Independent* attained 75.51% and 69.39%; the latter figure validating the *Independent's* stance towards providing a more objective viewpoint without political bias. However, Table 90 (Appendix, pg. 142) demonstrates how the collective corpus of cartoons by Dave Brown (the *Independent's* regular cartoonist) contained the highest number of fully convergent images (14). This may be due in part to his sustained coverage of the phenomenon of Cleggmania dovetailing with the title's fixation upon the emergent Liberal Democrat leader in the aftermath of the televised debates. The sole cartoonist to regularly reflect editorial opinion throughout each of his images was Gerald Scarfe, his modus operandi of picking a single concept and graphically presenting readers with a particularised message being confirmed in the quantitative analysis presented in Chapters 5-8.

Although the form was posited as providing a safe space wherein any topic could be addressed (Lawate, 2012), the *Jyllands-Posten* and *Charlie Hebdo* affairs highlighted how a lack of image contextualisation can jeopardise the safety of editorial cartoonists. The extensive media coverage surrounding the 2010 British General Election served to insulate cartoonists from physical threat, providing them with the liberty to lampoon politicians, themes or topics without fear of reprisal. The degrees of contextualisation and reportage towards each issue were outlined in the corresponding news element breakdowns seen in

Chapters 5-8; Table 89 indicating how 81.02% of all editorial cartoons were reflective of editorial content with an additional 13.34% incorporating other news elements.

By illustrating research which deconstructed cartoon phenomena using classification systems across a spectrum of values, issues or dispositions (Conners, 2014; Castellinio, 2015; Talalay, 2013; Stewart, 2015; Wozniak, 2014; Elmaghraby, 2015; Miller, 2015), a justification was supplied for the analysis of an election as a standalone event. In this vein, the role and function of editorial cartoons in the context of electoral politics was subsequently addressed. It was demonstrated how the form serves a number of “golden” purposes, ranging from: the monitoring of campaign progress; interpreting, contextualising and evaluating campaigns; offering approval/disapproval; persuading audiences to embrace differing perspectives; and providing rational arguments to bring about positive change. Owing to the rapidity by which cartoons are conceptualised, visualised and reproduced, the medium was assessed as being ideally suited to election coverage, the form encapsulating emergent and ephemeral events as and when they transpired. The editorial cartoon’s reflective capacity was additionally found not only to showcase the drama and excitement of the campaign (as shown in Chapters Six and Seven) but also provided a means of visual escapism when events were protracted or uninspiring to audiences; notably Figure 1’s depiction of the electorate’s discontent with the three main parties’ campaign strategies discussed in Chapter One.

My analysis indicates how editorial cartoons have the capacity to function across a variety of contexts: lampooning the strength or consistency of individual politicians (notably Figure 113’s deconstruction of Brown, Cameron and Clegg outlined in Chapter Seven), and alerting audiences to often ignored facets of electoral politics. Such capabilities were

achieved through the use of recognisable characters, tropes and symbols which assisted in simplifying complex situations for readers. By forging linkages between policies, actions and everyday life in recognisable (and fantastical) manners, the editorial cartoonist was posited as providing audiences with an illusion of explanation, turning abstractions into political realities. Lastly, it established how the editorial cartoon generated linkages with colour reporting provided by other news elements within the visual's host newspaper, providing creators with the opportunity to deliver personalised commentaries with an immediacy and vividness of their own.

The Artistic, Rhetorical and Metaphorical Devices within Editorial Cartoons: Applying Theory to Practice

The thesis demonstrated how editorial cartoonists were able to draw upon a variety of artistic, rhetorical and metaphoric devices in order to succinctly express ideas or create an impact. A chronicling of the cartoon form over two millennia identified how the grotesque metamorphosed into the practice of caricature (the distortion of physical features imbuing images with judgmental and critical content); enabling illustrators to address singular issues of personal interest (Moores, 2015; Sarigul, 2009). Leonardo Da Vinci and Annibale Carracci's skilful execution of the form during the Renaissance were highlighted as transforming public perceptions of grotesque/caricature into "high art", the pair both celebrating subject deformity and eager to probe behind the façade of the individual to establish their true personality. The form's initial use in a political context was seen in the actions of Martin Luther whose use of graphic visuals amplified anti-Catholic messages to the illiterate masses and highlighted the failure of those entrusted with upholding moral or religious order. Scrutiny of later artists such as Bruegel, Arcimboldo and

Desprez would subsequently highlight a variety of extensions in the technique, namely the use of dialogue within and between images and the incorporation of metaphoric, allegoric or symbolic references.

Chapter Two demonstrated how grotesque/caricature was embraced by European printers for its illustrative purposes yet initially ignored by English society owing to religious denouncements of the forms' ability to supply corruptive, distorted perceptions of mankind. However, repeated validations of the technique by sixteenth century English monarchs saw the form being elevated into an art suitable for appraisal by the upper echelons of society. Such acceptance coincided with Jacques Callot's advancement of the wider artistic realm through the use of etching. In amalgamating grotesque art and caricature, the engraver had created forms of dis-likeness which stripped away the vanity and pretentiousness of subjects in order to reveal their complete personality. A simplification of the technique by Italian caricaturists such as Ghezzi and Bernini subsequently popularised the form into a medium suitable for consumption by the travelling classes, becoming a rite of passage for gentleman and assisting the spreading of grotesque/caricature across Europe.

The thesis then scrutinised the development of cartooning in a British context, charting it's progression from political propoganda to paid commissions by luminaries of English society. The politicisation of the form was highlighted as developing in the eighteenth century in tandem with expansion of engraving and the newfound prominence of the role of Prime Minister, serving to establish the medium of political satire known today. Chapter Four's profiling of individual cartoonists featured within the corpus establishes how such illustrators built upon the works of predecessors (notably James Gillray, William Hogarth and David Low) to create targeted personae which highlight the

weaknesses and foibles of established and unfamiliar political actors; notably the emergence of Nick Clegg seen in Chapter Six. By further exploring these techniques across Chapters 5-8, the thesis was able to identify how cartoonists are able to enhance the forms of caricature and grotesque by agglomerating these with other stylistic devices in order to enhance their message.

It was useful to discuss the variety of rhetorical devices available to cartoonists in order to determine what types are visually employed and to what effect they have. To that end, Chapters Two and Three highlighted six instruments available to artists when seeking to amplify their preferred readings to audiences. The practice of parody was outlined to demonstrate how cartoonists are able to distort persons, texts or discourses for the purposes of amusement and ridicule; manipulating original and alien characteristics to create jarring effects (Brand, 1998, pg. 443). The incongruous dimension of parody was seen as fostering degrees of ambiguity across cognitive, communicative and humorous realms, serving to heighten criticism and/or analysis of a targeted medium (Petridis, 2015, pg. 732). The form's usage throughout the Twentieth Century served to create malicious vehicles of satire which treated subjects in contradictory manners; lowly subjects being elevated and elevated subjects being defiled (Hulstijn and Nijholt, 1996). However, the continual metamorphosis of parody confirmed its capacity to embrace artistic and discursive concepts as and when they emerged, heightening judgment and analysis of a targeted medium as well as signposting objects or acts for criticism. In this vein, practitioners of parody were conceptualised as benevolent executioners with the ability to resurrect or bury aesthetically obsolete material.

The thesis highlighted two forms of parody applicable to editorial cartoons-primary and secondary. The former was seen as focusing upon parodying the medium itself whilst the latter scrutinised the embellishments applied by a practitioner in creating a parodic image (otherwise known as –esque). In both instances, editorial cartoonists were viewed as applying parodic techniques of “banging”, “binding” or “blending” in order to create new cultural objects with alternative meanings, creating original art in the process. Secondary parody was profiled as overlapping with the art technique of pastiche, the practice of imitating the original source to create a blank parody which shares close parallels with the categories of forgery and ism art. It was evident how creators of parodic “conventions” would utilise “contexts of reception” for particular texts and objects (Randall, 1985), generating spectrums capable of combining perceptual opposites.

A discussion of irony outlined how the form possessed the capacity to illustrate something which is contrary to what is meant. This rhetorical device was postulated as a humorous phenomenon sitting in the gap between what readers see and what is depicted, a larger gap creating scope for greater irony (Giora, Federman, Kehat, Fein and Sabah, 2005). The form was found to enrich editorial cartoon narratives by subverting dominant representations of themes, events or actors in a graphic context, invalidating arguments and distilling opinion. Chapter Three highlighted calls by researchers such as El Refaie (2005) to assess whether the form is capable of operating at an ideological level, going beyond the attitudes and opinions it quotes to create new languages of dissent. The qualitative analysis of editorial cartoons across Chapters 5-8 further showcased how visual irony is utilised by cartoonists to highlight literal meaning through the use of visual codes, notably through facial expressions and/or exaggeration of features.

The third rhetorical device considered, intertextuality, highlighted how visual and verbal texts were repurposed by editorial cartoonists to produce objects with new coding systems and parallel languages. Chapter Three illustrated how audiences are now exposed to more images of reality than ever before. Such a progression was identified as having occurred through the layering of texts upon traditions of previous objects, functioning at a personal level whereby audiences interpret what they see in light of what surrounds or is referenced by the object (Werner, 2004). Applying this sentiment to editorial cartoons, it was discovered how the meaning of a visual shifts according to what readers see immediately prior to, besides or after the image, promoting the idea of the cartoon 'talking' to the host newspaper and vice versa (Berger, 2008).

Six modes of intertextuality were then outlined: *adaptation* (the modification of material from one genre to another, generating a new relationship); *retro* (an idealised longing for past); *appropriation* (the interplay of expectation or surprise, effecting a new cultural product and domain); *parody* and *pastiche* (outlined earlier); and *simulation* (the usage of characteristics taken with the intent to deceive wider audiences and compelling them to act, behave or speak in a particular manner). It was seen how the use of visual intertextuality created binary juxtapositions of contrasting ideas or themes to imply likeness, provoke response or create new news storylines. The case studies of Chapters 5-8 further highlighted the usage of visual quotation in editorial cartoons; creators integrating notable participants, organisations and cultural landmarks within their respective storylines. Visual intertextuality was also seen as occurring across images through the pairing, sequencing and clustering of ideas within particular editorial cartoons; operating in a back-and-forth manner inside the cartoon frame.

Further analysis identified how verbal intertextuality was situated in tandem with visual intertextuality, the pair often commenting upon each other and contributing to the production of new composite meanings within the image. Three conventions of the form were then identified: one which explained a meaning to audiences (image anchoring); one which solidified the truth value of text (word framing); and another which encouraged greater reflection (visual reflexivity). Such devices were found to be particularly prevalent in text-based editorial cartoons analysed across Chapters 5-8. By pursuing an integration of visual and verbal intertextuality, it was seen how editorial cartoonists were able to encourage readers to consider their illustrations as dynamic, vibrant matrices containing tissues of past citation, bits of code and fragments of social language; serving to facilitate the generation of new visual iterations.

Chapter Two highlighted how the fourth rhetorical device, word-image, had contributed to academic divergences over the dominance of visual or verbal text in signposting audiences towards a preferred understanding. The thesis adopted the view that visual texts should be considered on an equal footing to text, owing to their capacity to highlight multiplications of meanings and to create multi-semiotic texts which in turn provide greater insight for audiences. Analysed in the context of editorial cartooning, word-image was seen as activating dormant sensory stimuli in the subconscious, resulting in the generation of hypothesised meaning. Efforts were then made to demonstrate how audiences see images through a tri-dimensional process within which visual signs provide directional focus even when meanings are incomplete; performing a similar meta-function to that of language.

Particular markers were highlighted throughout the research corpus as helping to formalise visual representations in the reader's eye: notably light and darkness; colour; background; or scale. In so doing, a hypothesis was raised that editorial cartoons are similar to colour photography, reinforcing readings of imagery and audience knowledge through representations of situations, events and people, in essence reflecting the truth as perceived by the cartoonist. The thesis would subsequently establish how the phenomenon of truth was seen as being synchronous with the cartoonists' selection of target and their embracement and interpretation of a singular perspective.

Three sub-categories within the device of word-image were then explored in greater detail: speech bubbles; stylistic devices and lines; and metaphoric expression. Speech bubbles were found to be useful rhetorical devices capable convey a spectrum of meaning through its manipulation by editorial cartoonists in terms of size, heaviness of line, shape or size of tail. Case study examples across Chapters 5-8 illustrated how punchlines, synonyms, homonyms, onomatopoeia, metonymy and synecdoche were all successfully incorporated within the speech bubble vehicle; enhancing the protagonist's narrative or the cartoonists' opinion. Dave Brown's use of pictographic lines in Figure 89 was notably highlighted to illustrate how the cartoonist generated universal meanings through the smallest of line detail. Although the application of colour to speech bubbles was not incorporated by any visual in the research corpus, the phenomenon was outlined in Chapter Three as providing a useful indicator of mood in order to activate particularised senses and sensations hardwired into human cognitive development (Forceville, El Refaie and Meesters, 2014, pgs. 492-493).

The employment of stylistic devices was additionally seen as creating narratively salient information from otherwise absurd or outrageous imagery within editorial cartoons.

The case study examples highlighted across Chapters 5-8 all indicate a clear use of protagonist-driven imagery with cartoonists assigning faces to particular characters and persisting with them without further qualification; notably Steve Bell's conceptualisation of David Cameron as a condom and Martin Rowson's depiction of Nick Clegg as Pinocchio. Other stylistic devices included: the use of personification to signify the attributes of the subject depicted; visual compositions which depended upon common stocks of knowledge; visual saliences which focused attention upon their placement; and visual framing which connected disparate elements in order to assess whether they correlated in a synchronous manner. Chapters Two, Three, Five, Six, Seven and Eight all highlight how cartoons incorporating these stylistic devices were able to generate narratives for analysis without the need for text.

The fifth rhetorical device of humour was subsequently cast as a comedic instrument employed by illustrators to make visual comments more effective than if relayed verbally. It was seen how the form encompassed all aspects of daily life, serving to enliven human existence and increasing audience receptivity through its concurrent appeal to both emotion and logic. Chapter Three established how humour was dependent upon the element of surprise and originality, abandoning initial conventions in order to create alternative meanings that favour comic decoding subject to the cultural contexts within which it was produced. Humour's conflation with similar terminologies (notably amusement and mirth) was outlined in respect of their shared capacity to assist audience recognition of noticeable patterns or routines, creating points of reference which challenged internal responses. A spectrum of communicative effect, ranging from mere identification of humorous events to differentiation of societal members, was subsequently noted. The

qualitative analysis of editorial cartoons across Chapters 5-8 identified a further range of humour variations; the most recurrent being those of superiority humour (with cartoon protagonists imbued with the sensation of triumphalism over rivals) and the incongruous depiction of events, actors or themes being out of the ordinary vis-à-vis the cartoon frame.

Owing to its intrinsic role within the human condition, the final rhetorical device of metaphor was exhaustively discussed in Chapter Three to underscore both its critical function in discourse and its capacity to create new theoretical constructs. It was illustrated how metaphors are an effective means of conveying verbal messages in visually covert manners, making the form advantageous to editorial cartoonists seeking to articulate criticism or challenge underlying audience perceptions. The metaphoric deconstructions undertaken across Chapters 5-8 all highlight the presence of highly coded yet clear narratives for readers to select and engage with, thereby increasing their scope for interaction with the wider editorial cartoon. It was deduced how metaphors are able to foster semantic relationships between a topic and communicative vehicle, becoming a mechanism or lens through which the topic is viewed (Foss, 2004). Following a cataloguing of its etymological roots, the form was subsequently established as having the capacity to be simultaneously mono and multi-modal in terms of communicative effect. Having outlined the two categories, it was determined that (although primarily cued in the visual mode) the metaphors within editorial cartoons have a propensity towards being multi-modal, combining aphoristic and judgmental images or text in the same frame.

Lastly, Chapter Three underlined the importance of the metaphoric domains of source and target in the creation of metaphoric meaning. Discussion outlined six sub-categories which were found to exist within the device: topic-triggered; topical;

synchronous; language-triggered; pictorially-triggered; or ascribed. Each variant was seen as encompassing particular facets of the metaphor phenomenon, supplying additional visual vehicles onto which cartoonists could map new source domains. Taken in concert, metaphors were conceptualised as possessing the capability to agglomerate the sum of one thing with that of another, allowing each constituent part to be looked at in a different light (McGilchrist, 2009).

Analysing the Content of Editorial Cartoons

A case study approach was favoured towards analysis, capitalising upon the editorial cartoon's capacity to generate empirical insight concerning contemporaneous phenomena within real world contexts (Yin, 2009, pg. 18). The method would agglomerate qualitative and quantitative analyses of the form alongside the varying news elements selected for analysis from the host publication. By tabulating the latter (quantitative) information, the thesis was able to catalogue common points of reference between news elements within and across a set of newspapers. Chapters 5-8 all highlight how such an approach was able to facilitate comparison of the points of convergence/divergence in broadsheet coverage of particular themes, topics, actors and events arising from the 2010 British General Election.

To analyse the editorial cartoon's humorous content, Chapter Three presented three potential models which could be utilised by this thesis. Although the taxonomic classifications of Medhurst and DeSouza (1981) and Morris (1993) highlighted methods of qualifying *how* editorial cartoonists constructed arguments, both were felt as lacking an awareness of the societal structure and political context applicable to the case studies being undertaken. To augment this, a blending of research approaches to humour was favoured,

incorporating elements from both fields within the GTVH framework; a model which endeavoured to explain the broader humour processes affecting editorial cartoons. By adopting a flexible approach, the case studies would identify narratological structures within the form and expose incongruities between the semantic scripts within visual and verbal humour; ultimately extracting the core humorous comment from the cartoon.

In light of its capacity to condense visual interpretations into a series of mappings, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) was identified as providing the strongest foundation for discerning metaphoric language when discussing the abstract concepts found in editorial cartooning. Chapter Three highlighted how CMT demarcated source and target domains in order to reinforce cultural and sensory experiences encountered when reading visuals. Incorporating CMT within the qualitative analyses undertaken across Chapters 5-8, the thesis was able to expand and define the degrees of editorial convergence existing between editorial cartoons and their host broadsheet newspapers. A note of caution was made with respect to CMT's application by individual researchers, the lack of uniformity making it difficult to discern how scholars from differing disciplines arrived at similar conclusions in their respective analyses. Coupled with concerns over how conceptual metaphors fail to engender the fullest interpretation of metaphoric thought on their own (Gibbs, 2011, pg. 543) and an inability to explain one-off image metaphors (a key facet of editorial cartooning), CMT was solely confined to the establishment of master metaphors within the visuals highlighted for study.

Chapter Three established further methods which were beneficial towards the analysis of editorial cartoon content. Applying the technique of *mise-en-scène* across Chapters 5-8, the qualitative analyses were able to outline a checklist of persons, items and

locations within the frame; thereby establishing a 'master narrative' for the editorial cartoon. Robert Chambers' (2010) conception of how features of one domain are transposed into another was additionally found to be beneficial in terms of understanding how cartoonists 'banged', 'bound' and 'blended' parodic intent into their images. The qualitative analyses highlighted how such techniques provided supplementary weapons to the cartoonists' armoury: namely seeing David Cameron "banged" into a condom by Steve Bell in Chapter Eight; George Osbourne "bound" into the role of a magician by Dave Brown in Chapter Five; and Nicholas Garland's anthropomorphic "blending" of Clegg and Cameron into the cartoon characters of Tom and Jerry in Chapter Eight.

Lastly, an awareness of Charles Forceville's (2011) pictographic index would serve to assist the analysis of particular editorial cartoons when comprehending line, colour and speech bubble adaptations attributable to certain illustrators. Taken in concert with CMT and GTVH, Chapters 5-8 all establish how such visual, verbal and rhetorical devices are able to transform editorial cartoons into polysemous objects which are able to guide audiences towards a preferred understanding of interpretation.

Limitations/Recommendations for Future Research

A significant challenge posed by the research was that of the volume of data generated by a rolling series of events covering seven weeks across four broadsheet newspapers, thirteen individual cartoonists and 195 editorial cartoons. Whilst such an approach did provide a rich and complex basis for analysis (as well as opportunities for undertaking both quantitative and qualitative analysis), the volume of material meant that decisions had to be taken in terms of in-depth analysis of a discrete set of cartoons. Future

researchers may wish to consider a shorter time frame or fewer newspapers, albeit with an awareness that such an approach carries its own set of limitations.

In presenting an overview of the most common artistic, rhetorical and metaphoric devices, the research identifies a number of additional facets which could be considered as meriting future study. Examples could include assessing how cartoonists can employ the device of understatement to weaken particular concepts in an image to encourage audiences to draw upon individual powers of description, or scrutinising editorial cartoons for similes to qualify rhetorical or metaphorical relationships between protagonists or objects. In a similar vein, studies could establish how cartoonists such as Brookes utilise the phenomenon of *hypophora* (the rhetorical technique of simultaneously posing and answering questions in the same frame) seen in Figures 142 and 143 to stimulate audience attention and foster new areas for discussion. Finally, a further area for analysis could focus upon assessing the development of the devices highlighted in this thesis to ascertain whether their use in an editorial cartoon context has modified over time.



Figures 141-142: Examples of Hypophora in Editorial Cartoons (Brookes, Times, 29/3/2010 and 6/4/2010)

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APPENDICES

CHAPTER FOUR

Newspaper Group	Executive Control during 2010 General Election	Newspaper Titles	Newspaper Format	Date Established	Newspaper Circulation during 2010 General Election	Title Market Share during 2010 General Election (%)	Group Market Share during 2010 General Election (%)
News Corporation	Rupert Murdoch (News Corporation)	<i>The Sun</i>	Tabloid	1964	2,955,957	15.48	39.29
		<i>The Times</i>	Broadsheet/Compact	1785	506,997	2.65	
		<i>News Of The World</i>	Tabloid	1843	2,905,780	15.22	
		<i>The Sunday Times</i>	Broadsheet	1822	1,135,077	5.94	
Daily Mail and General Trust	Viscount Rothermere (DGMT PLC)	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Mid-market Tabloid	1896	2,096,074	10.98	21.36
		<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	Mid-market Tabloid	1982	1,983,283	10.39	
Trinity Mirror	Sly Bailey (Trinity Mirror PLC)	<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	Tabloid	1903	1,239,691	6.49	15.15
		<i>The Sunday Mirror</i>	Tabloid	1915	1,124,080	5.89	
		<i>The People</i>	Tabloid	1881	530,117	2.78	
Northern and Shell	Richard Desmond (Northern and Shell)	<i>Daily Express</i>	Mid-market Tabloid	1900	665,731	3.49	12.63
		<i>Daily Star</i>	Tabloid	1978	823,025	4.31	
		<i>Sunday Express</i>	Mid-market Tabloid	1918	574,324	3.01	
		<i>Daily Star Sunday</i>	Tabloid	2002	348,188	1.82	
Telegraph Group	Barclay Brothers (Press Holdings)	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Broadsheet	1855	683,220	3.58	6.25
		<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	Broadsheet	1961	510,146	2.67	
Guardian Media Group	Scott Trust Limited	<i>The Guardian</i>	Broadsheet/Berliner	1821	288,917	1.51	3.25
		<i>The Observer</i>	Broadsheet/Berliner	1791	331,791	1.74	
Pearson	Pearson PLC. / Viscount Cowdray/ Pearson Family	<i>Financial Times</i>	Broadsheet	1888	386,590	0.20	0.20
Independent Newspapers	Alexander Lebedev (Independent Print Limited)	<i>The Independent</i>	Broadsheet/Compact	1986	188,119	0.99	1.87
		<i>The Independent on Sunday</i>	Broadsheet/Compact	1990	168,151	0.88	
Total Broadsheet Circulation					3,851,077	20.16	100
Total Tabloid Circulation					14,631,352	79.84	
Total Newspaper Circulation					18,482,429	100	

Table 2: Newspaper Circulation and Market Share during 2010 UK General Election (ABC/Guardian, 14/5/2010, online citation)

Newspaper Titles	Newspaper Editor During 2010 General Election	Newspaper Political Orientation	Political Party Endorsement in 2005 General Election	Strength of Endorsement	Political Party Endorsement in 2010 General Election	Strength of Endorsement
The Times	James Harding	Centre-right, conservative	Labour	Weak	Conservative	Weak
The Sunday Times	John Witherow	Centre-right, conservative	Conservative	Weak	Conservative	Strong
Daily Telegraph	Tony Gallagher	Centre-right, conservative	Conservative	Strong	Conservative	Moderate
Sunday Telegraph	Ian MacGregor	Centre-right, conservative	Conservative	Strong	Conservative	Strong
The Guardian	Alan Rusbridger	Centre-left/centrist, social-liberal	Labour/ Tactical Voting	Weak	Liberal Democrat/ Tactical Voting	Moderate
The Observer	John Mulholland	Centre-left, social-liberal	Labour	Moderate	Liberal Democrat	Moderate
The Independent	Simon Kelner	Centrist, economic-liberal	Anti-Conservative/ Tactical Voting	Moderate	Liberal Democrat, Hung Parliament/ Tactical Voting	Moderate
The Independent on Sunday	John Mullin	Centrist, liberal	Anti-Conservative/ Tactical Voting	Weak	Hung Parliament/ Tactical Voting	N/A

Table 3: Political Orientation and Electoral Endorsement of corpus Newspaper Titles (Adapted from Deacon and Wring, 2010, pgs. 287, 289)

Newspaper	Circulation	% of Readers in Particular Demographic					
		ABC1	C2DE	15-44	45+	Male	Female
The Guardian	288,917	89%	11%	47%	53%	52%	48%
The Observer	331,791	84%	16%	51%	49%	52%	48%
The Independent	188,119	84%	16%	54%	46%	59%	41%
The Independent on Sunday	168,151	76%	24%	37%	63%	57%	43%
The Daily Telegraph	683,220	86%	14%	23%	77%	51%	49%
The Sunday Telegraph	510,146	84%	16%	22%	78%	53%	47%
The Times	506,997	87%	13%	41%	59%	57%	43%
The Sunday Times	1,135,077	84%	16%	44%	56%	52%	48%

Table 4: Top Line Readership Figures for Newspaper Title selected for Analysis as of 2010 British general election (National Readership Survey January 2010-December 2010, cited in Atanasova et al, 2010, pg.10)

	<i>Labour</i>		<i>Conservatives</i>		<i>Liberal Democrats</i>	
	<i>2005 General Election</i>	<i>2010 General Election</i>	<i>2005 General Election</i>	<i>2010 General Election</i>	<i>2005 General Election</i>	<i>2010 General Election</i>
Result	35	29	32	36	22	23
The Guardian	43	46	7	9	41	27
The Independent	34	32	13	14	44	44
The Telegraph	13	7	65	70	17	18
The Times	27	22	38	49	26	24

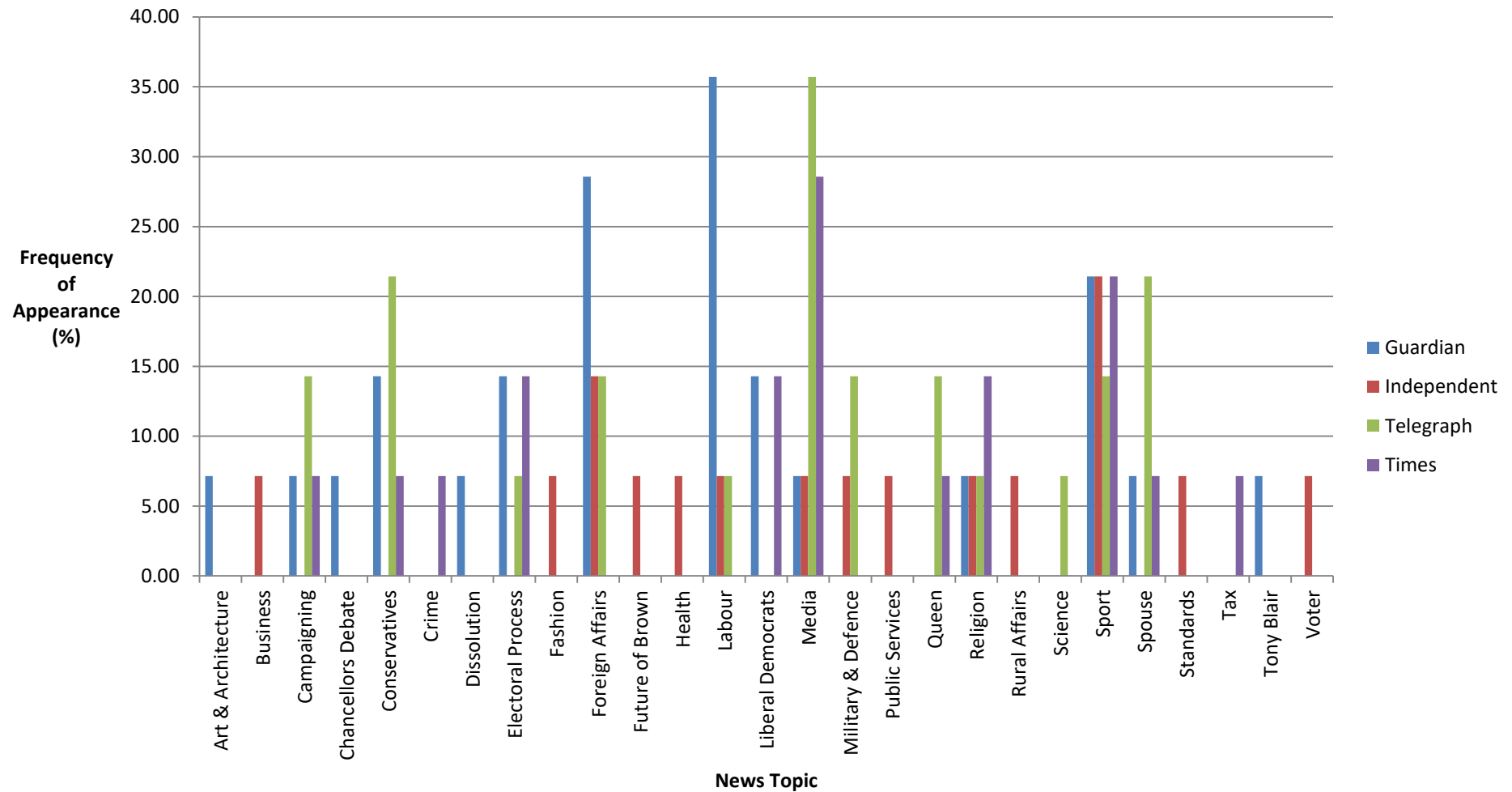
Table 5: Readership Allegiances of Broadsheet Newspapers in 2005 and 2010 British General Election (IPSOS MORI, cited in Wring and Ward 2010, pg. 808)

CHAPTER FIVE

Policy Case Study																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	
	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	
Art & Architecture																					1.79
Business																					1.79
Campaigning																					7.14
Chancellors Debate																					1.79
Conservatives																					10.71
Crime																					1.79
Dissolution																					1.79
Electoral Process																					8.93
Fashion																					1.79
Foreign Affairs																					14.29
Future of Brown																					1.79
Health																					1.79
Labour																					12.50
Liberal Democrats																					7.14
Media																					19.64
Military & Defence																					5.36
Public Services																					1.79
Queen																					5.36
Religion																					8.93
Rural Affairs																					1.79
Science																					1.79
Sport																					19.64
Spouse																					8.93
Standards																					1.79
Tax																					1.79
Tony Blair																					1.79
Voter																					1.79
Date	29	30	31	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11							
	March			April																	

Table 7: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Photographs across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Front Page Photograph News Topics Covered By Individual Broadsheet Newspapers During Policy Phase



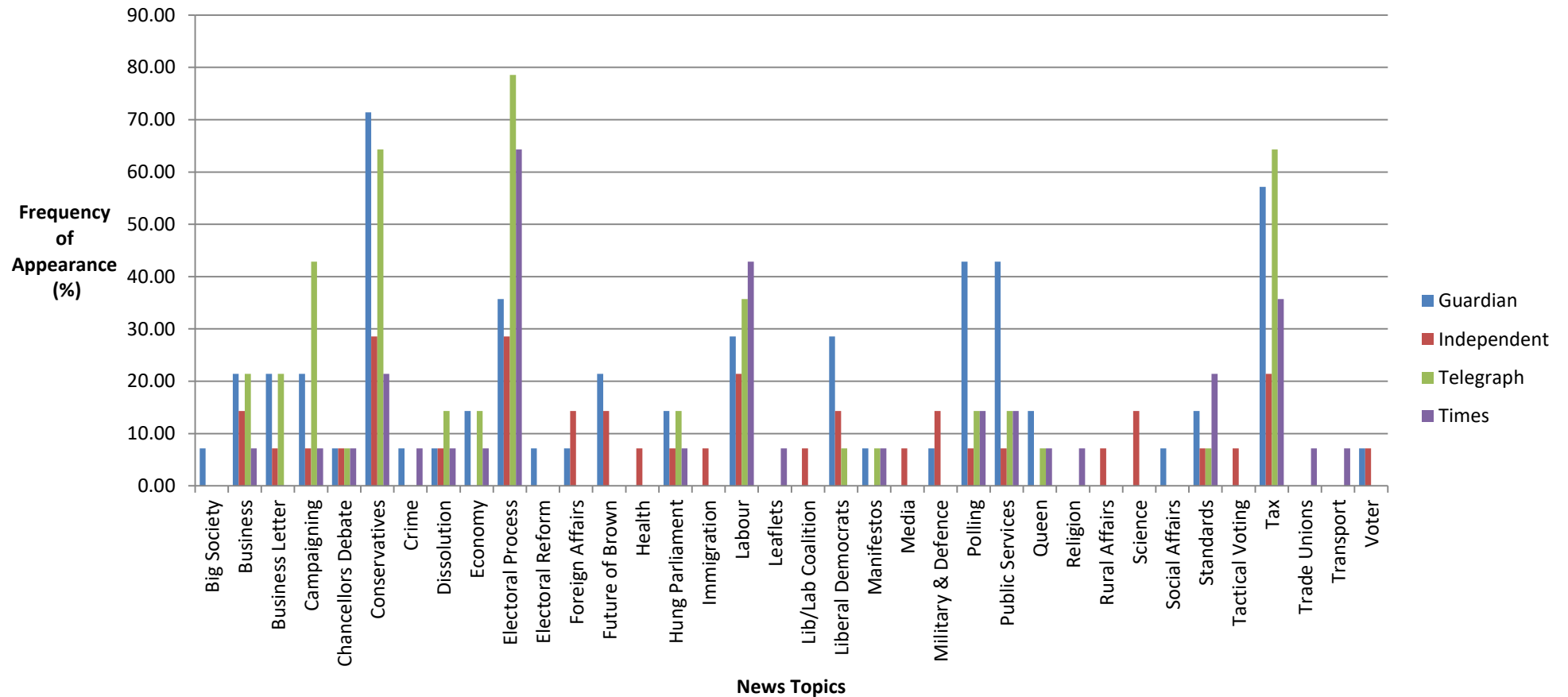
Bar Chart 1: Frequency of Front Page Photograph News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Policy Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)																
Big Society																																									1.79																
Business																																									16.07																
Business Letter																																									12.50																
Campaigning																																									19.64																
Chancellors Debate																																									7.14																
Conservatives																																									46.43																
Crime																																								3.57																	
Dissolution																																								8.93																	
Economy																																								8.93																	
Electoral Process																																								51.79																	
Electoral Reform																																								1.79																	
Foreign Affairs																																								5.36																	
Future of Brown																																								8.93																	
Health																																								1.79																	
Hung Parliament																																								10.71																	
Immigration																																								1.79																	
Labour																																									32.14																
Leaflets																																								1.79																	
Lib/Lab Coalition																																								1.79																	
Liberal Democrats																																								12.50																	
Manifestos																																								5.36																	
Media																																								1.79																	
Military & Defence																																								5.36																	
Polling																																								19.64																	
Public Services																																								19.64																	
Queen																																								7.14																	
Religion																																								1.79																	
Rural Affairs																																								1.79																	
Science																																								3.57																	
Social Affairs																																								1.79																	
Standards																																								12.50																	
Tactical Voting																																								1.79																	
Tax																																								44.64																	
Trade Unions																																								1.79																	
Transport																																								1.79																	
Voter																																								3.57																	
Date	29				30				31				01				02				03				04				05				06				07				08				09				10				11				
	March																April																																								

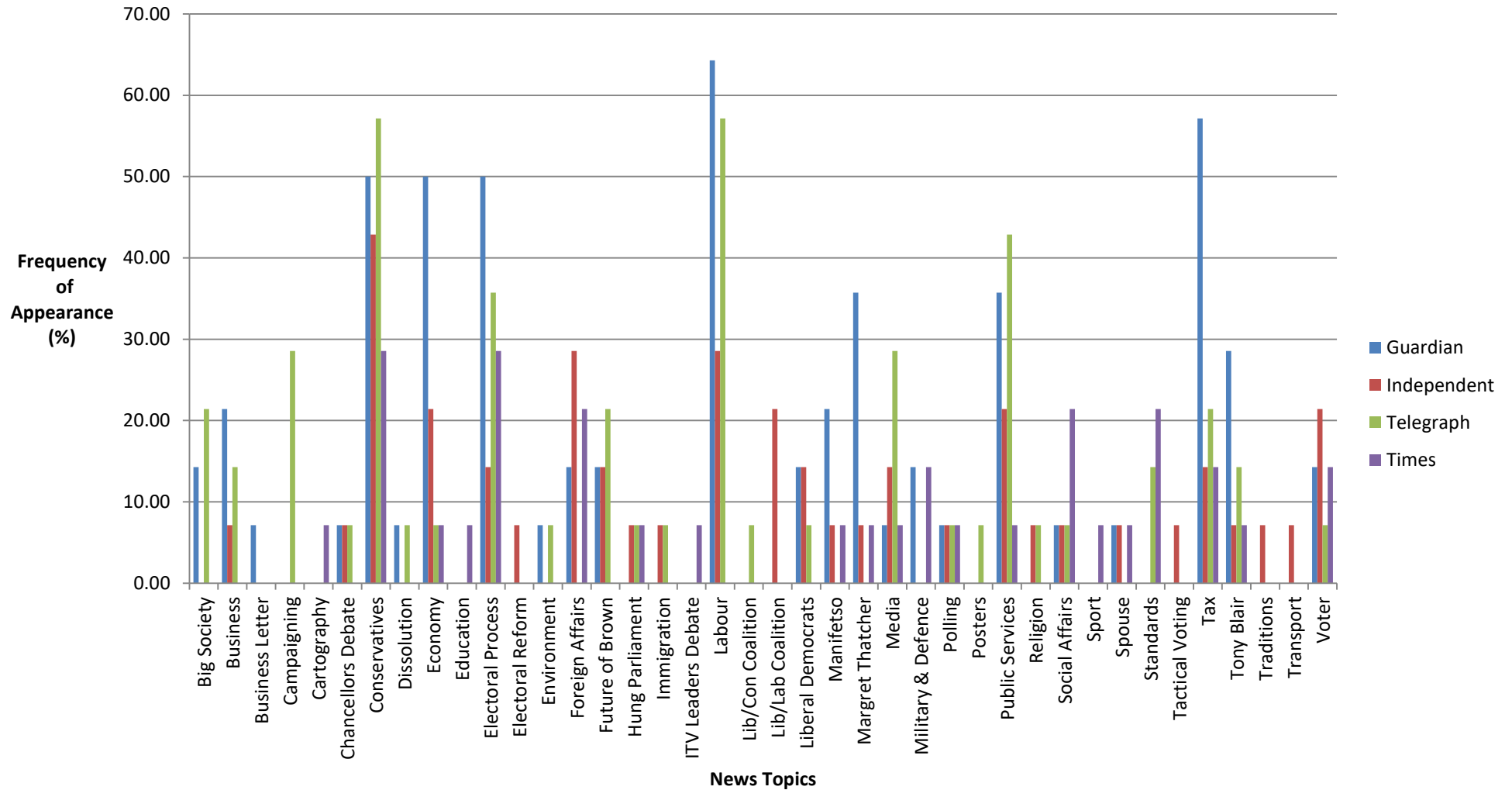
Table 8: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Articles across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



Bar Chart 2: Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Frequency of Columnist News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



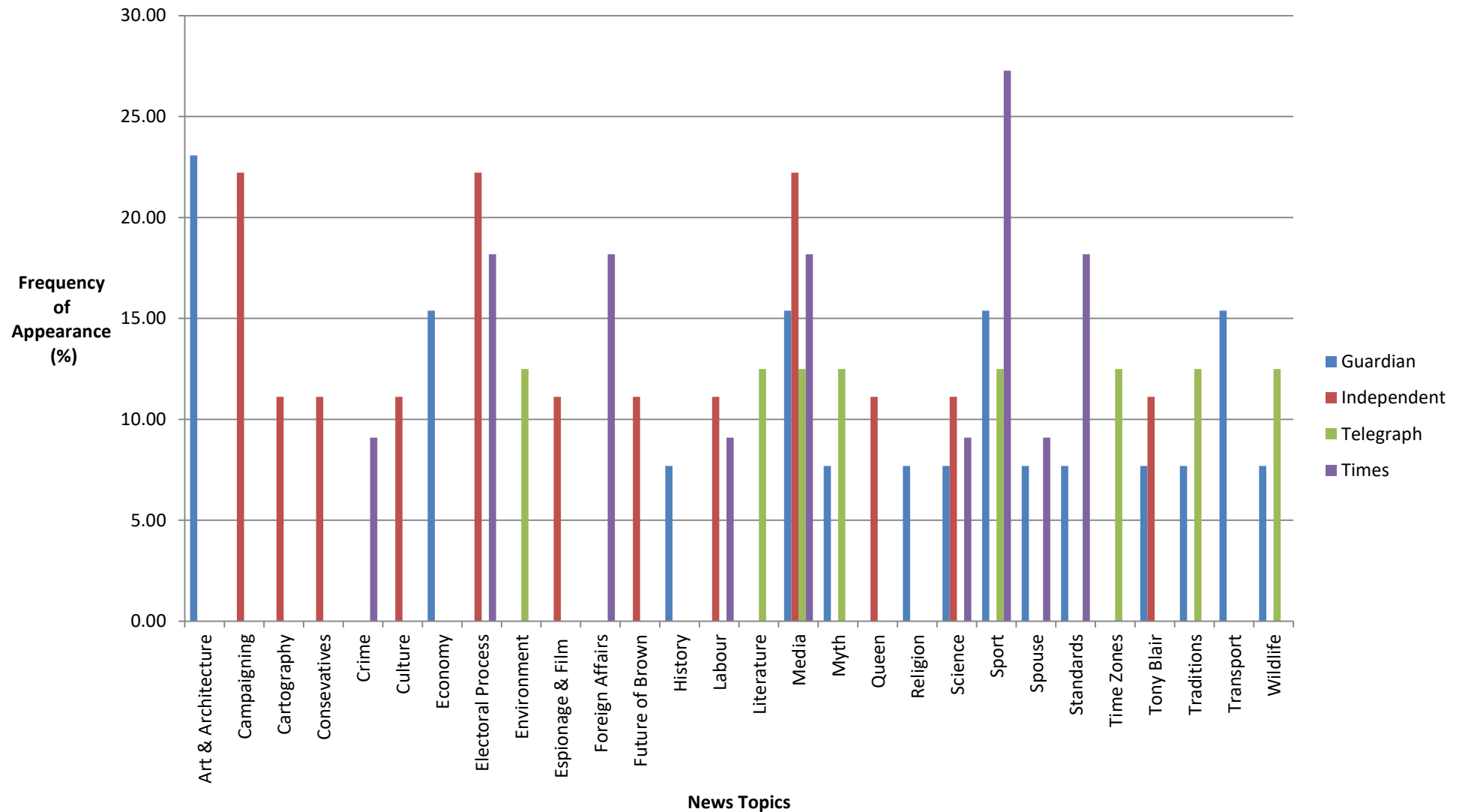
Bar Chart 3: Frequency of Columnist News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Policy Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	March								April																												
Art & Architecture																																			6.67		
Campaigning																																			4.44		
Cartography																																			2.22		
Consevatives																																			2.22		
Crime																																			2.22		
Culture																																			2.22		
Economy																																			4.44		
Electoral Process																																				8.89	
Environment																																				2.22	
Espionage & Film																																				2.22	
Foreign Affairs																																				4.44	
Future of Brown																																				2.22	
History																																				2.22	
Labour																																				4.44	
Literature																																				2.22	
Media																																				15.56	
Myth																																				4.44	
Queen																																				2.22	
Religion																																					2.22
Science																																					6.67
Sport																																					13.33
Spouse																																				4.44	
Standards																																				6.67	
Time Zones																																					2.22
Tony Blair																																					4.44
Traditions																																					4.44
Transport																																					4.44
Wildlife																																					4.44
Date	29	30	31	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11																							
	March				April																																

Table 10: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Third Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Tertiary Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



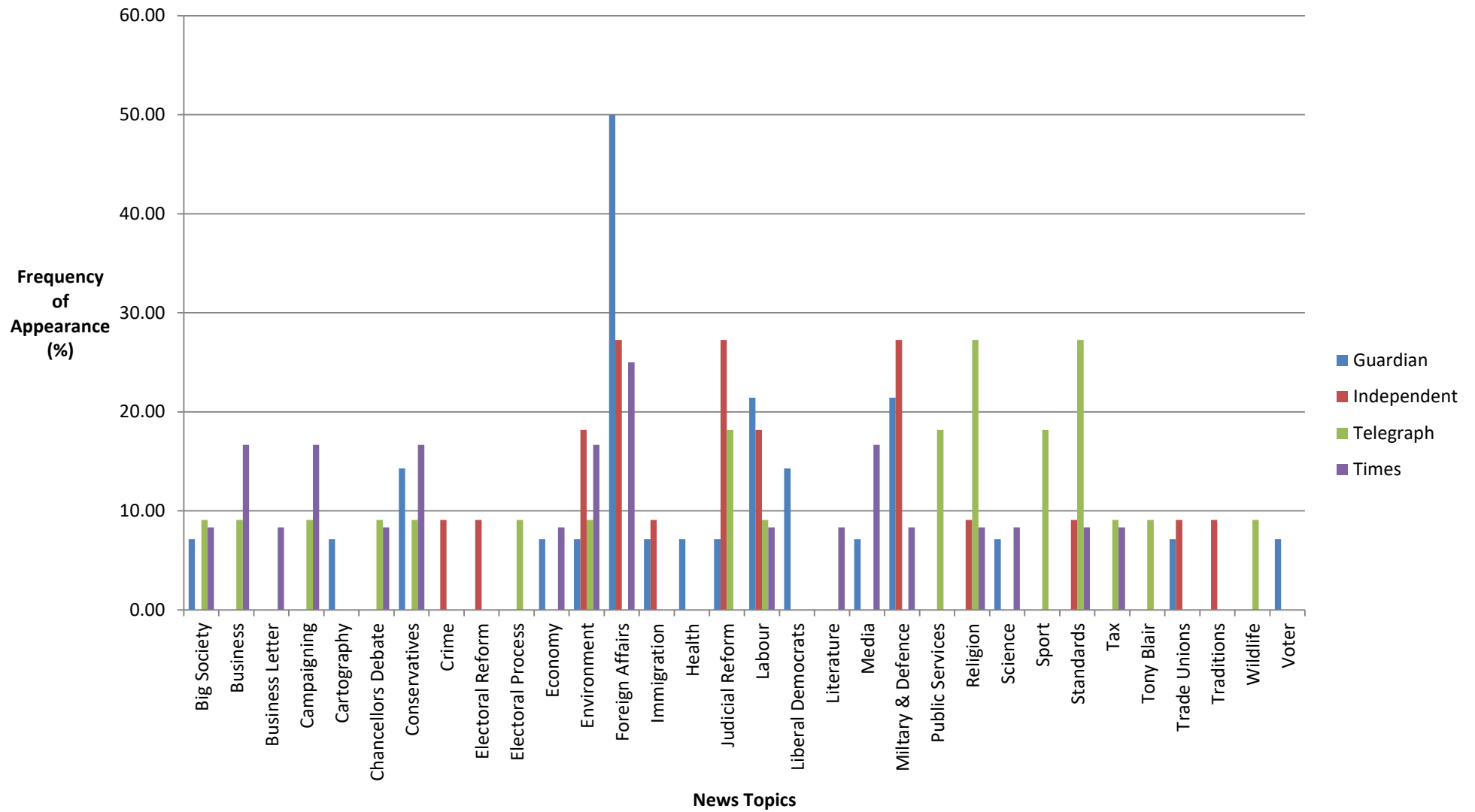
Bar Chart 4: Frequency of Third Leaders News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Policy Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	March																			April																	
Big Society																																					6.00
Business																																					6.00
Business Letter																																					2.00
Campaigning																																					6.00
Cartography																																					2.00
Chancellors Debate																																					4.00
Conservatives																																					10.00
Crime																																					2.00
Economy																																					4.00
Electoral Process																																					2.00
Electoral Reform																																					2.00
Environment																																					12.00
Foreign Affairs																																					26.00
Health																																					2.00
Immigration																																					4.00
Judicial Reform																																					12.00
Labour																																					14.00
Liberal Democrats																																					4.00
Literature																																					2.00
Media																																					6.00
Military & Defence																																					14.00
Public Services																																					4.00
Religion																																					10.00
Science																																					4.00
Sport																																					4.00
Standards																																					10.00
Tax																																					4.00
Tony Blair																																					2.00
Trade Unions																																					4.00
Traditions																																					2.00
Voter																																					2.00
Wildlife																																					2.00

Table 11: Frequency of News Topics highlighted by Second Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Secondary Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

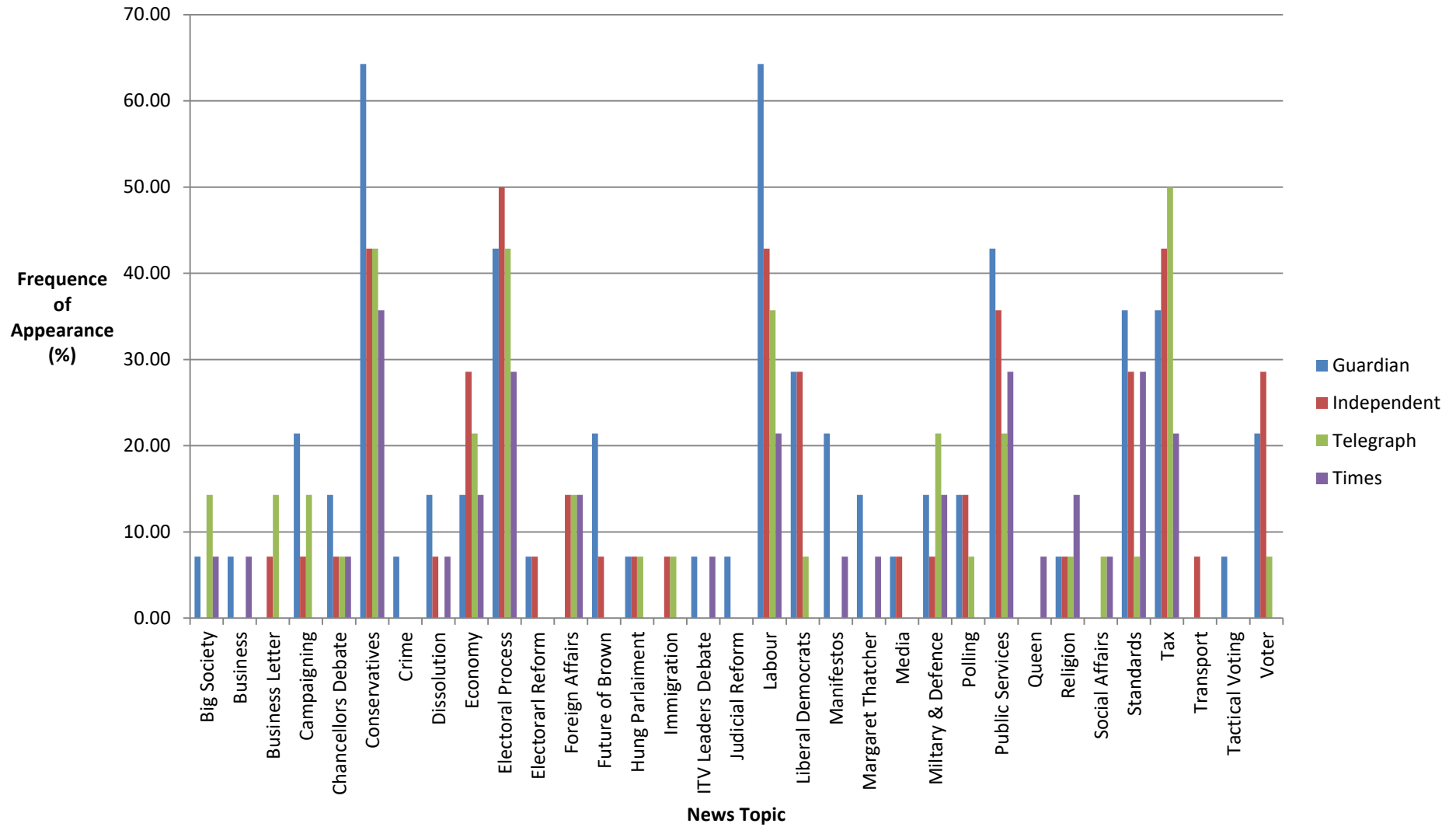


Bar Chart 5: Frequency of Second Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

		Policy Case Study																																																				
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)																	
	Appearance of Topic	March				01				02				03				04				05				06				07				08				09				10				11								
Date	29	30				31				01				02				03				04				05				06				07				08				09				10				11				
Big Society																																							7.14															
Business																																							3.57															
Business Letter																																							5.36															
Campaigning																																							10.71															
Chancellors Debate																																							8.93															
Conservatives																																							46.43															
Crime																																							1.79															
Dissolution																																							7.14															
Economy																																							19.64															
Electoral Process																																							41.07															
Electoral Reform																																							3.57															
Foreign Affairs																																							10.71															
Future of Brown																																							7.14															
Hung Parliament																																							5.36															
Immigration																																							3.57															
ITV Leaders Debate																																							3.57															
Judicial Reform																																							1.79															
Labour																																							41.07															
Liberal Democrats																																							16.07															
Manifestos																																							7.14															
Margaret Thatcher																																							5.36															
Media																																							3.57															
Military & Defence																																							14.29															
Polling																																							8.93															
Public Services																																							32.14															
Queen																																							1.79															
Religion																																							8.93															
Social Affairs																																							3.57															
Standards																																							25.00															
Tax																																							37.50															
Transport																																							1.79															
Tactical Voting																																							1.79															
Voter																																							14.29															

Table 12: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by First Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Leading Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

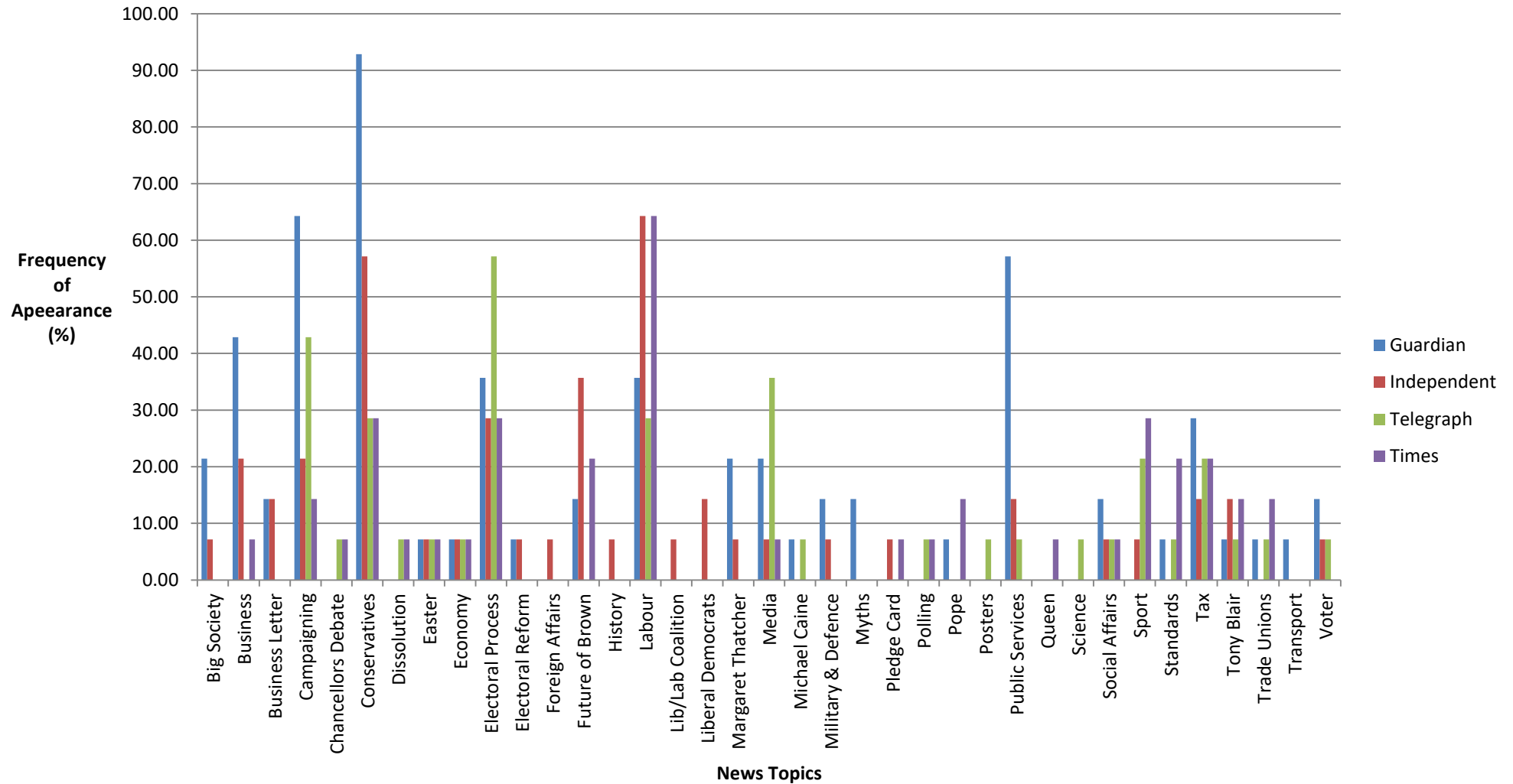


Bar Chart 6: Frequency of First Leaders News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Policy Case Study																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer
	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday
Appearance of Topic	Frequency (%)																				
Big Society																					7.14
Business																					17.86
Business Letter																					7.14
Campaigning																					35.71
Chancellors Debate																					3.57
Conservatives																					51.79
Dissolution																					3.57
Economy																					7.14
Electoral Process																					37.50
Electoral Reform																					3.57
Foreign Affairs																					1.79
Future of Brown																					17.86
History																					1.79
Labour																					48.21
Lib/Lab Coalition																					1.79
Liberal Democrats																					5.36
Margaret Thatcher																					7.14
Media																					17.86
Michael Caine																					3.57
Military & Defence																					5.36
Myths																					3.57
Pledge Card																					3.57
Polling																					3.57
Posters																					1.79
Public Services																					19.64
Queen																					1.79
Religion																					12.50
Science																					1.79
Social Affairs																					8.93
Sport																					14.29
Standards																					8.93
Tax																					21.43
Tony Blair																					10.71
Trade Unions																					7.14
Transport																					1.79
Voter																					7.14
Date	29	30	31	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11							
	March			April																	

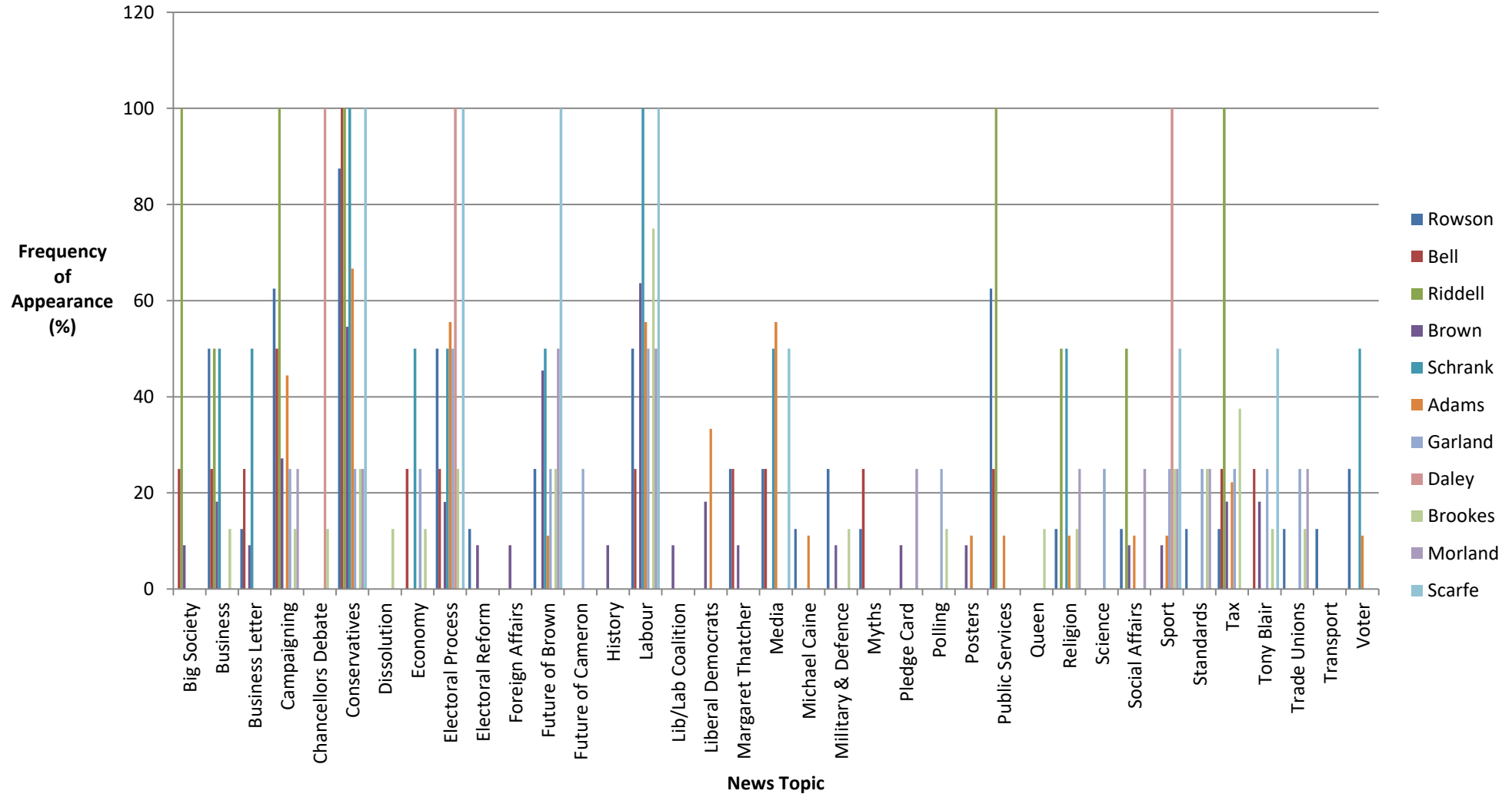
Table 13: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Cartoonists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



Bar Chart 7: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics by Individual Cartoonists during Policy Phase



Bar Chart 8: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Policy Phase

Notable Event		Osborne announces NI cut for business; Labour pledge card launched																												
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	Art & Architecture																													
Campaigning																														
Chancellors Debate																														
Conservatives																														
Electoral Process																														
Environment																														
Espionage																														
Foreign Affairs																														
Future of Brown																														
Labour																														
Margaret Thatcher																														
Media																														
Military & Defence																														
Pledge Card																														
Polling																														
Public Services																														
Religion																														
Rural Affairs																														
Sport																														
Standards																														
Tax																														
Trade Unions																														
Transport																														
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper			Partial Convergence						Divergence						Partial Convergence						Divergence									
Date			29th																											
			March																											

Table 14: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for March 29th 2010

Notable Event		Channel Four Chancellor's Debate																				
Newspapers		Guardian			Independent				Telegraph				Times									
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
	Business																					
Chancellors Debate																						
Conservatives																						
Crime																						
Economy																						
Electoral Process																						
Foreign Affairs																						
Future of Brown																						
Hung Parliament																						
Labour																						
Liberal Democrats																						
Media																						
Military & Defence																						
Polling																						
Public Services																						
Sport																						
Spouse																						
Standards																						
Tax																						
Time Zones																						
Trade Unions																						
Transport																						
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence			Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence									
Date		30th March																				

Table 15: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for March 30th 2010

Notable Event		Tony Blair enters electoral fray to campaign for Brown; LHC fired up																						
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times					
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
News Section																								
Art & Architecture																								
Business																								
Campaigning																								
Chancellors Debate																								
Conservatives																								
Crime																								
Economy																								
Electoral Process																								
Environment																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Health																								
Hung Parliament																								
Labour																								
Liberal Democrats																								
Military & Defence																								
Myths																								
Polling																								
Public Services																								
Queen																								
Science																								
Social Affairs																								
Sport																								
Standards																								
Tax																								
Tony Blair																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Divergence					
Date	31st																							
	March																							

Table 16: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for March 31st 2010

Notable Event		Threat of strikes after General Election; Conservatives launch Big Society																						
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian			Independent				Telegraph				Times										
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
	Art & Architecture																							
Big Society																								
Business																								
Business Letter																								
Conservatives																								
Crime																								
Economy																								
Electoral Process																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Future of Cameron																								
Immigration																								
Judicial Reform																								
Labour																								
Margaret Thatcher																								
Media																								
Military & Defence																								
Myths																								
Posters																								
Queen																								
Religion																								
Science																								
Sport																								
Standards																								
Tax																								
Trade Unions																								
Traditions																								
Transport																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper			Partial Convergence			Divergence				Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence										
Date			1st April																					

Table 17: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 1st 2010

Notable Event		Minister under scrutiny over Baby P case																												
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	Big Society																													
Business																														
Business Letter																														
Campaigning																														
Cartography																														
Chancellors Debate																														
Conservatives																														
Crime																														
Economy																														
Education																														
Electoral Process																														
Electoral Reform																														
Foreign Affairs																														
Future of Brown																														
Hung Parliament																														
Judicial Reform																														
Labour																														
Lib/Lab Coalition																														
Liberal Democrats																														
Margaret Thatcher																														
Media																														
Polling																														
Public Services																														
Queen																														
Religion																														
Sport																														
Standards																														
Tax																														
Tony Blair																														
Trade Unions																														
Transport																														
Voter																														
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Divergence										
Date		2nd April																												

Table 18: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 2nd 2010

Notable Event		Archbishop of Canterbury criticises Irish Catholic Church																										
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
News Section																												
Big Society																												
Business																												
Business Letter																												
Campaigning																												
Chancellors Debate																												
Conservatives																												
Crime																												
Electoral Process																												
Environment																												
Foreign Affairs																												
Future of Brown																												
Labour																												
Liberal Democrats																												
Manifestos																												
Media																												
Military & Defence																												
Polling																												
Public Services																												
Religion																												
Science																												
Spouse																												
Standards																												
Tax																												
Transport																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date	3rd April																											

Table 19: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 3rd 2010

Notable Event		Labour launches election posters; Conservatives retaliate																							
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Observer						Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph						Sunday Times					
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
Art & Architecture																									
Big Society																									
Business																									
Business Letter																									
Campaigning																									
Conservatives																									
Economy																									
Electoral Process																									
Foreign Affairs																									
Future of Brown																									
Immigration																									
Judicial Reform																									
Labour																									
Liberal Democrats																									
Manifestos																									
Media																									
Posters																									
Public Services																									
Religion																									
Social Affairs																									
Sport																									
Standards																									
Tax																									
Tony Blair																									
Voter																									
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence					
Date		4th																							
		April																							

Table 20: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 4th 2010

Notable Event		Brown attacks Conservative economic plans; Pope's Easter Address																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Big Society																												
	Business																												
	Campaigning																												
	Cartography																												
	Conservatives																												
	Electoral Process																												
	Espionage & Filmmaking																												
	Foreign Affairs																												
	Future of Brown																												
	Labour																												
	Literature																												
	Media																												
	Military & Defence																												
	Posters																												
	Public Services																												
	Queen																												
	Religion																												
	Social Affairs																												
	Social Affairs																												
	Sport																												
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Traditions																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Divergence						Partial Convergence						Divergence									
Date		5th																											
		April																											

Table 21: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 5th 2010

Notable Event		Brown goes to Queen to dissolve Parliament																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	News Section	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	Big Society																												
Campaigning																													
Cartography																													
Conservatives																													
Dissolution																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Health																													
History																													
Hung Parliament																													
Immigration																													
Labour																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Margaret Thatcher																													
Military & Defence																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Queen																													
Social Affairs																													
Sport																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Tony Blair																													
Voter																													
Wildlife																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		6th April																											

Table 22: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 6th 2010

Notable Event		General Election commences																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Big Society																												
	Business																												
	Campaigning																												
	Conservatives																												
	Dissolution																												
	Economy																												
	Electoral Process																												
	Electoral Reform																												
	Foreign Affairs																												
	Future of Brown																												
	Hung Parliament																												
	ITV Leaders Debate																												
	Labour																												
	Lib/Con Coalition																												
	Lib/Lab Coalition																												
	Liberal Democrats																												
	Manifestos																												
	Margaret Thatcher																												
	Media																												
	Military & Defence																												
	Public Services																												
	Sport																												
	Spouse																												
Standards																													
Tax																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		7th April																											

Table 23: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 7th 2010

Notable Event		Cameron polling difficulties																										
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times								
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Campaigning																												
Conservatives																												
Economy																												
Electoral Process																												
Electoral Reform																												
Foreign Affairs																												
Future of Brown																												
Judicial Reform																												
Labour																												
Lib/Lab Coalition																												
Liberal Democrats																												
Manifestos																												
Media																												
Military & Defence																												
Polling																												
Public Services																												
Science																												
Sport																												
Spouse																												
Standards																												
Tax																												
Voter																												
Wildlife																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence								
Date		8th																										
		April																										

Table 24: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 8th 2010

Notable Event		Brown ignored Treasury warnings on NI rise																						
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times					
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
News Section																								
Big Society																								
Business																								
Campaigning																								
Conservatives																								
Culture																								
Economy																								
Electoral Process																								
Environment																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Hung Parliament																								
Immigration																								
Judicial Reform																								
Labour																								
Lib/Lab Coalition																								
Liberal Democrats																								
Media																								
Michael Caine																								
Military & Defence																								
Polling																								
Public Services																								
Queen																								
Social Affairs																								
Tactical Voting																								
Tax																								
Voter																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence					
Date	9th																							
	April																							

Table 25: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 9th 2010

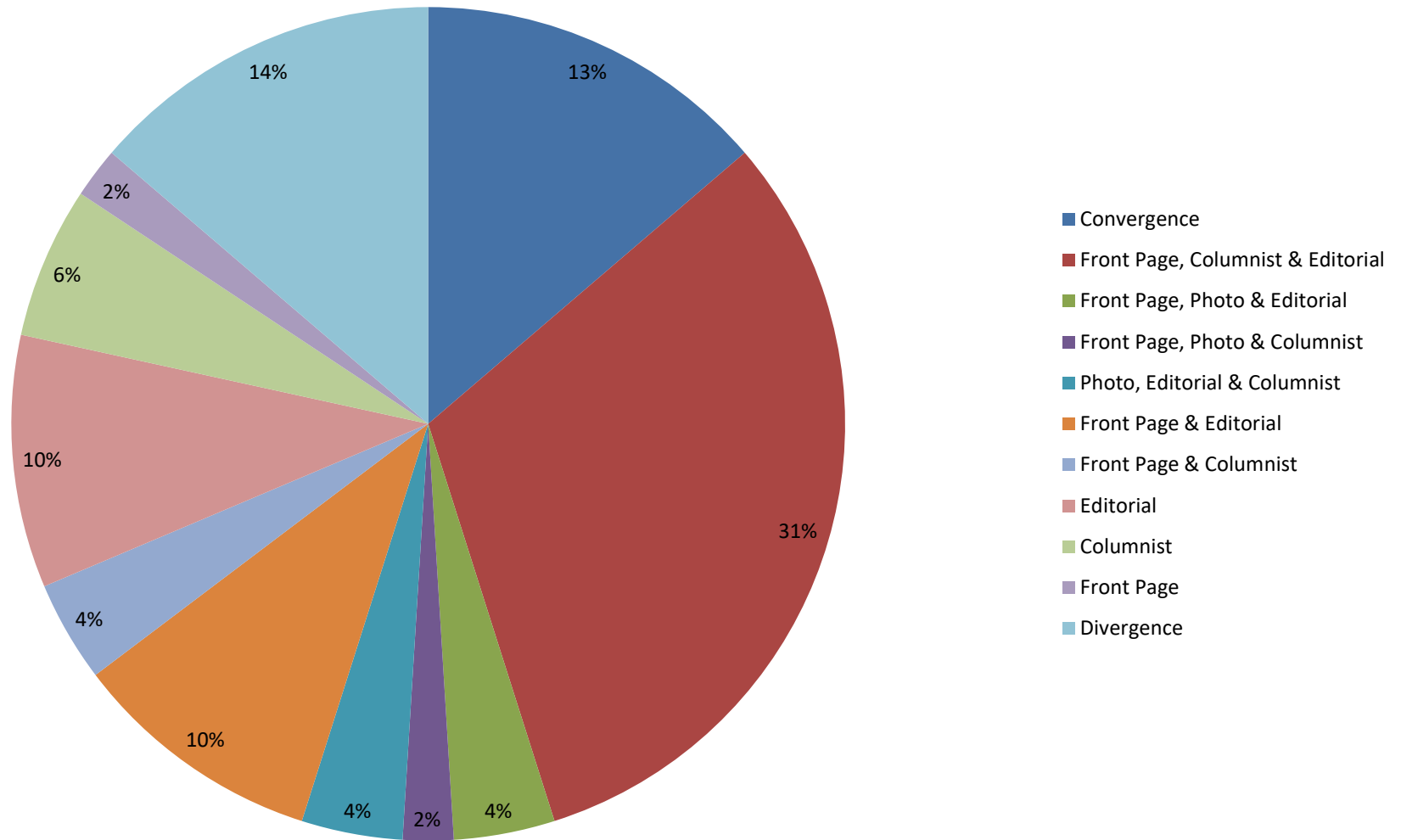
Notable Event		Conservatives pledge marriage tax break																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	Business																												
Business Letter																													
Campaigning																													
Conservatives																													
Dissolution																													
Electoral Process																													
Environment																													
Fashion																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
ITV Leaders Debate																													
Labour																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Margaret Thatcher																													
Media																													
Military & Defence																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Science																													
Social Affairs																													
Sport																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tactical Voting																													
Tax																													
Transport																													
Voter																													
Wildlife																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		10th																											
		April																											

Table 26: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 10th 2010

Notable Event		Poland air crash; Row over Labour use of personalised data in campaign																							
Newspapers	News Section	Observer						Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph						Sunday Times					
		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
		Big Society																							
Campaigning																									
Conservatives																									
Economy																									
Electoral Process																									
Electoral Reform																									
Foreign Affairs																									
Future of Brown																									
Hung Parliament																									
ITV Leaders Debate																									
Labour																									
Leaflets																									
Liberal Democrats																									
Literature																									
Manifestos																									
Margaret Thatcher																									
Media																									
Military & Defence																									
Polling																									
Public Services																									
Social Affairs																									
Sport																									
Spouse																									
Standards																									
Tax																									
Tony Blair																									
Voter																									
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence					
Date		11th																							
		April																							

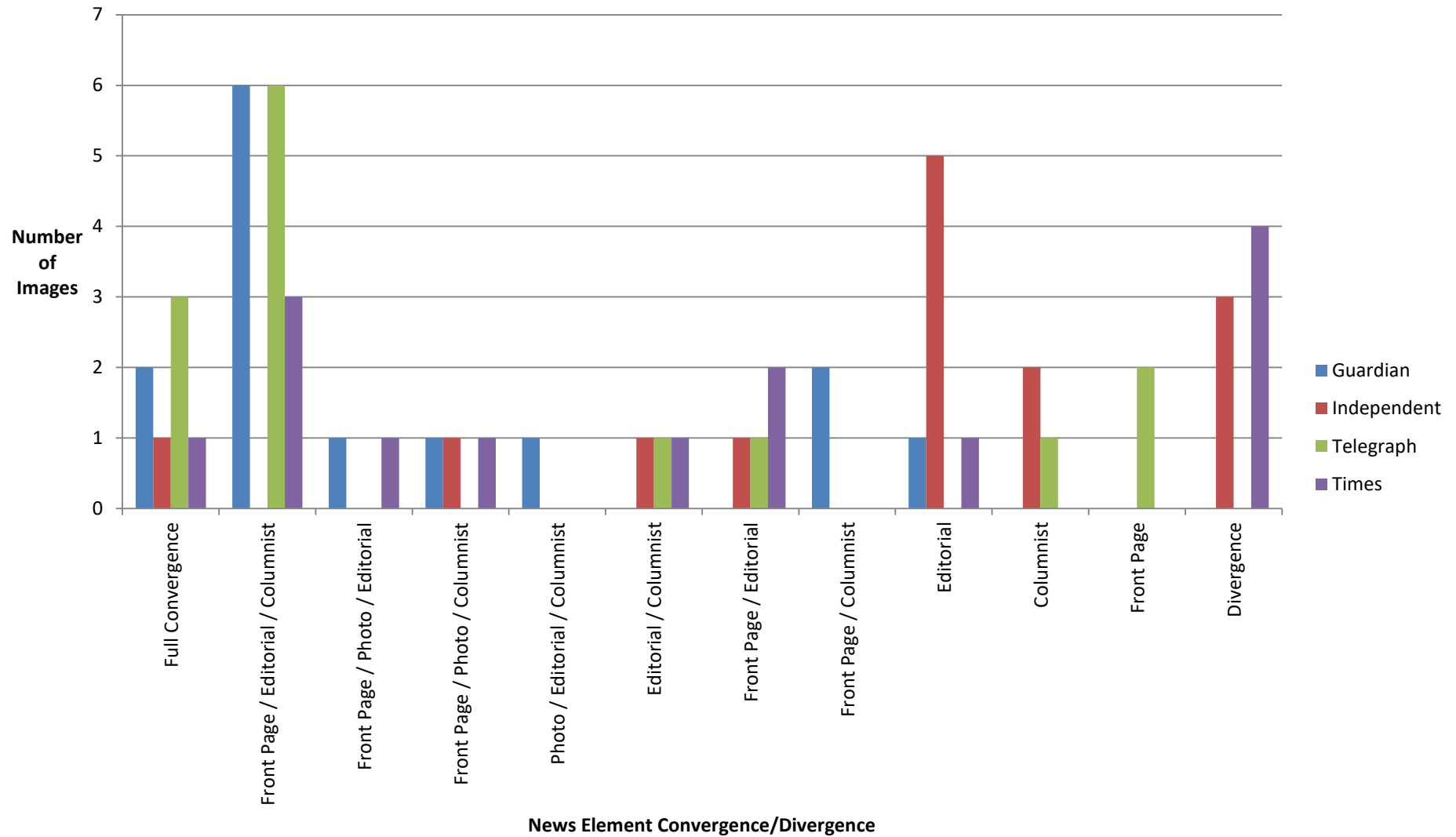
Table 27: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 11th 2010

Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Policy Phase



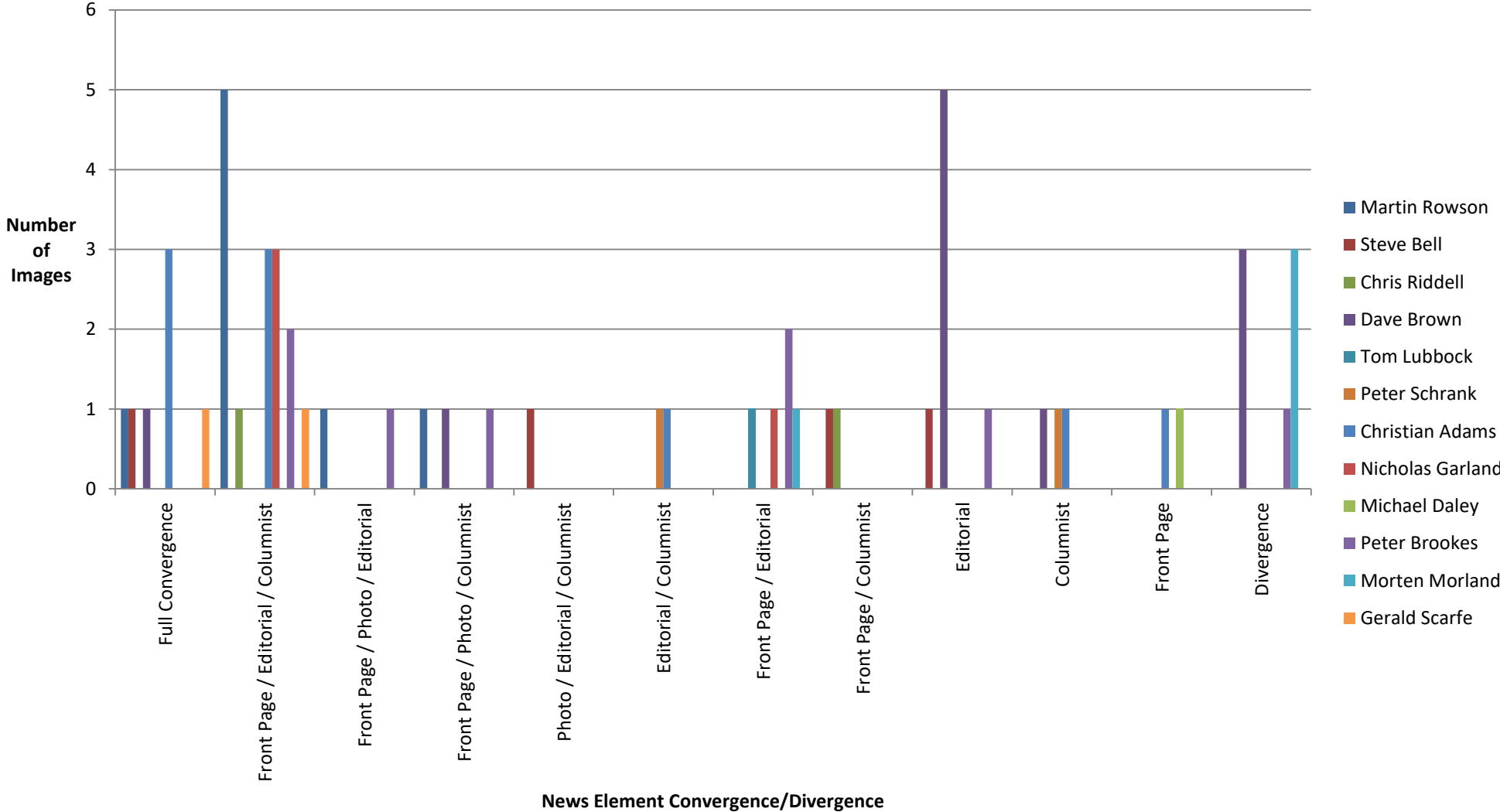
Pie Chart 1: Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Policy Phase

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



Bar Chart 9: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for individual Cartoonists during Policy Phase



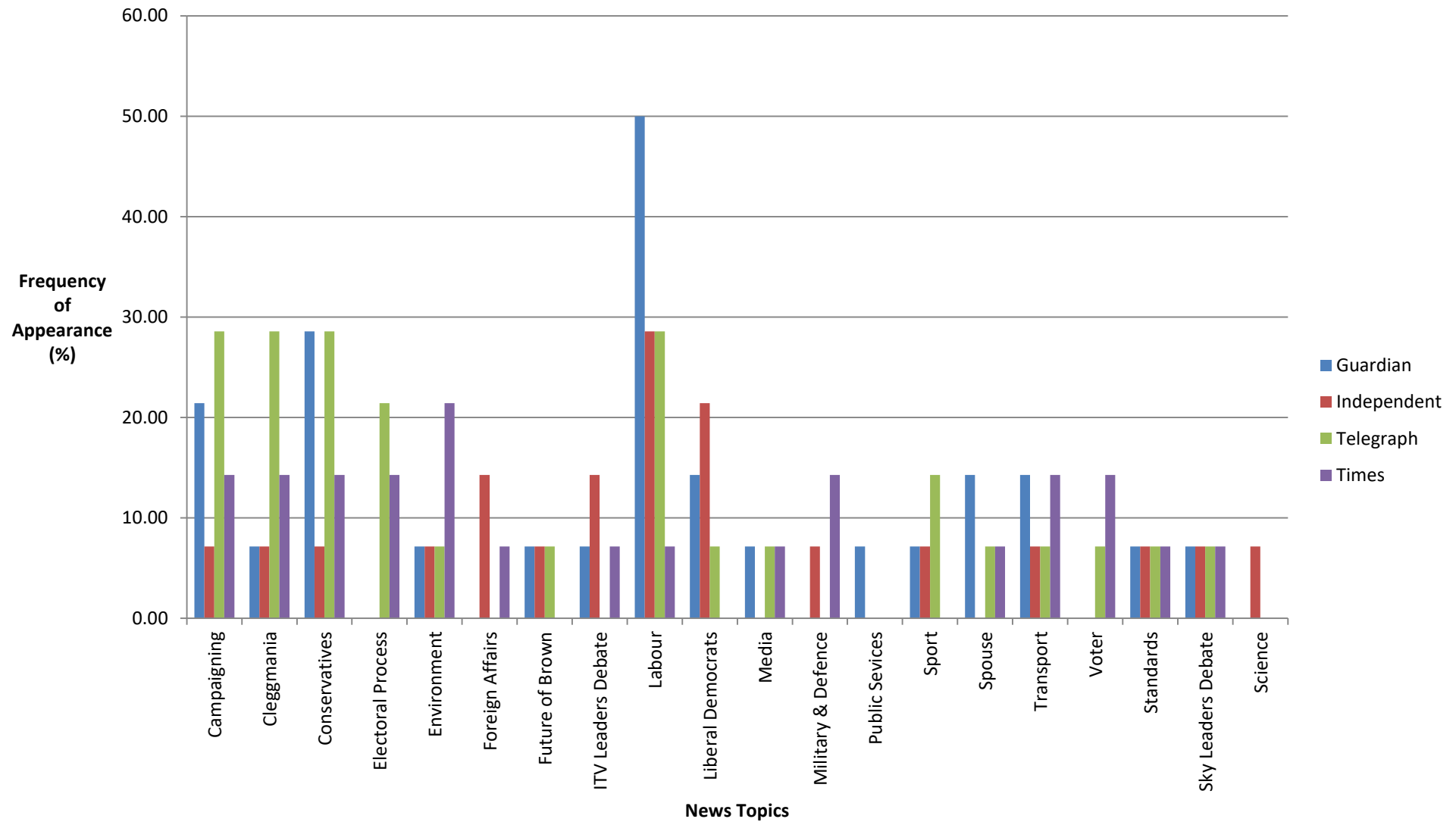
Bar Chart 10: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonist during Policy Phase

CHAPTER SIX

Debate Case Study																				
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday		
	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times		
Appearance of Topic																		Frequency (%)		
Campaigning																				
Cleggmania																				14.29
Conservatives																				19.64
Electoral Process																				8.93
Environment																				10.71
Foreign Affairs																				5.36
Future of Brown																				5.36
ITV Leaders Debate																				7.14
Labour																				28.57
Liberal Democrats																				10.71
Media																				5.36
Military & Defence																				5.36
Public Services																				1.79
Sport																				7.14
Spouse																				7.14
Transport																				10.71
Voter																				5.36
Standards																				7.14
Sky Leaders Debate																				7.14
Science																				1.79
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25						
	April																			

Table 30: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Photographs across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Front Page Photograph News Topics for individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase



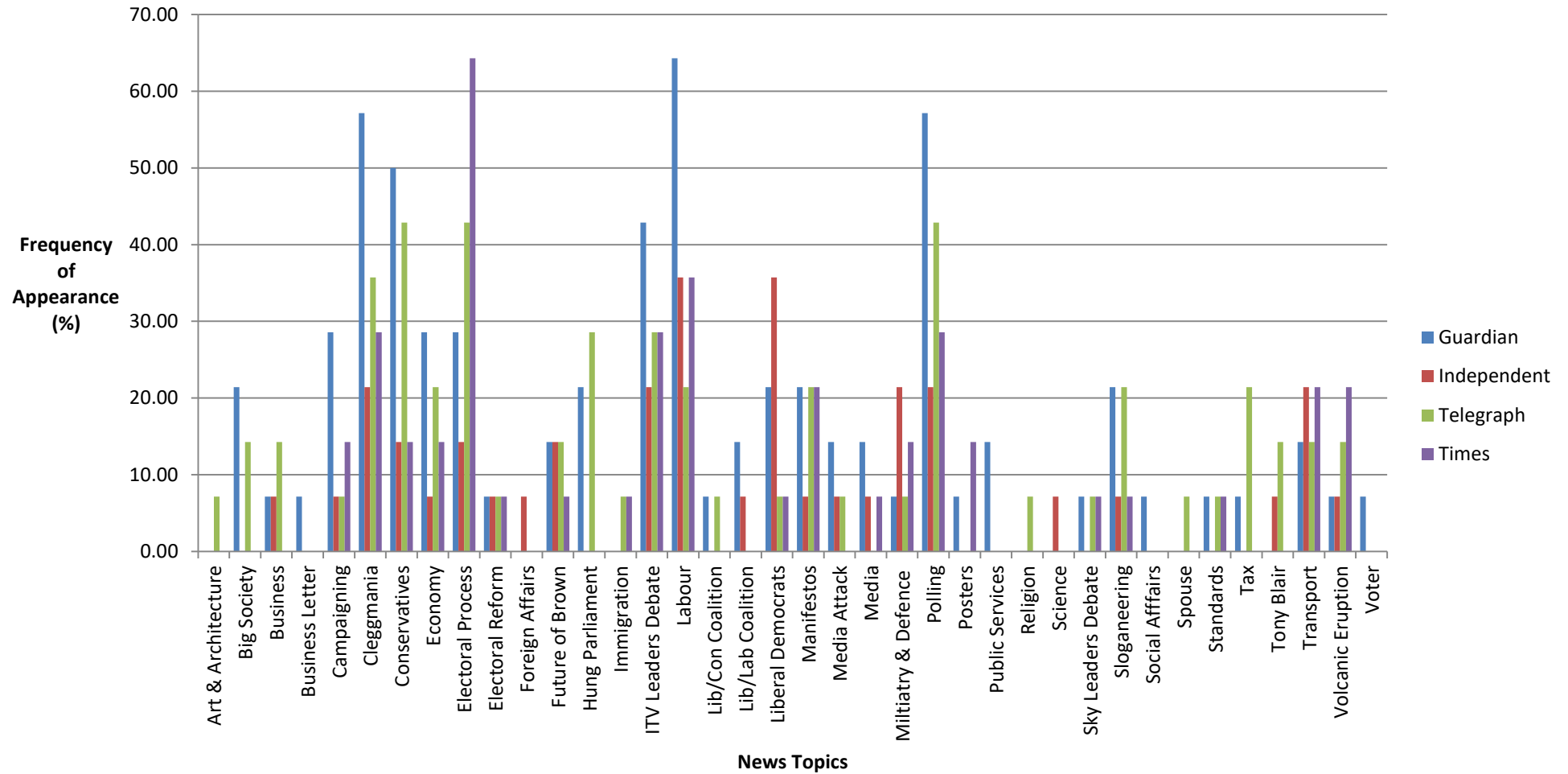
Bar Chart 11: Frequency of Front Page Photographs for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Debate Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																								
Art & Architecture																																						1.79			
Big Society																																						8.93			
Business																																						7.14			
Business Letter																																						1.79			
Campaigning																																						14.29			
Cleggmania																																						35.71			
Conservatives																																						30.36			
Economy																																						17.86			
Electoral Process																																						37.50			
Electoral Reform																																						7.14			
Foreign Affairs																																						1.79			
Futire of Brown																																						12.50			
Hung Parliament																																						12.50			
Immigration																																						3.57			
ITV Leaders Debate																																						30.36			
Labour																																						39.29			
Lib/Con Coalition																																						3.57			
Lib/Lab Coalition																																						5.36			
Liberal Democrats																																						17.86			
Manifestos																																						17.86			
Medai Attack																																						7.14			
Media																																						7.14			
Miltiatry & Defence																																							12.50		
Polling																																						37.50			
Posters																																						5.36			
Public Services																																						3.57			
Religion																																						1.79			
Science																																						1.79			
Sky Leaders Debate																																						5.36			
Sloganeering																																						14.29			
Social Affairs																																						1.79			
Spouse																																						1.79			
Standards																																						5.36			
Tax																																						7.14			
Tony Blair																																						5.36			
Transport																																						17.86			
Volcanic Eruption																																						12.50			
Voter																																						1.79			
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	April																										

Table 31: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Articles across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

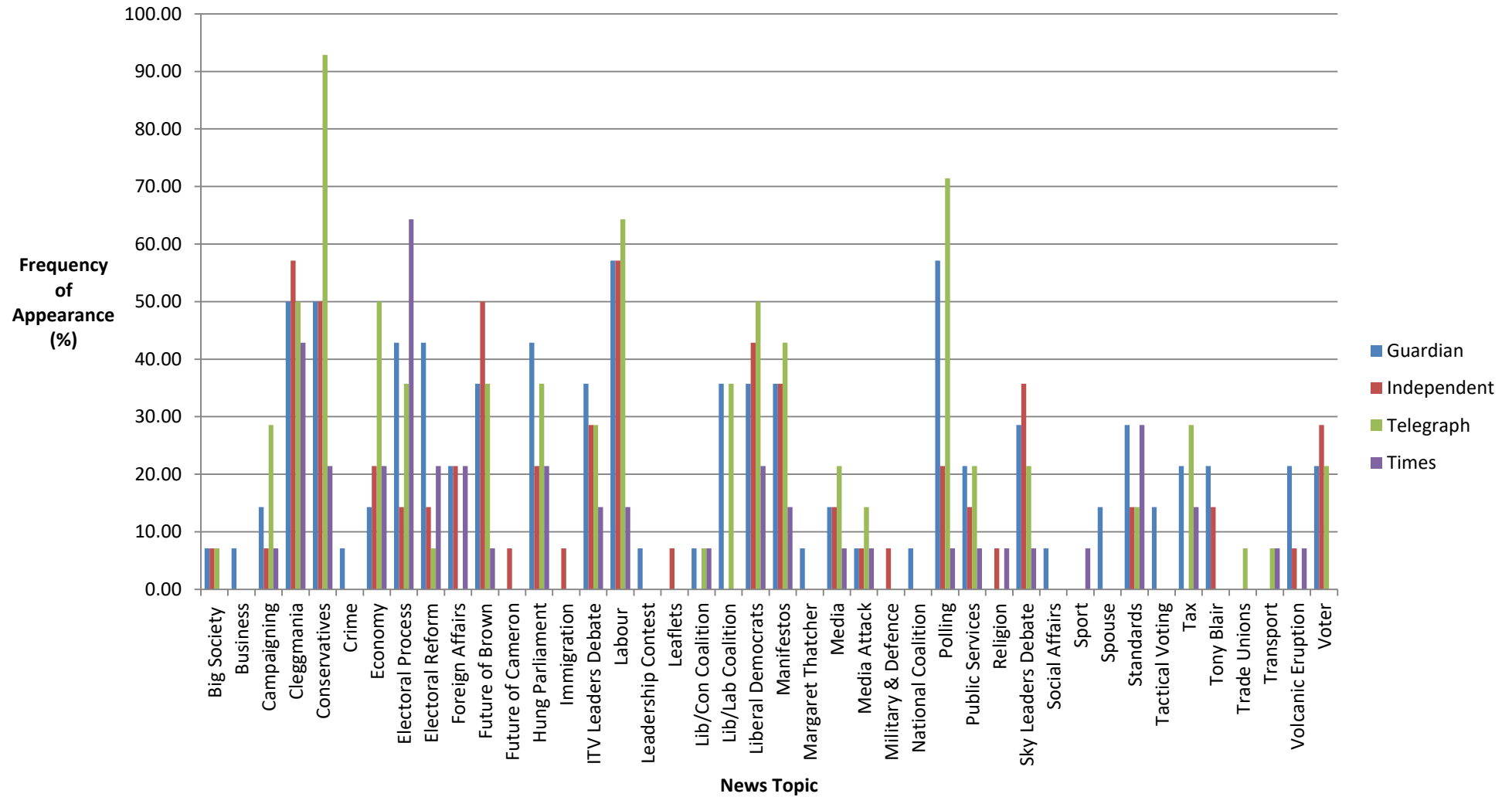


Bar Chart 12: Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

Debate Case Study																																											
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)		
	Appearance of Topic																																										
Big Society																																										5.36	
Business																																											1.79
Campaigning																																											14.29
Cleggmania																																											50.00
Conservatives																																											53.57
Crime																																											1.79
Economy																																											26.79
Electoral Process																																											39.29
Electoral Reform																																											21.43
Foreign Affairs																																											16.07
Future of Brown																																											32.14
Future of Cameron																																											1.79
Hung Parliament																																											30.36
Immigration																																											1.79
ITV Leaders Debate																																											26.79
Labour																																											48.21
Leadership Contest																																											1.79
Leaflets																																											1.79
Lib/Con Coalition																																										5.36	
Lib/Lab Coalition																																											17.86
Liberal Democrats																																											37.50
Manifestos																																											32.14
Margaret Thatcher																																											1.79
Media																																											14.29
Media Attack																																											8.93
Military & Defence																																											1.79
National Coalition																																											1.79
Polling																																											39.29
Public Services																																											16.07
Religion																																											3.57
Sky Leaders Debate																																											23.21
Social Affairs																																											1.79
Sport																																											1.79
Spouse																																											3.57
Standards																																											21.43
Tactical Voting																																											3.57
Tax																																											16.07
Tony Blair																																											8.93
Trade Unions																																											1.79
Transport																																											3.57
Volcanic Eruption																																											8.93
Voter																																											17.86
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	April																												

Table 32: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Columnists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Columnist News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase



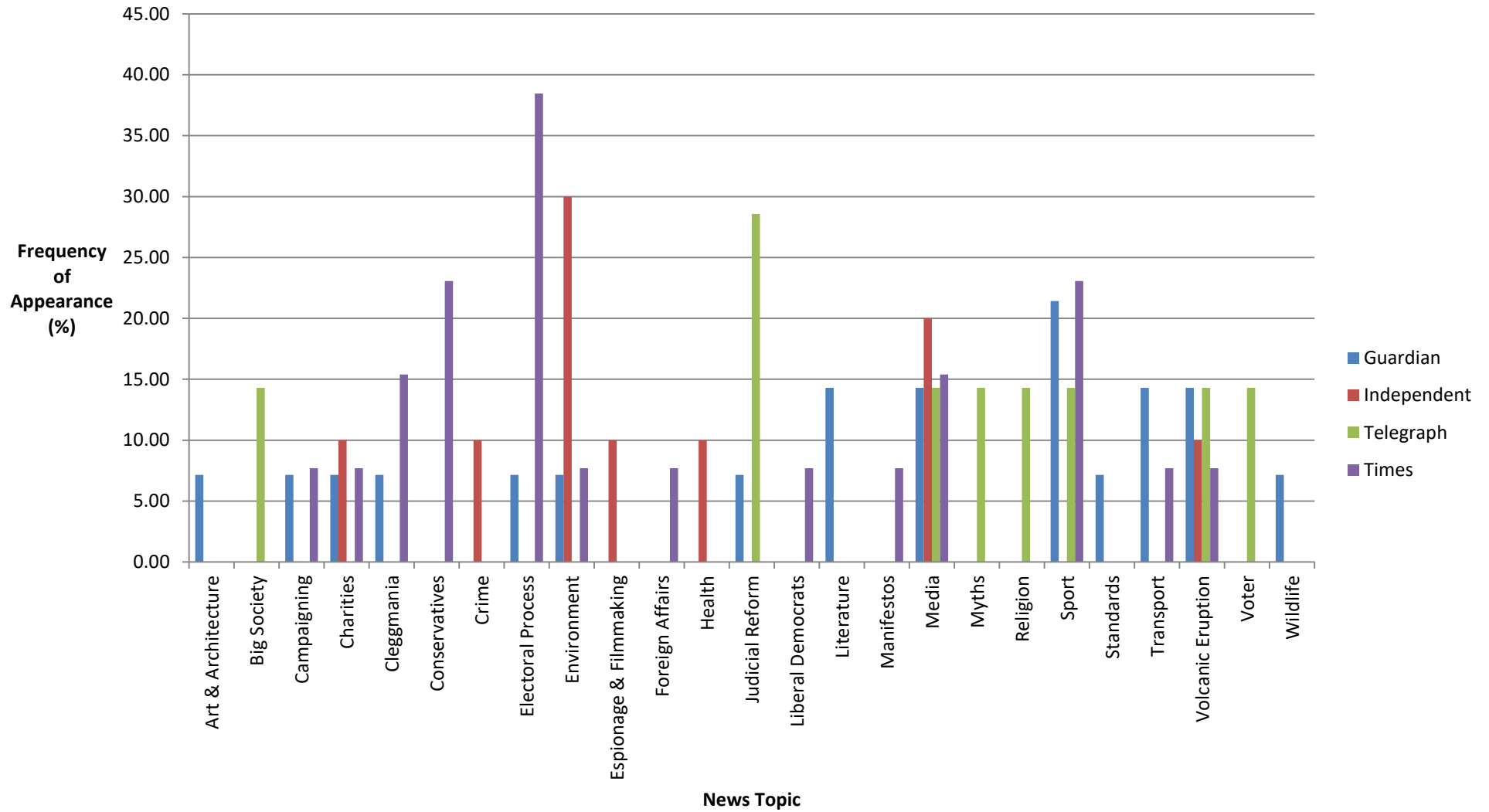
Bar Chart 13: Frequency of Columnist News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

Debate Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	April																																				
Art & Architecture																																				1.79	
Big Society																																				1.79	
Campaigning																																				3.57	
Charities																																				5.36	
Cleggmania																																				5.36	
Conservatives																																				5.36	
Crime																																				1.79	
Electoral Process																																				10.71	
Environment																																				8.93	
Espionage & Filmmaking																																				1.79	
Foreign Affairs																																				1.79	
Health																																				1.79	
Judicial Reform																																				5.36	
Liberal Democrats																																				1.79	
Literature																																				3.57	
Manifestos																																				1.79	
Media																																				12.50	
Myths																																				1.79	
Religion																																				1.79	
Sport																																				12.50	
Standards																																				1.79	
Transport																																				5.36	
Volcanic Eruption																																				8.93	
Voter																																				1.79	
Wildlife																																				1.79	

Table 33: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Third Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Tertiary News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

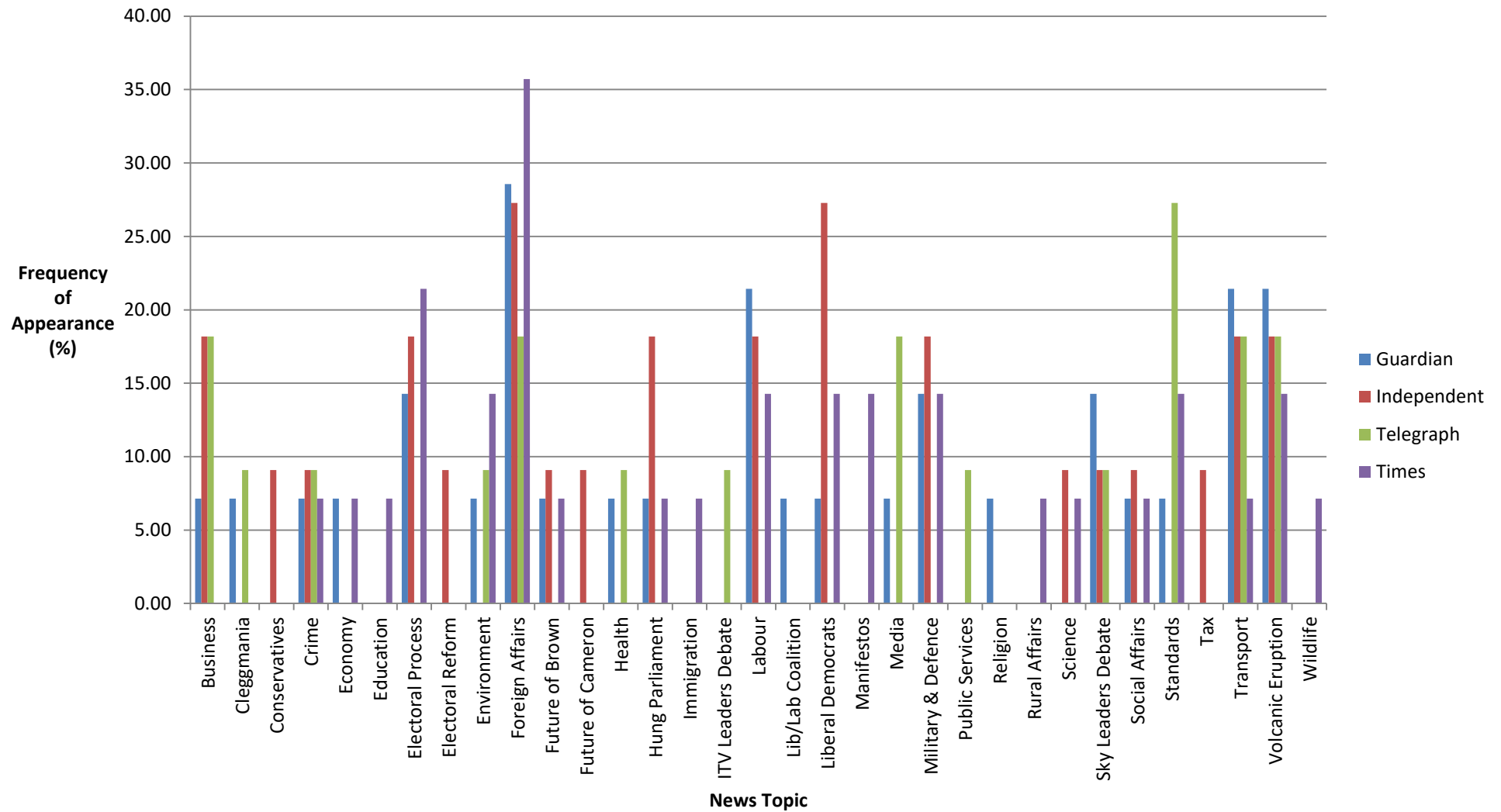


Bar Chart 14: Frequency of Third Leaders News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

		Debate Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)		
	Business																																						
Cleggmania																																							3.57
Conservatives																																							1.79
Crime																																							7.14
Economy																																							3.57
Education																																							1.79
Electoral Process																																							12.50
Electoral Reform																																							1.79
Environment																																							7.14
Foreign Affairs																																							25.00
Future of Brown																																							5.36
Future of Cameron																																							1.79
Health																																							3.57
Hung Parliament																																							7.14
Immigration																																							1.79
ITV Leaders Debate																																							1.79
Labour																																							12.50
Lib/Lab Coalition																																							1.79
Liberal Democrats																																							10.71
Manifestos																																							3.57
Media																																							5.36
Military & Defence																																							10.71
Public Services																																							1.79
Religion																																							1.79
Rural Affairs																																							1.79
Science																																							3.57
Sky Leaders Debate																																							7.14
Social Affairs																																							5.36
Standards																																							10.71
Tax																																							1.79
Transport																																							14.29
Volcanic Eruption																																							16.07
Wildlife																																							1.79
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	April																								

Table 34: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Second Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Second Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

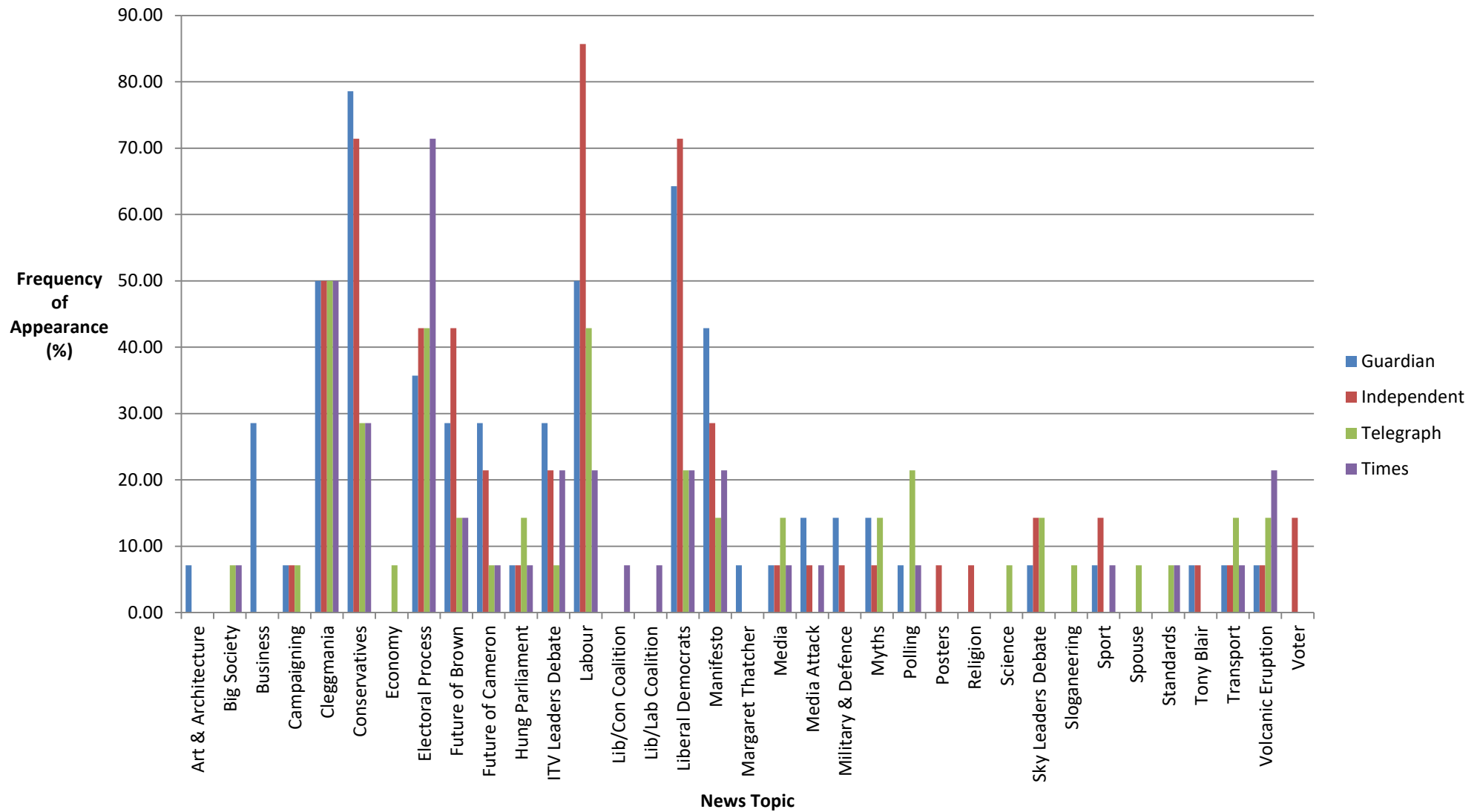


Bar Chart 15: Frequency of Second Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

Debate Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																				
Art & Architecture																																				1.79	
BBC Leaders Debate																																				1.79	
Big Society																																				10.71	
Business																																				10.71	
Campaigning																																				5.36	
Cleggmania																																				42.86	
Conservatives																																				39.29	
Dissolution																																				1.79	
Economy																																				19.64	
Electoral Process																																				35.71	
Electoral Reform																																				10.71	
Foreign Affairs																																				8.93	
Future of Brown																																				5.36	
Health																																				1.79	
Hung Parliament																																				14.29	
Immigration																																				3.57	
ITV Leaders Debate																																				30.36	
Labour																																				28.57	
Lib/Con Coalition																																				3.57	
Lib/Lab Coalition																																				3.57	
Liberal Democrats																																				25.00	
Manifestos																																				28.57	
Margaret Thatcher																																				1.79	
Media																																				10.71	
Media Attack																																				1.79	
Military & Defence																																				8.93	
Polling																																				17.86	
Public Services																																				17.86	
Sky Leaders Debate																																				19.64	
Spouse																																				1.79	
Standards																																				7.14	
Tax																																				16.07	
Tony Blair																																				1.79	
Transport																																				3.57	
Volcanic Eruption																																				1.79	
Voter																																				1.79	
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	April																						

Table 35: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by First Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Policy Phase

Frequency of First Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

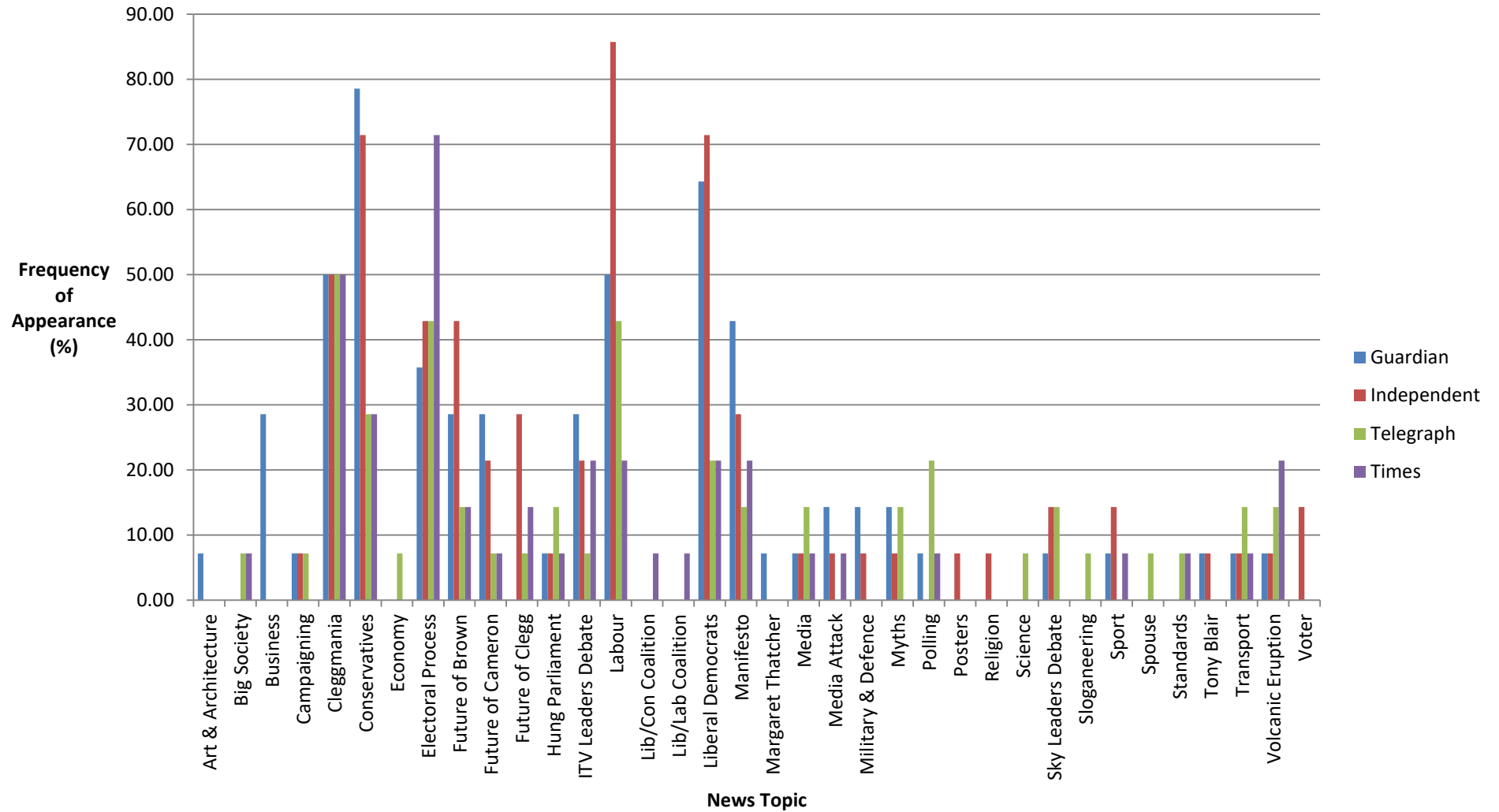


Bar Chart 16: Frequency of First Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

Debate Case Study																																							
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)		
	Art & Architecture																																					1.79	
Big Society																																					3.57		
Business																																					7.14		
Campaigning																																					5.36		
Cleggmania																																					50.00		
Conservatives																																					51.79		
Economy																																					1.79		
Electoral Process																																					48.21		
Future of Brown																																					25.00		
Future of Cameron																																					16.07		
Future of Clegg																																					12.50		
Hung Parliament																																					8.93		
ITV Leaders Debate																																					19.64		
Labour																																					50.00		
Lib/Con Coalition																																					1.79		
Lib/Lab Coalition																																					1.79		
Liberal Democrats																																					46.43		
Manifesto																																					26.79		
Margaret Thatcher																																					1.79		
Media																																					8.93		
Media Attack																																					7.14		
Military & Defence																																					5.36		
Myths																																					8.93		
Polling																																					8.93		
Posters																																					1.79		
Religion																																					1.79		
Science																																					1.79		
Sky Leaders Debate																																					8.93		
Sloganeering																																					1.79		
Sport																																					7.14		
Spouse																																					1.79		
Standards																																					3.57		
Tony Blair																																					3.57		
Transport																																					8.93		
Volcanic Eruption																																					12.50		
Voter																																					3.57		
Date	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	April																								

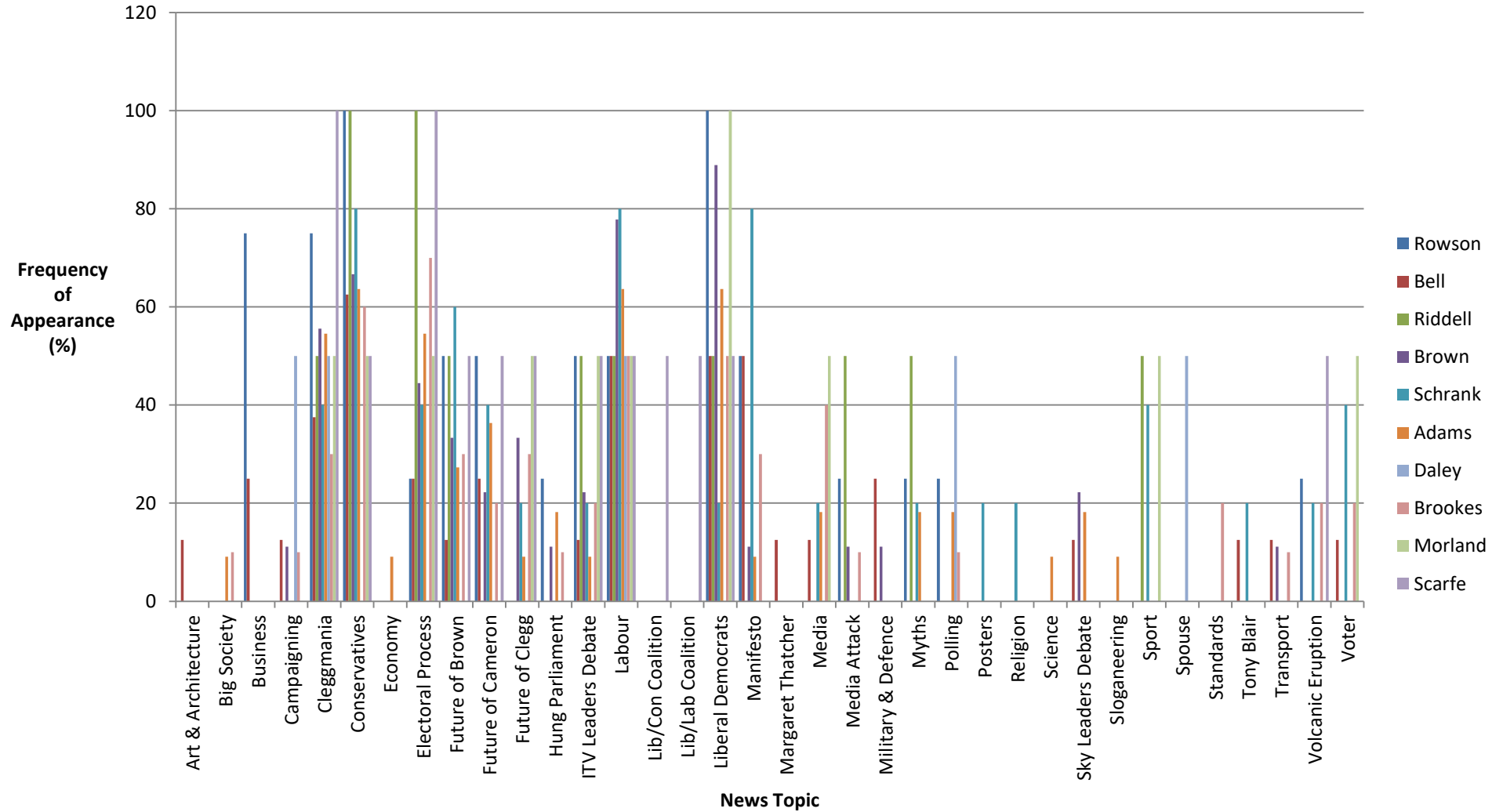
Table 36: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Cartoonists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Debate Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase



Bar Chart 17: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Debate Phase



Bar Chart 18: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Debate Phase

Notable Event		Manifesto Speculation Reaches Fever Pitch																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Business																												
	Campaigning																												
	Charities																												
	Conservatives																												
	Dissolution																												
	Economy																												
	Electoral Process																												
	Foreign Affairs																												
	Future of Brown																												
	Future of Cameron																												
	Health																												
	Hung Parliament																												
	Immigration																												
	Labour																												
	Lib/Lab Coalition																												
	Liberal Democrats																												
	Manifestos																												
	Media																												
	Military & Defence																												
	Polling																												
	Public Services																												
	Religion																												
	Social Affairs																												
	Sport																												
	Spouse																												
	Standards																												
	Tax																												
	Tony Blair																												
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		12th																											
		April																											

Table 37: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 12th 2010

Notable Event		Labour Manifestos launch																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Big Society																												
	Business																												
	Charities																												
	Conservatives																												
	Economy																												
	Electoral Process																												
	Electoral Reform																												
	Environment																												
	Foreign Affairs																												
	Future of Brown																												
	Hung Parliament																												
	Immigration																												
	Labour																												
	Lib/Lab Coalition																												
	Liberal Democrats																												
	Manifestos																												
	Media																												
	Military & Defence																												
	Polling																												
	Public Services																												
Tax																													
Tony Blair																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		13th																											
		April																											

Table 38: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 13th 2010

Notable Event		Conservative & Liberal Democrat Manifestos launches																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Art & Architecture																													
Big Society																													
Business																													
Conservatives																													
Crime																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Environment																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Immigration																													
ITV Leaders Debate																													
Labour																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Military & Defence																													
Polling																													
Posters																													
Public Services																													
Science																													
Sloganeering																													
Social Affairs																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		14th April																											

Table 39: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 14th 2010

Notable Event		Build-up to ITV Leaders Debate																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Big Society																													
Campaigning																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Environment																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Clegg																													
Hung Parliament																													
ITV Leaders Debate																													
Labour																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Margaret Thatcher																													
Media																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Sport																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Tony Blair																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		15th April																											

Table 40: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 15th 2010

Notable Event		ITV Leaders Debate; Closure of UK Airports following Icelandic Volcanic Eruption																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Big Society																												
	Cleggmania																												
	Conservatives																												
	Economy																												
	Electoral Process																												
	Electoral Reform																												
	Foreign Affairs																												
	Hung Parliament																												
	ITV Leaders Debate																												
	Labour																												
	Liberal Democrats																												
	Manifestos																												
	Media																												
	Media Attack																												
	Military & Defence																												
	Polling																												
	Posters																												
	Public Services																												
	Standards																												
	Trade Unions																												
Transport																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		16th April																											

Table 41: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 16th 2010

Notable Event		Transport Chaos spreads across EU; Clegg wooed by Labour																												
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times										
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist		
																													Business	
Campaigning																														
Cleggmania																														
Conservatives																														
Economy																														
Electoral Process																														
Environment																														
Foreign Affairs																														
Future of Brown																														
Future of Cameron																														
Hung Parliament																														
Immigration																														
ITV Leaders Debate																														
Labour																														
Lib/Lab Coalition																														
Liberal Democrats																														
Manifestos																														
Media																														
Media Attack																														
Polling																														
Tax																														
Transport																														
Volcanic Eruption																														
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence											
Date	17th																													
	April																													

Table 42: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 17th 2010

Notable Event		EU Transport Chaos continues; Clegg Polling at Churchillian levels																										
Newspapers	Observer							Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph						Sunday Times								
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
News Section																												
Big Society																												
Business																												
Campaigning																												
Cleggmania																												
Conservatives																												
Economy																												
Electoral Process																												
Foreign Affairs																												
Future of Brown																												
Future of Cameron																												
Hung Parliament																												
ITV Leaders Debate																												
Judicial Reform																												
Labour																												
Liberal Democrats																												
Manifestos																												
Media																												
Military & Defence																												
Polling																												
Public Services																												
Sky Leaders Debate																												
Sport																												
Spouse																												
Tax																												
Transport																												
Volcanic Eruption																												
Wildlife																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence							Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence								
Date	18th April																											

Table 43: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 18th 2010

Notable Event		Government authorises gunboats to rescue stranded tourists																											
Newspapers		Guardian					Independent					Telegraph					Times												
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Business																													
Campaigning																													
Charities																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Education																													
Electoral Process																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Clegg																													
Immigration																													
ITV Leaders Debate																													
Labour																													
Leaflets																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Literature																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Military & Defence																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Social Affairs																													
Sport																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Transport																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence												
Date		19th April																											

Table 44: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 19th 2010

Notable Event		Reopening of European Airspace; Airlines threaten to sue Government																																	
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times															
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist							
	Business																																		
Business Letter																																			
Campaigning																																			
Cleggmania																																			
Conservatives																																			
Economy																																			
Electoral Process																																			
Electoral Reform																																			
Environment																																			
Future of Brown																																			
Future of Cameron																																			
Future of Clegg																																			
Hung Parliament																																			
ITV Leaders Debate																																			
Labour																																			
Lib/Lab Coalition																																			
Liberal Democrats																																			
Manifestos																																			
Media																																			
Military & Defence																																			
Polling																																			
Privacy																																			
Religion																																			
Sky Leaders Debate																																			
Sport																																			
Spouse																																			
Standards																																			
Tactical Voting																																			
Tax																																			
Transport																																			
Volcanic Eruption																																			
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence																
Date	20th April																																		

Table 45: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 20th 2010

Notable Event		Clegg's views on Trident backed by group of generals																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Campaigning																												
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Espionage & Filmmaking																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Health																													
Hung Parliament																													
ITV Leaders Debate																													
Labour																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Margaret Thatcher																													
Media																													
Military & Defence																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Social Affairs																													
Standards																													
Transport																													
Voter																													
Wildlife																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		21st April																											

Table 46: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 21st 2010

Notable Event		Telegraph splash on Clegg's expenses																											
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times										
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
News Section																													
Business																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Hung Parliament																													
Labour																													
Leadership Contest																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Literature																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Military & Defence																													
National Coalition																													
Polling																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Sport																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Tony Blair																													
Transport																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence										
Date	22nd April																												

Table 47: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 22nd 2010

Notable Event		Sky Leaders Debate; St George's Day																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Business																													
Cleggmania																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Conservatives																													
Crime																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Clegg																													
Hung Parliament																													
Immigration																													
Labour																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Media																													
Media Attack																													
Military & Defence																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Sport																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Transport																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence									
Date		23rd April																											

Table 48: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 23rd 2010

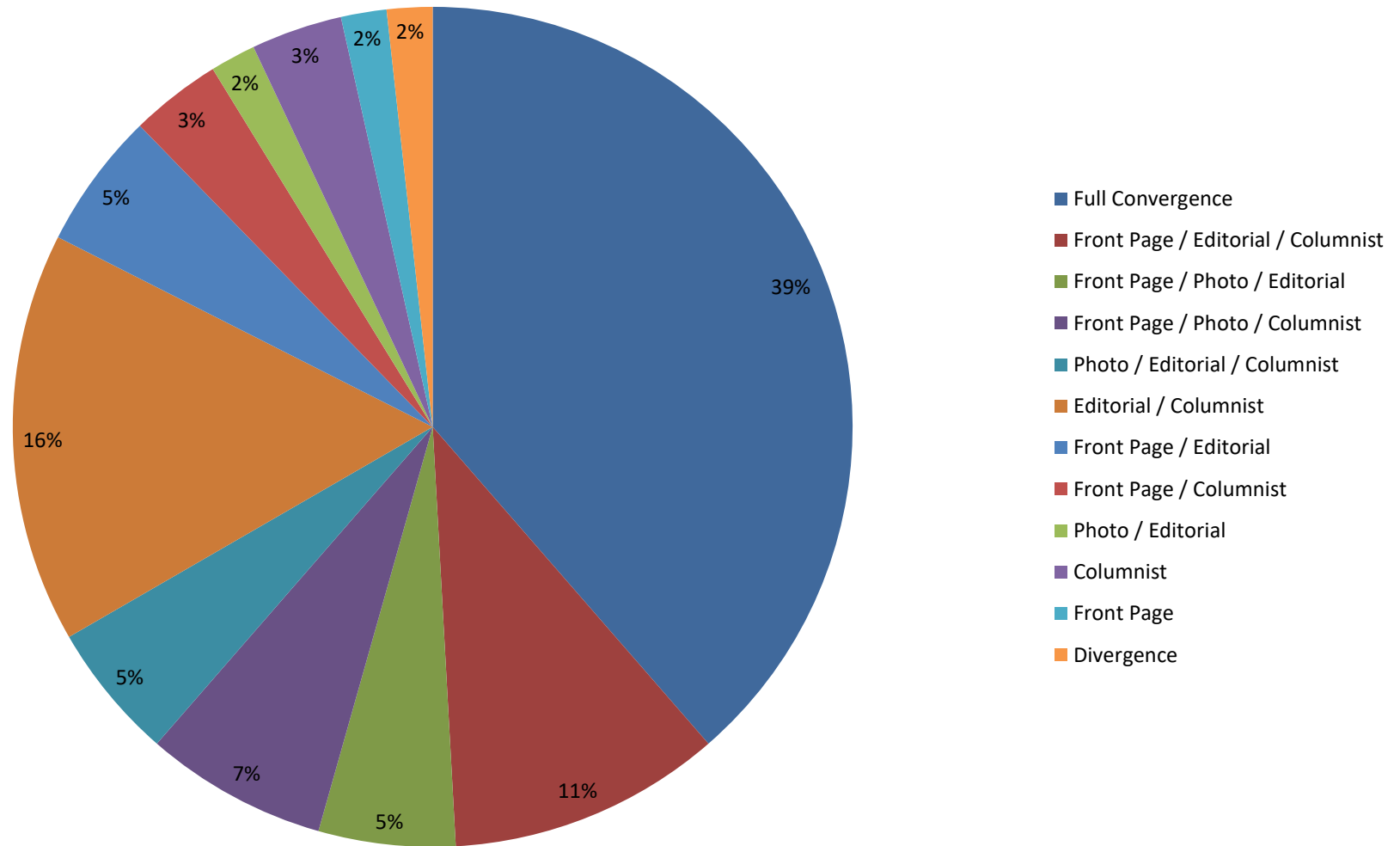
Notable Event		Brown rips up campaign strategy in face on Labour bad news																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
BBC Leaders Debate																													
Big Society																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Conservatives																													
Crime																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Environment																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Future of Clegg																													
Hung Parliament																													
Labour																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Media Attack																													
Military & Defence																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Religion																													
Science																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Sport																													
Standards																													
Tactical Voting																													
Tax																													
Transport																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		24th April																											

Table 49: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 24th 2010

Notable Event		Clegg announces unwillingness to work with Brown																											
Newspapers		Observer						Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph						Sunday Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Art & Architecture																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Crime																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Environment																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Future of Clegg																													
Health																													
Hung Parliament																													
Judicial Reform																													
Labour																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Media Attack																													
Military & Defence																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Religion																													
Rural Affairs																													
Science																													
Sky Leaders Debate																													
Sport																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date		25th April																											

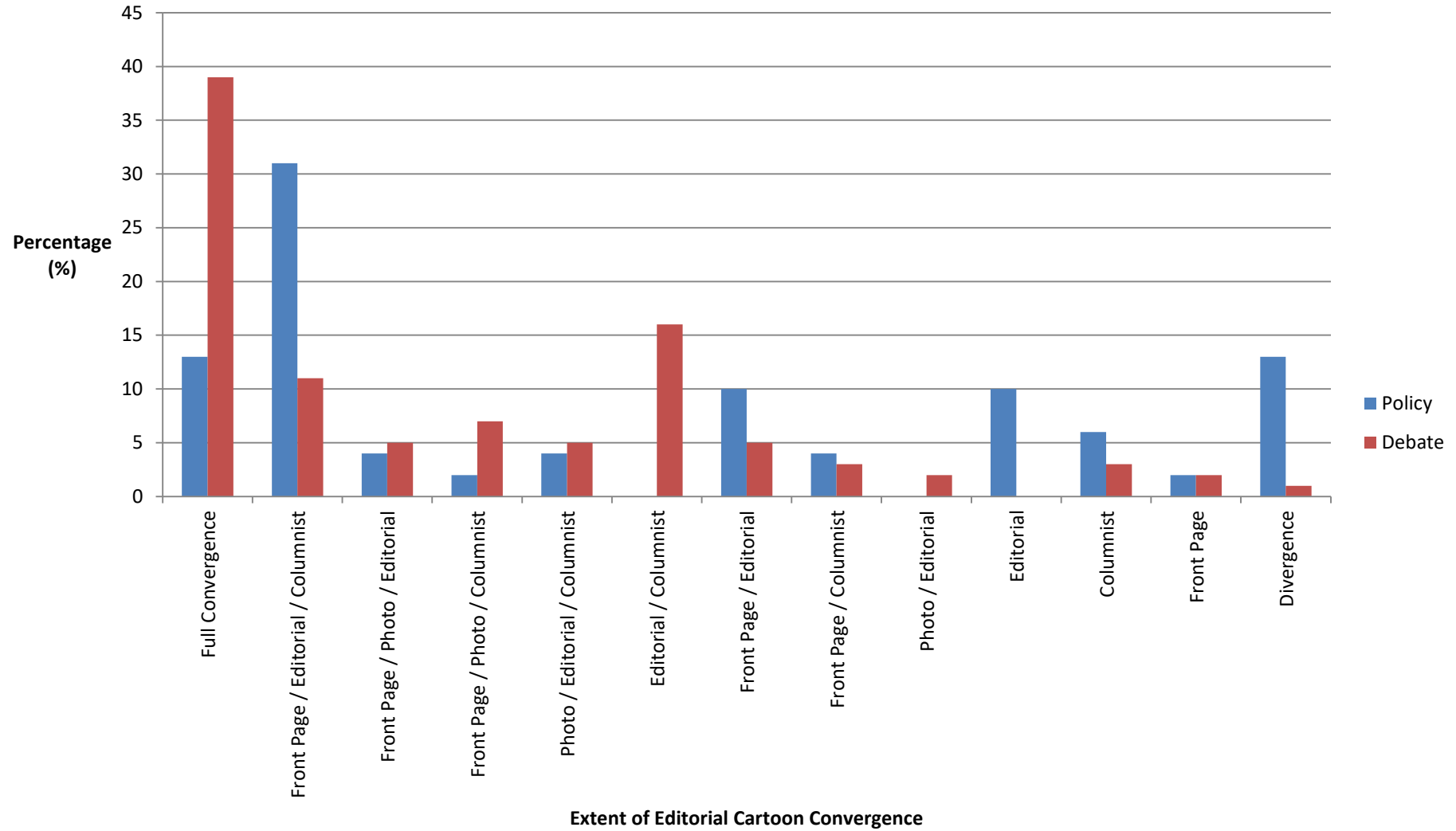
Table 50: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 25th 2010

Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Policy Phase



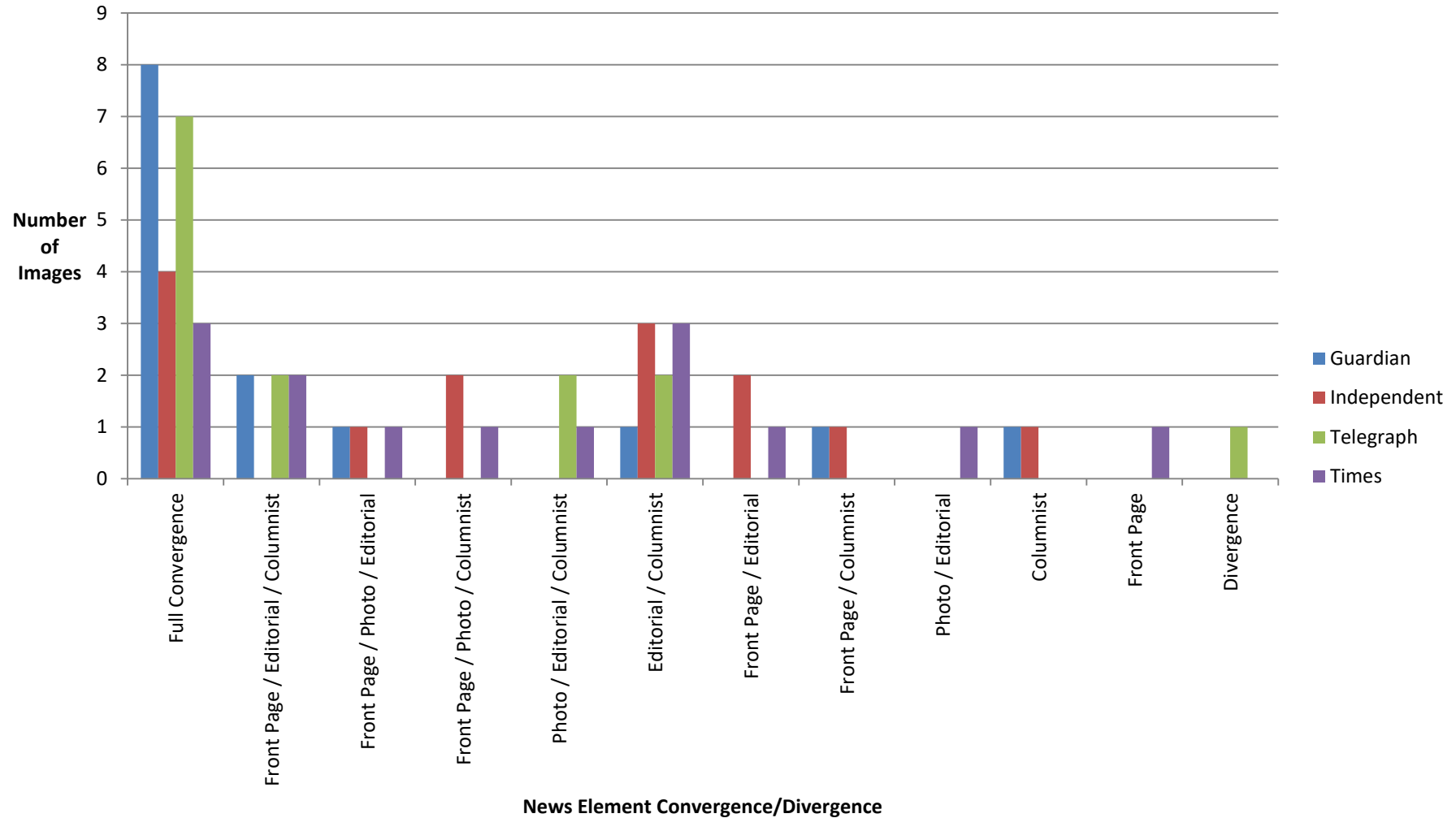
Pie Chart 2: Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Policy Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence across Policy and Debate Phases



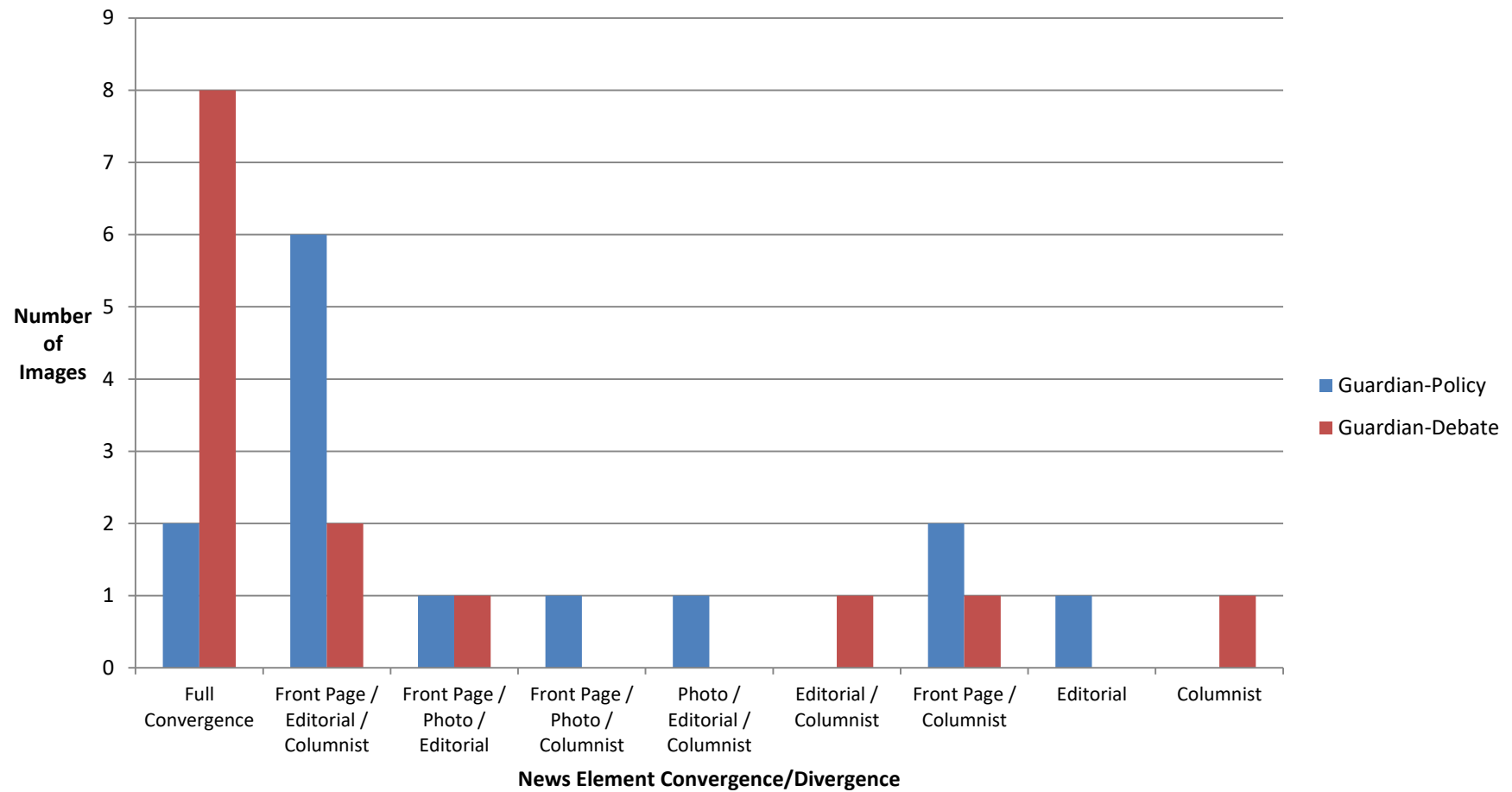
Bar Chart 19: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence Globally across Policy and Debate Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase



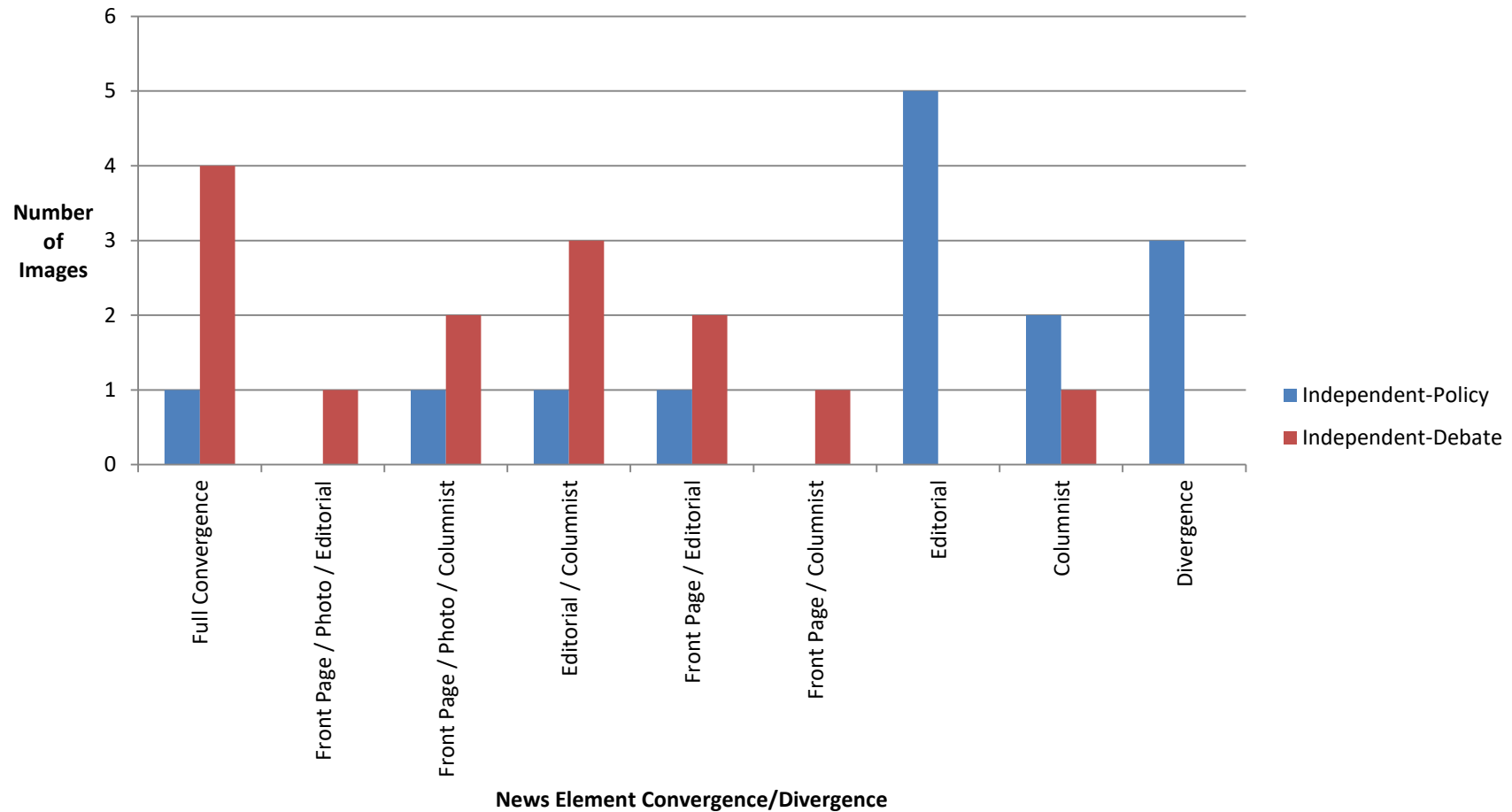
Bar Chart 20: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Policy Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy and Debate Phases



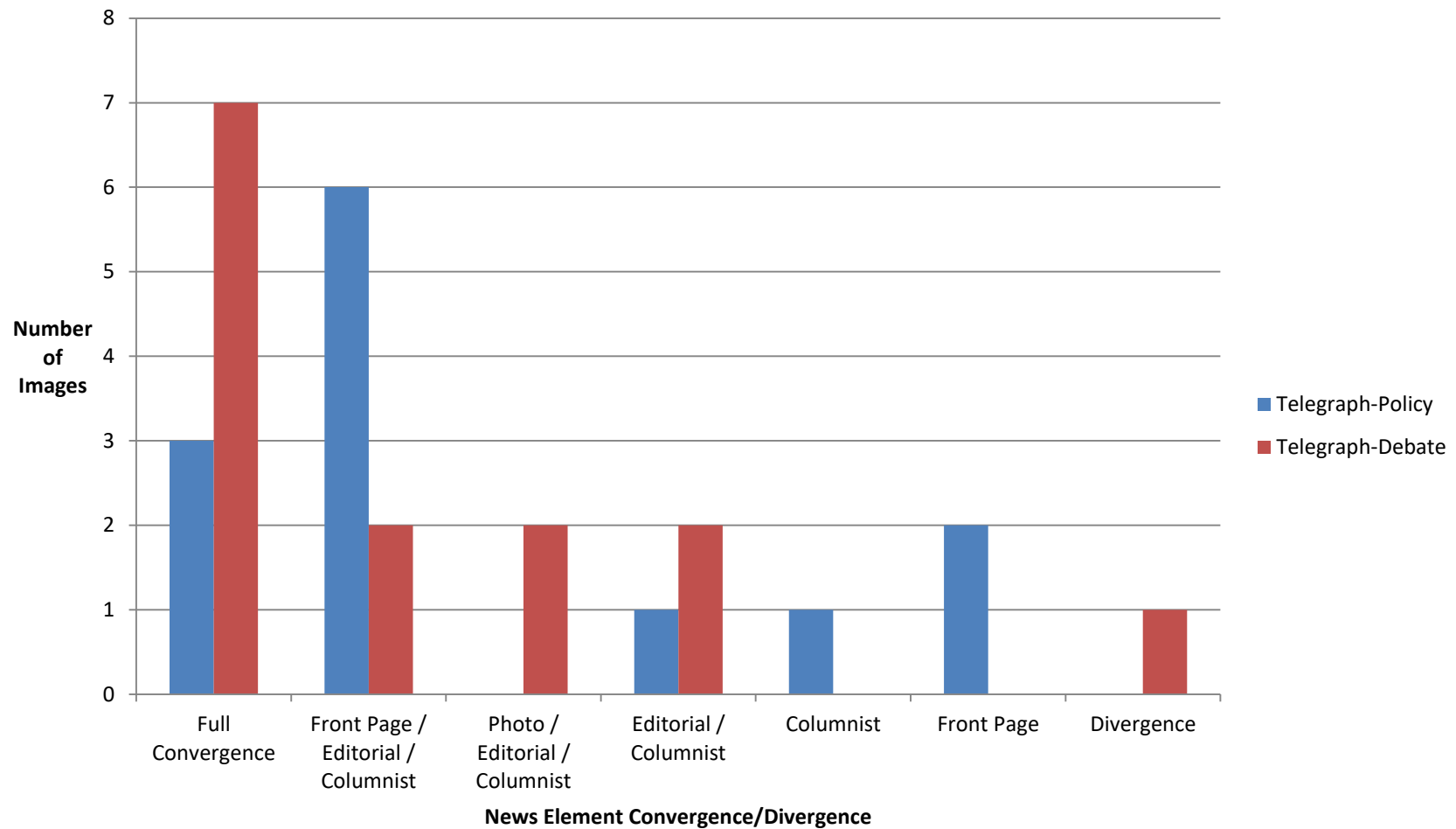
Bar Chart 21-: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy and Debate Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy and Debate Phases



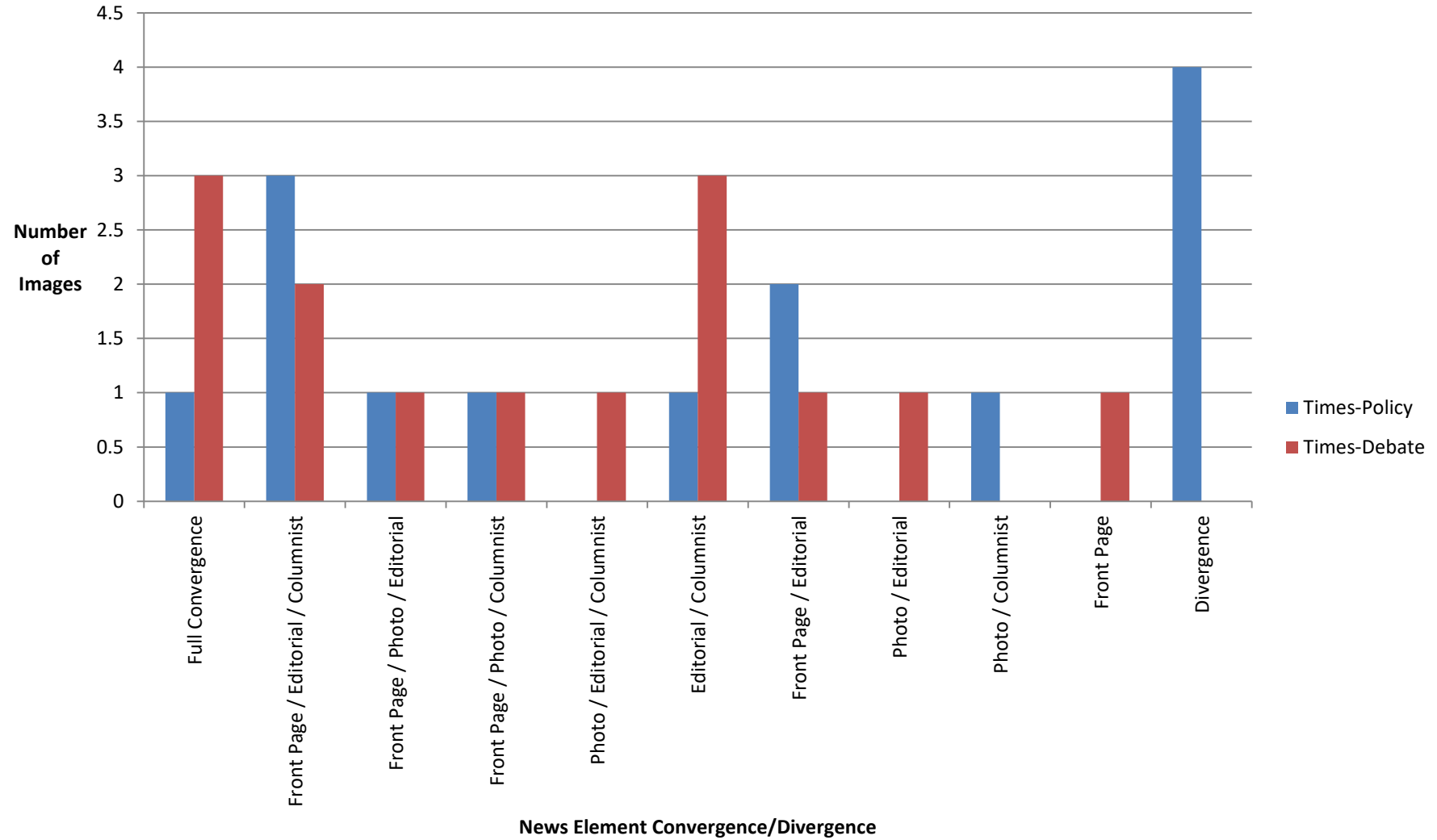
Bar Chart 22 Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy and Debate Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy and Debate Phases



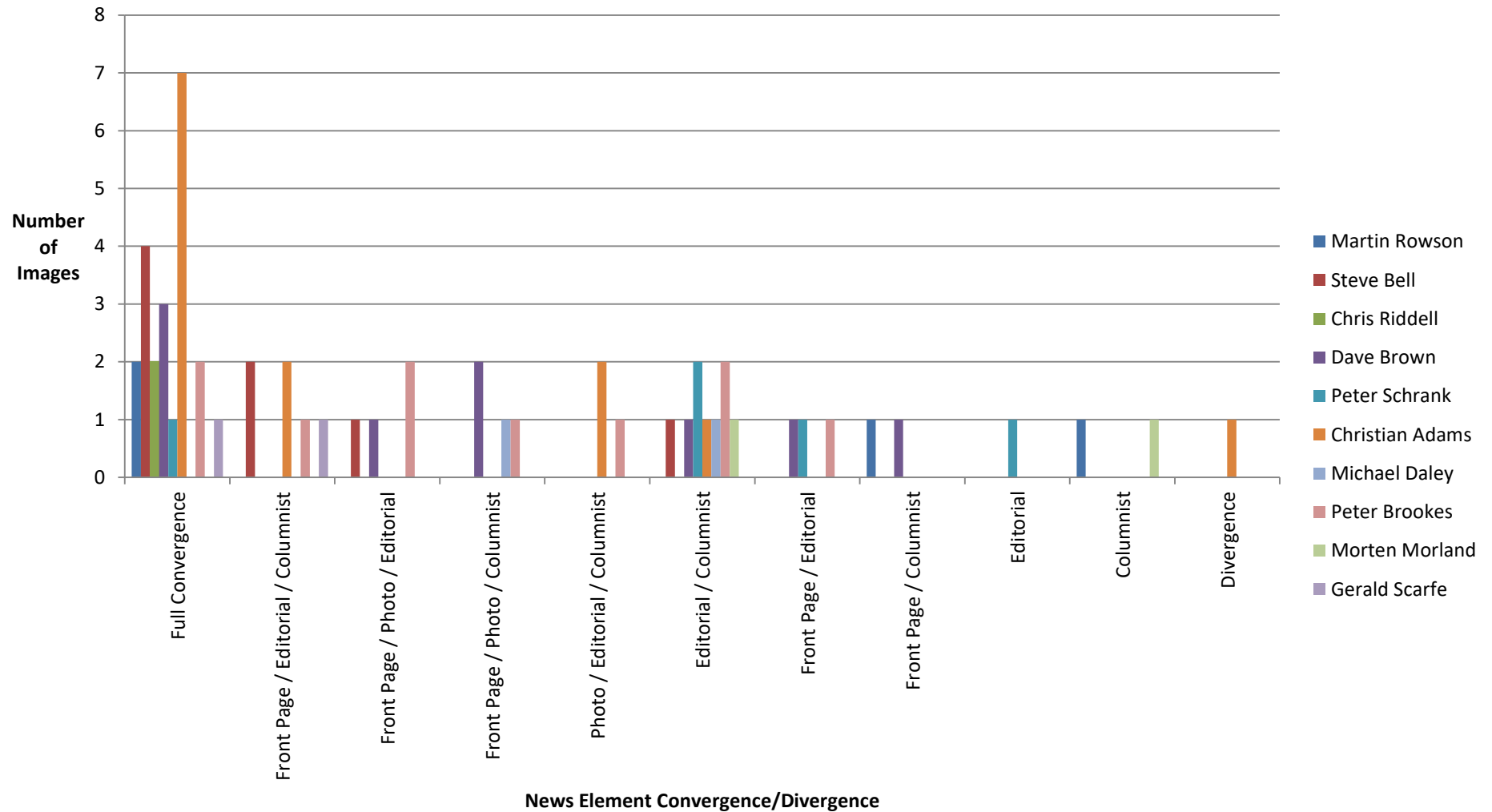
Bar Chart 23: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy and Debate Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy and Debate Phases



Bar Chart 24: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy and Debate Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonists during Debate Phase



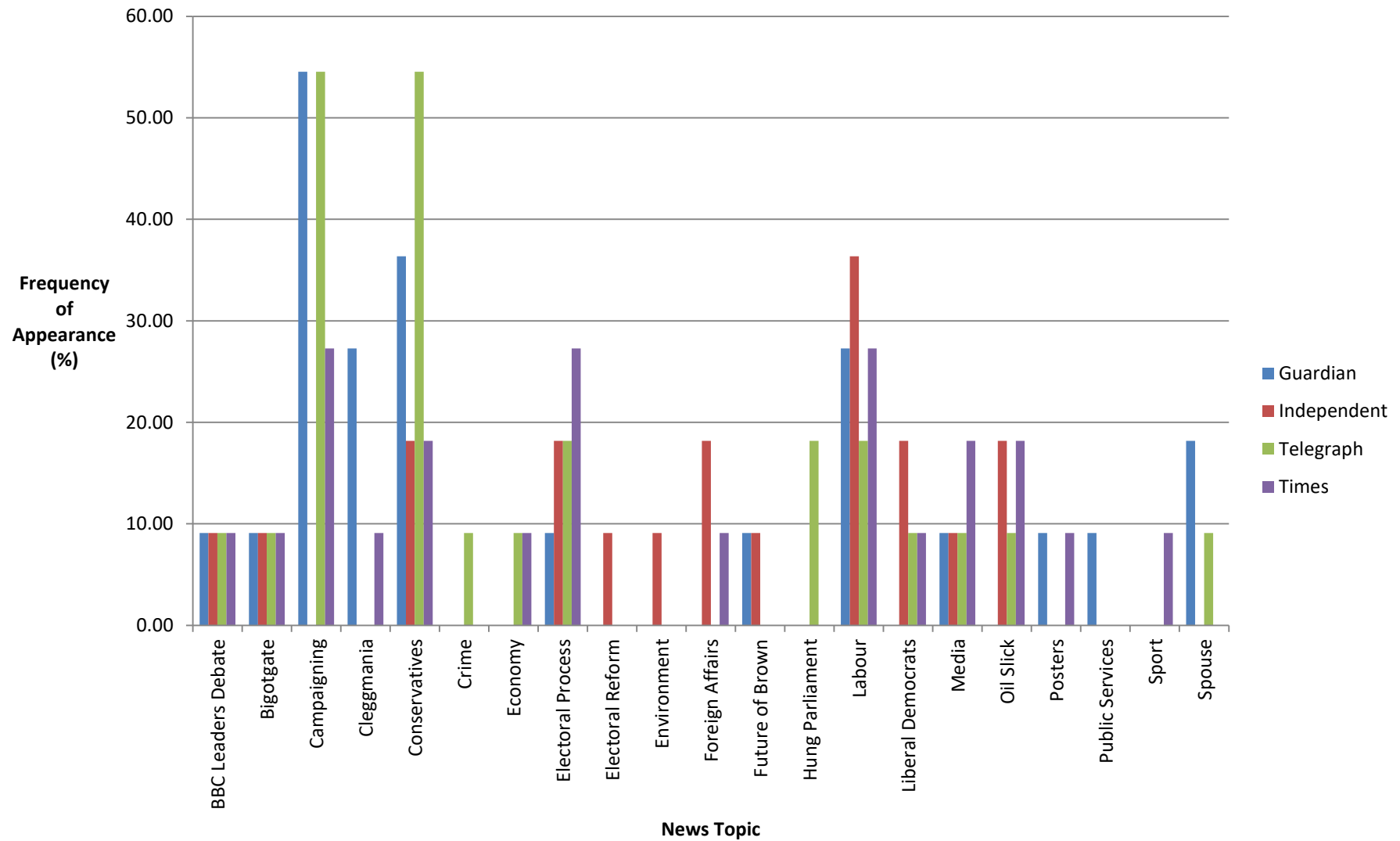
Bar Chart 25: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonist during Debate Phase

CHAPTER SEVEN

Election Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																				
BBC Leaders Debate																																					9.09
Bigotgate																																					9.09
Campaigning																																					34.09
Cleggmania																																					9.09
Conservatives																																					31.82
Crime																																					2.27
Economy																																					4.55
Electoral Process																																					18.18
Electoral Reform																																					2.27
Environment																																					2.27
Foreign Affairs																																					6.82
Future of Brown																																					4.55
Hung Parliament																																					4.55
Labour																																					27.27
Liberal Democrats																																					9.09
Media																																					11.36
Oil Slick																																					11.36
Posters																																					4.55
Public Services																																					2.27
Sport																																					2.27
Spouse																																					6.82
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																										
	April						May																														

Table 52: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Photographs across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Front Page Photographs for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

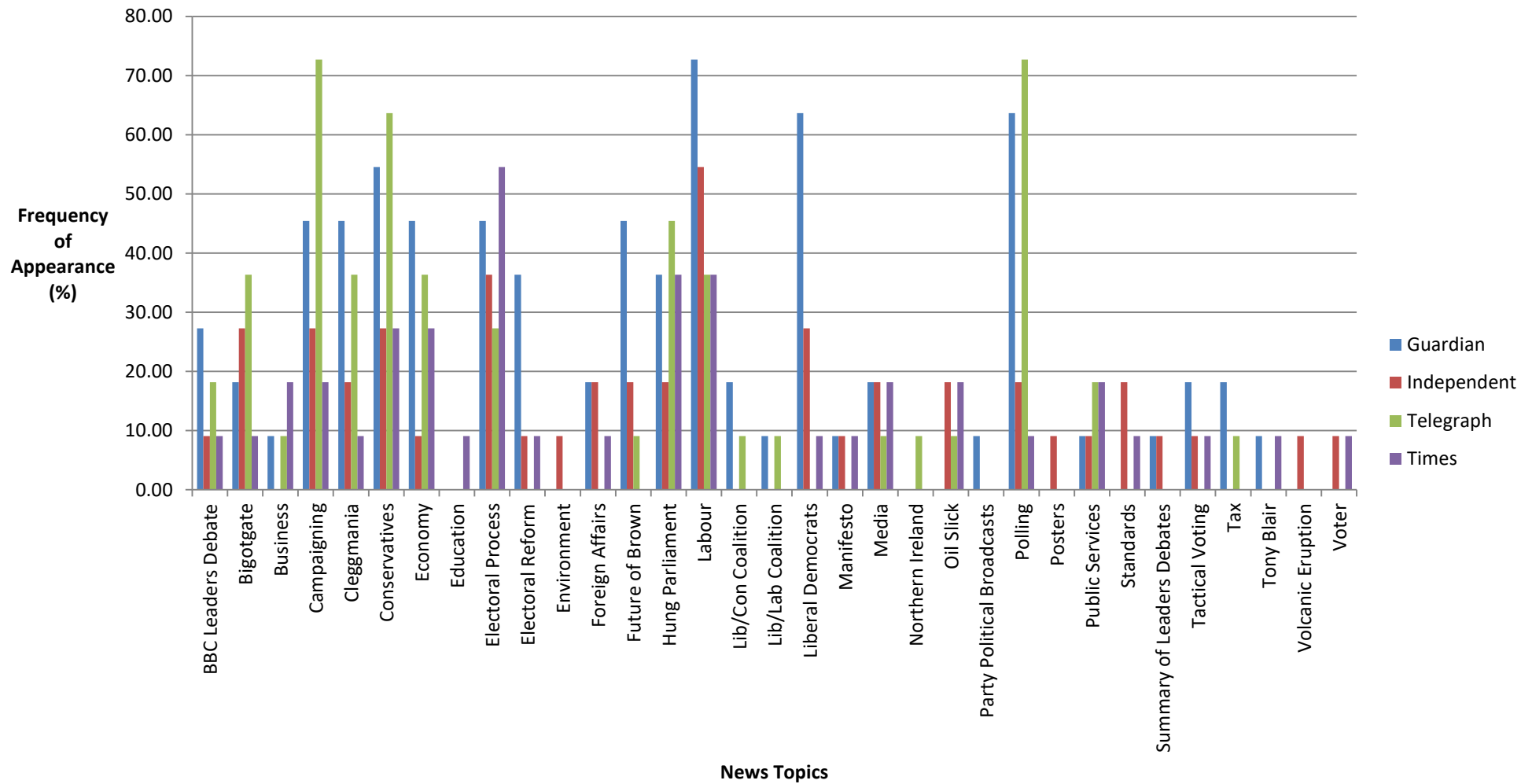


Bar Chart 26: Frequency of Front Page Photographs for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Election Case Study																																								
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)			
	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times
BBC Leaders Debate																																				15.91				
Bigotgate																																				22.73				
Business																																				9.09				
Campaigning																																				40.91				
Cleggmania																																				27.27				
Conservatives																																				43.18				
Economy																																				29.55				
Education																																				2.27				
Electoral Process																																				40.91				
Electoral Reform																																				13.64				
Environment																																				2.27				
Foreign Affairs																																				11.36				
Future of Brown																																				18.18				
Hung Parliament																																				34.09				
Labour																																				50.00				
Lib/Con Coalition																																				6.82				
Lib/Lab Coalition																																				4.55				
Liberal Democrats																																				25.00				
Manifesto																																				6.82				
Media																																				15.91				
Northern Ireland																																				2.27				
Oil Slick																																				11.36				
Party Political Broadcasts																																				2.27				
Polling																																				40.91				
Posters																																				2.27				
Public Services																																				13.64				
Standards																																				6.82				
Summary of Leaders Debates																																				4.55				
Tactical Voting																																				9.09				
Tax																																				6.82				
Tony Blair																																				4.55				
Volcanic Eruption																																				2.27				
Voter																																				4.55				
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																													
	April						May																																	

Table 53: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Articles across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

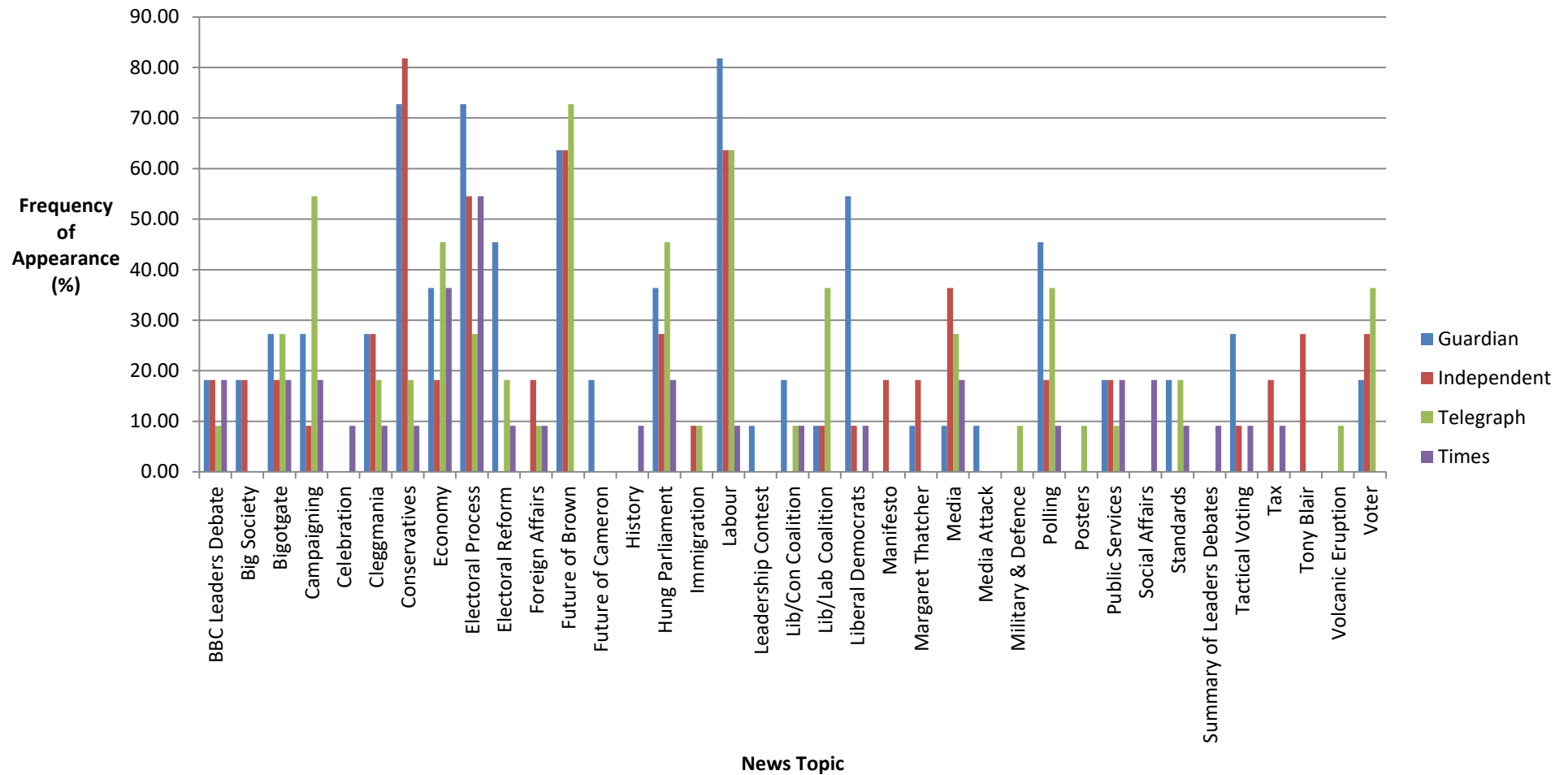


Bar Chart 27: Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Election Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																				
BBC Leaders Debate																																			15.91		
Big Society																																			9.09		
Bigotgate																																			22.73		
Campaigning																																			27.27		
Celebration																																			2.27		
Cleggmania																																			20.45		
Conservatives																																			45.45		
Economy																																			34.09		
Electoral Process																																			52.27		
Electoral Reform																																			18.18		
Foreign Affairs																																			9.09		
Future of Brown																																			50.00		
Future of Cameron																																			4.55		
History																																			2.27		
Hung Parliament																																			31.82		
Immigration																																			4.55		
Labour																																			54.55		
Leadership Contest																																			2.27		
Lib/Con Coalition																																			9.09		
Lib/Lab Coalition																																			13.64		
Liberal Democrats																																			18.18		
Manifesto																																			4.55		
Margaret Thatcher																																			6.82		
Media																																			22.73		
Media Attack																																			2.27		
Military & Defence																																			2.27		
Polling																																			27.27		
Posters																																			2.27		
Public Services																																			15.91		
Social Affairs																																			4.55		
Standards																																			11.36		
Summary of Leaders Debates																																			2.27		
Tactical Voting																																			11.36		
Tax																																			6.82		
Tony Blair																																			6.82		
Volcanic Eruption																																			2.27		
Voter																																			20.45		
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																										
	April						May																														

Table 54: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Columnists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Columnist News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase



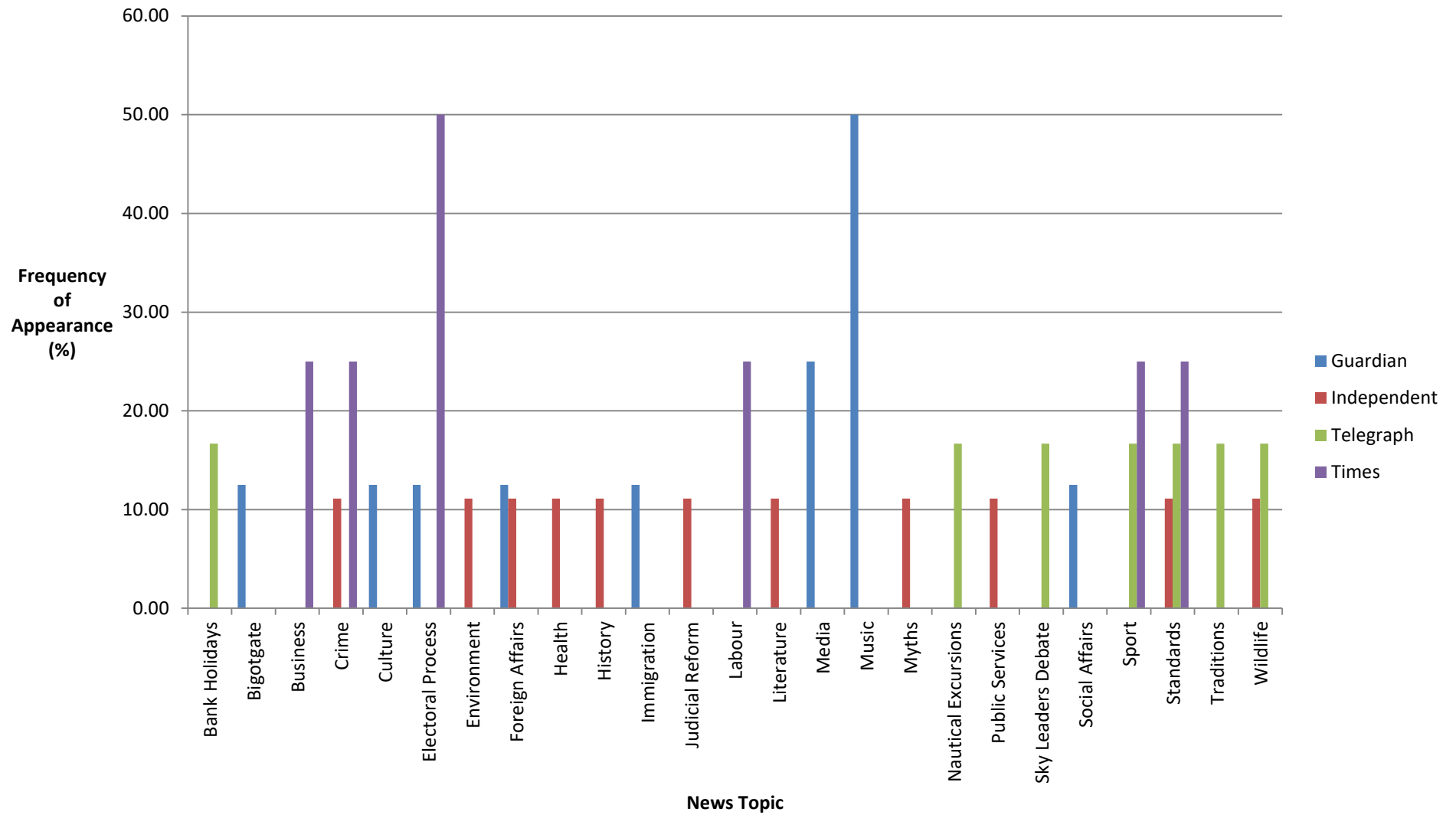
Bar Chart 28: Frequency of Columnist News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Election Case Study

Appearance of Topic	Newspapers				Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)				
	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times																																					
Bank Holidays																																							2.27		
Business																																								2.27	
Crime																																								4.55	
Culture																																								2.27	
Electoral Process																																									6.82
Environment																																									2.27
Foreign Affairs																																									4.55
Health																																									2.27
History																																									2.27
Immigration																																									2.27
Judicial Reform																																									2.27
Labour																																									2.27
Literature																																									2.27
Media																																									4.55
Music																																									9.09
Myths																																									2.27
Nautical Excursions																																									2.27
Public Services																																									2.27
Sky Leaders Debate																																									2.27
Social Affairs																																									2.27
Sport																																									4.55
Standards																																									6.82
Traditions																																									2.27
Wildlife																																									4.55
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																														
	April					May																																			

Table 55: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Third Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Third Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

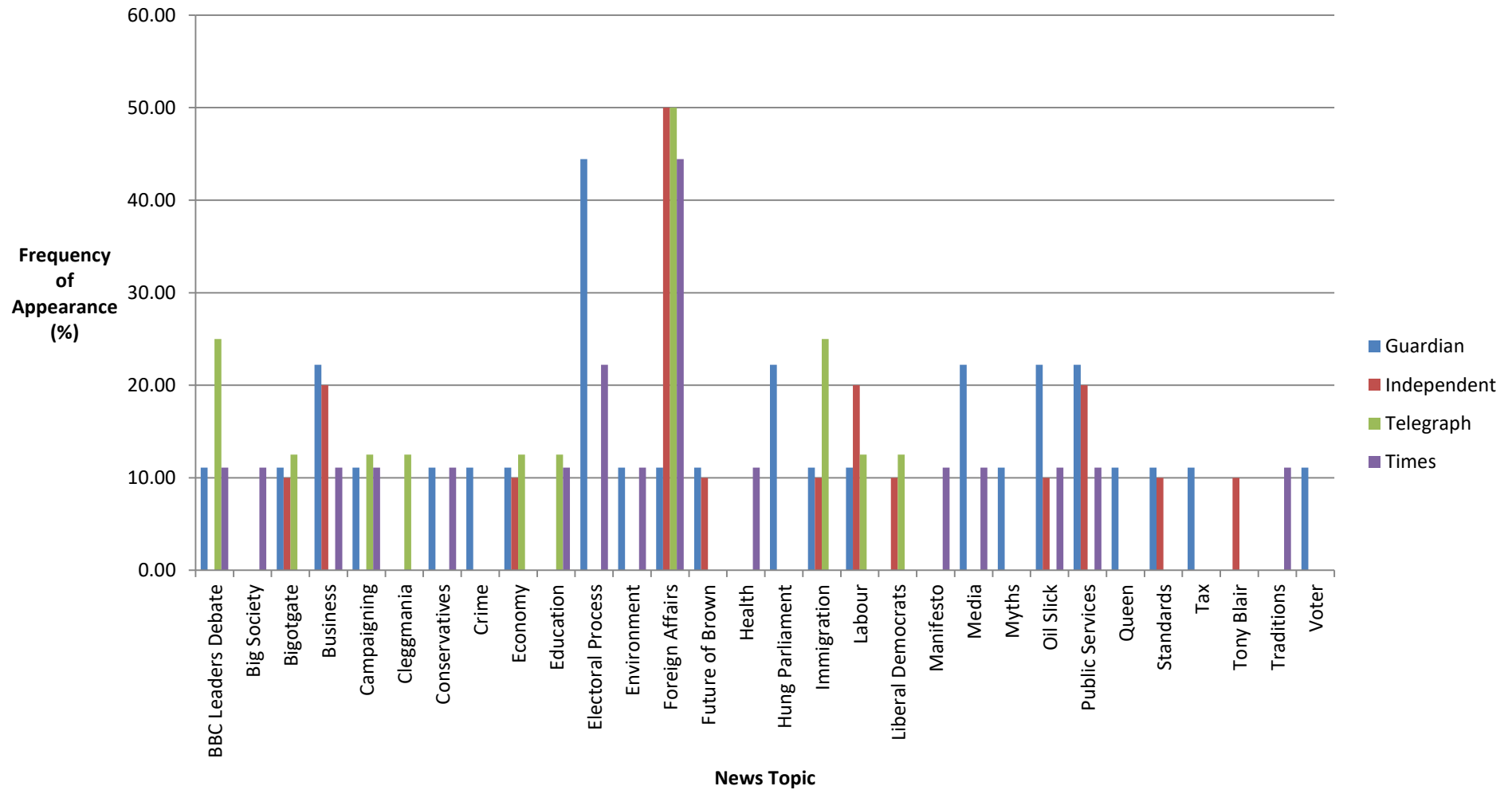


Bar Chart 29: Frequency of Third Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Election Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																				
BBC Leaders Debate																																		9.09			
Big Society																																		2.27			
Bigotgate																																		6.82			
Business																																		11.36			
Campaigning																																		6.82			
Cleggmania																																		2.27			
Conservatives																																		4.55			
Crime																																		2.27			
Economy																																		6.82			
Education																																		4.55			
Electoral Process																																		13.64			
Environment																																		4.55			
Foreign Affairs																																		31.82			
Future of Brown																																		4.55			
Health																																		2.27			
Hung Parliament																																		4.55			
Immigration																																		9.09			
Labour																																		9.09			
Liberal Democrats																																		4.55			
Manifesto																																		2.27			
Media																																		6.82			
Myths																																		2.27			
Oil Slick																																		9.09			
Public Services																																		11.36			
Queen																																		2.27			
Standards																																		4.55			
Tax																																		2.27			
Tony Blair																																		2.27			
Traditions																																		2.27			
Voter																																		2.27			
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																										
	April												May																								

Table 56: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Second Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Second Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

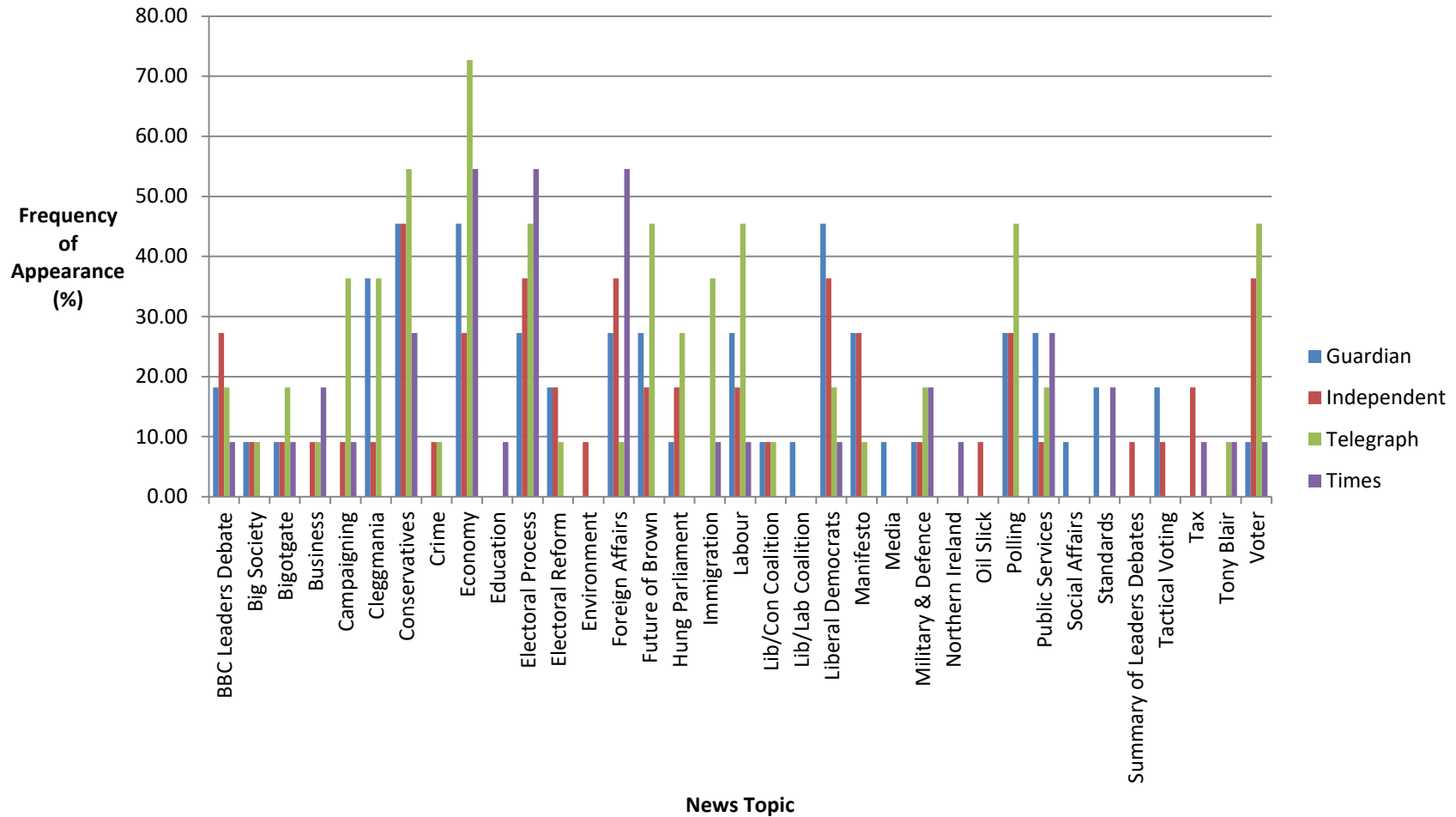


Bar Chart 30: Frequency of Second Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Election Case Study																																					
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)
	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)
BBC Leaders Debate																																			18.18		
Big Society																																			6.82		
Bigotgate																																			11.36		
Business																																			9.09		
Campaigning																																			13.64		
Cleggmania																																			20.45		
Conservatives																																			43.18		
Crime																																			4.55		
Economy																																			50.00		
Education																																			2.27		
Electoral Process																																			40.91		
Electoral Reform																																			11.36		
Environment																																			2.27		
Foreign Affairs																																			31.82		
Future of Brown																																			22.73		
Hung Parliament																																			13.64		
Immigration																																			11.36		
Labour																																			25.00		
Lib/Con Coalition																																			6.82		
Lib/Lab Coalition																																			2.27		
Liberal Democrats																																			27.27		
Manifesto																																			15.91		
Media																																			2.27		
Military & Defence																																			13.64		
Northern Ireland																																			2.27		
Oil Slick																																			2.27		
Polling																																			25.00		
Public Services																																			20.45		
Social Affairs																																			2.27		
Standards																																			9.09		
Summary of Leaders Debates																																			2.27		
Tactical Voting																																			6.82		
Tax																																			6.82		
Tony Blair																																			4.55		
Voter																																			25.00		
Date	26	27	28	29	30	01	02	03	04	05	06																										
	April						May																														

Table 57: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by First Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of First Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

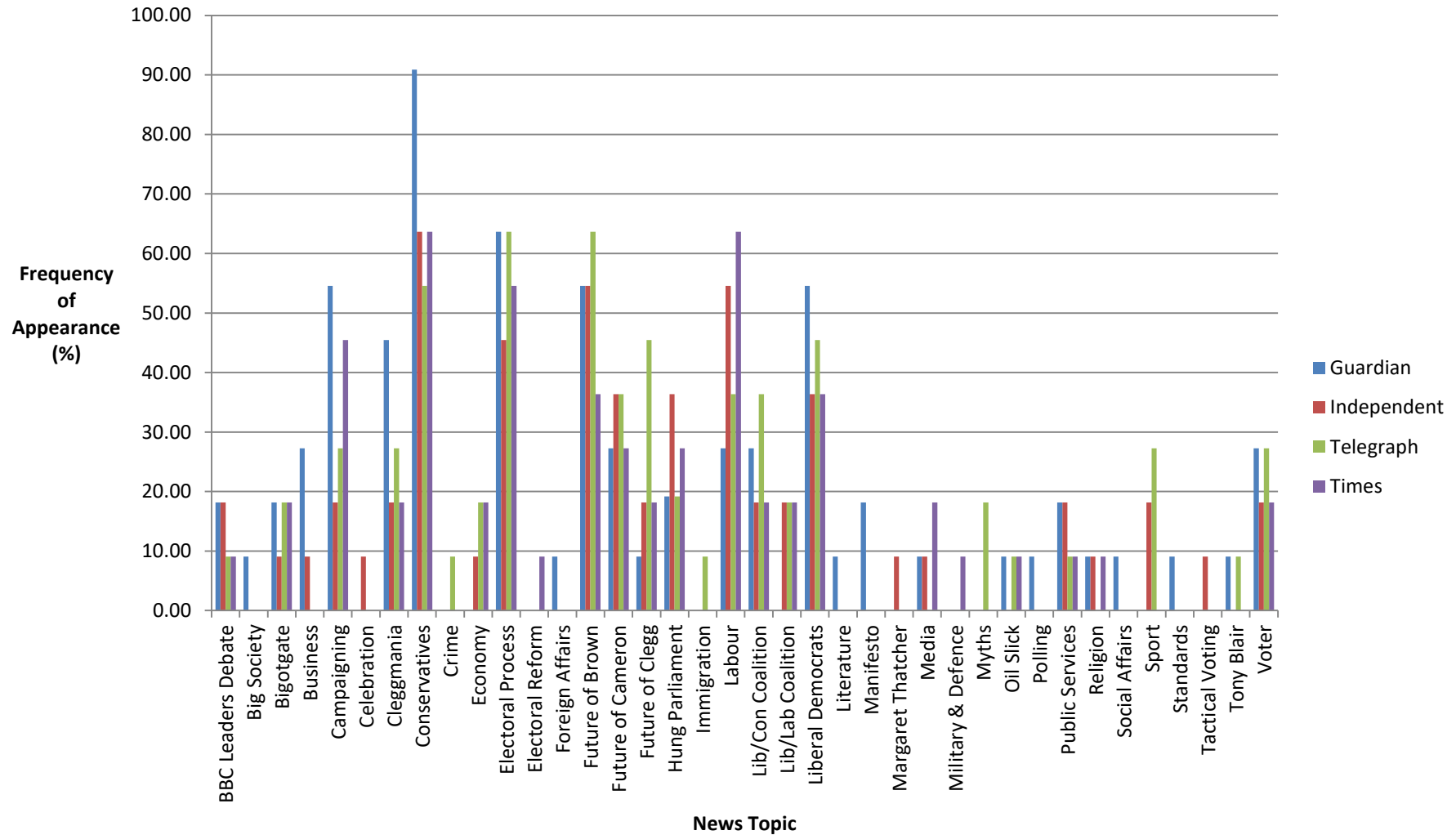


Bar Chart 31: Frequency of First Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Election Case Study																															
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Frequency (%)		
	BBC Leaders Debate																													13.64	
Big Society																													2.27		
Bigotgate																													15.91		
Business																													9.09		
Campaigning																													36.36		
Celebration																													2.27		
Cleggmania																													27.27		
Conservatives																													68.18		
Crime																													2.27		
Economy																													11.36		
Electoral Process																													56.82		
Electoral Reform																													2.27		
Foreign Affairs																													2.27		
Future of Brown																													52.27		
Future of Cameron																													31.82		
Future of Clegg																													22.73		
Hung Parliament																													25.00		
Immigration																													2.27		
Labour																													45.45		
Lib/Con Coalition																													25.00		
Lib/Lab Coalition																													13.64		
Liberal Democrats																													43.18		
Literature																													2.27		
Manifesto																													4.55		
Margaret Thatcher																													2.27		
Media																													9.09		
Military & Defence																													2.27		
Myths																													4.55		
Oil Slick																													6.82		
Polling																													2.27		
Public Services																													13.64		
Religion																													6.82		
Social Affairs																													2.27		
Sport																													11.36		
Standards																													2.27		
Tactical Voting																													2.27		
Tony Blair																													4.55		
Voter																													22.73		
Date	26	27	April				29	30	01	02	May				04	05	06														

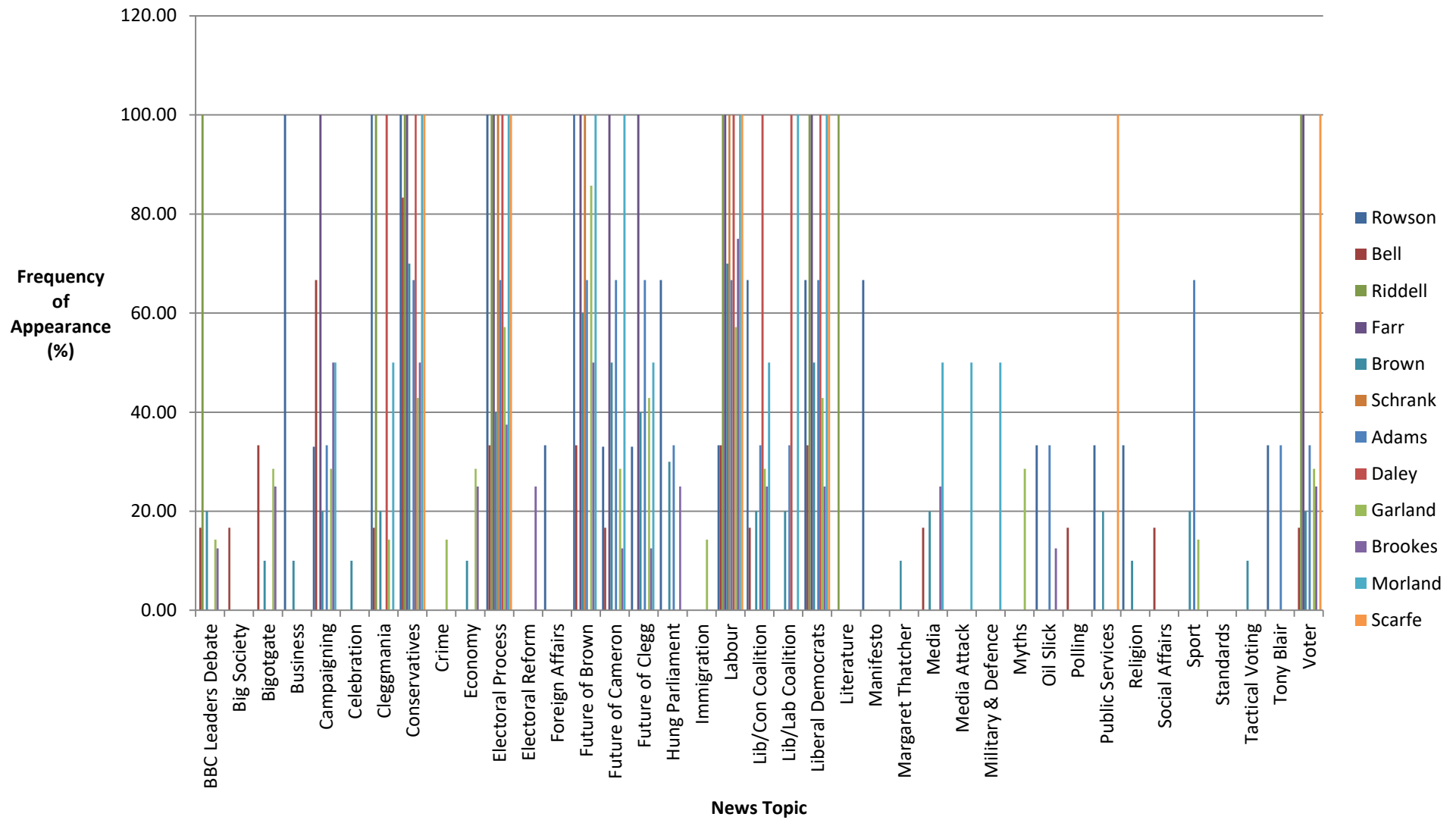
Table 58: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Cartoonists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase



Bar Chart 32: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonists during Election Phase



Bar Chart 33: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Election Phase

Notable Event		Clegg outlines preference to work with leading party in hung parliament																						
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian			Independent			Telegraph			Times												
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
	BBC Leaders Debate																							
Big Society																								
Business																								
Campaigning																								
Cleggmania																								
Conservatives																								
Economy																								
Electoral Process																								
Electoral Reform																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Future of Cameron																								
Future of Clegg																								
Hung Parliament																								
Immigration																								
Labour																								
Lib/Lab Coalition																								
Liberal Democrats																								
Lin/Con Coalition																								
Media																								
Media Arrack																								
Music																								
Polling																								
Public Services																								
Religion																								
Sport																								
Standards																								
Tax																								
Tony Blair																								
Volcanic Eruption																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper																								
			Full Convergence			Full Convergence			Full Convergence			Partial Convergence												
Date	26th																							
	April																							

Table 59: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 26th 2010

Notable Event		Clegg Backtracks to keep open Lib/Lab deal in event of Hung Parliament																					
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian					Independent					Telegraph					Times						
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
BBC Leaders Debate																							
Big Society																							
Campaigning																							
Cleggmania																							
Conservatives																							
Economy																							
Education																							
Electoral Process																							
Electoral Reform																							
Environment																							
Foreign Affairs																							
Future of Brown																							
Future of Cameron																							
Future of Clegg																							
History																							
Hung Parliament																							
Labour																							
Lib/Con Coalition																							
Lib/Lab Coalition																							
Liberal Democrats																							
Manifestos																							
Media																							
Myths																							
Party Political Broadcasts																							
Polling																							
Posters																							
Public Services																							
Sky Leaders Debate																							
Tax																							
Voter																							
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper																							
		Full Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence						
Date		27th																					
		April																					

Table 60: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 27th 2010

Notable Event		IFS Pronounces Judgment on Parties' Economic Plans																										
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers							Guardian			Independent			Telegraph			Times											
	News Section							Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	BBC Leaders Debate																											
Big Society																												
Business																												
Campaigning																												
Cleggmania																												
Conservatives																												
Crime																												
Economy																												
Education																												
Electoral Process																												
Electoral Reform																												
Environment																												
Foreign Affairs																												
Future of Brown																												
Hung Parliament																												
Immigration																												
Labour																												
Lib/Con Coalition																												
Lib/Lab Coalition																												
Liberal Democrats																												
Manifestos																												
Media																												
Myths																												
Policing																												
Polling																												
Public Services																												
Social Affairs																												
Tax																												
Tony Blair																												
Voter																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper								Partial Convergence			Full Convergence			Full Convergence			Partial Convergence											
Date	28th																											
	April																											

Table 61: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 28th 2010

Notable Event		Bigotgate																							
Newspapers	News Section	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times					
		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
BBC Leaders Debate																									
Bigotgate																									
Campaigning																									
Conservatives																									
Crime																									
Economy																									
Electoral Process																									
Foreign Affairs																									
Future of Brown																									
Immigration																									
Labour																									
Media																									
Music																									
Nautical Excursions																									
Polling																									
Public Services																									
Social Affairs																									
Standards																									
Voters																									
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence					
Date		29th April																							

Table 62: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 29th 2010

Notable Event		BBC Leaders' Debate																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	BBC Leaders Debate																												
Bigotgate																													
Business																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Health																													
Hung Parliament																													
Immigration																													
Labour																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Music																													
Oil Slick																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Social Affairs																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence									
Date		30th April																											

Table 63: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for April 30th 2010

Notable Event		Oil Slick hits Gulf of Louisiana; Guardian & Times Endorsements																					
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent					Telegraph				Times							
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist		
BBC Leaders Debate																							
Bigotgate																							
Business																							
Campaigning																							
Cleggmania																							
Conservatives																							
Economy																							
Electoral Process																							
Electoral Reform																							
Foreign Affairs																							
Future of Brown																							
Future of Cameron																							
Future of Clegg																							
Hung Parliament																							
Immigration																							
Labour																							
Lib/Con Coalition																							
Liberal Democrats																							
Literature																							
Manifesto																							
Margaret Thatcher																							
Media																							
Military & Defence																							
Northern Ireland																							
Oil Slick																							
Polling																							
Posters																							
Public Services																							
Social Affairs																							
Tactical Voting																							
Tax																							
Tony Blair																							
Traditions																							
Voter																							
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence							
Date	1st															May							

Table 64: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 1st 2010

Notable Event		Sunday Newspaper Endorsements																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Observer						Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph				Sunday Times											
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	BBC Leaders Debate																												
Big Society																													
Bigotgate																													
Business																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Crime																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Future of Clegg																													
Hung Parliament																													
Immigration																													
Labour																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Literature																													
Military & Defence																													
Oil Slick																													
Polling																													
Public Services																													
Social Affairs																													
Sport																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Tactical Voting																													
Traditions																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence											
Date		2nd																											
		May																											

Table 65: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 2nd 2010

Notable Event		Cameron plans first 100 days in office; challenges Parliamentary convention																						
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian				Independent				Telegraph				Times									
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
	Big Society																							
Bigotgate																								
Business																								
Campaigning																								
Cleggmania																								
Conservatives																								
Economy																								
Education																								
Electoral Process																								
Environment																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Future of Cameron																								
Future of Clegg																								
Hung Parliament																								
Labour																								
Lib/Con Coalition																								
Lib/Lab Coalition																								
Liberal Democrats																								
Manifesto																								
Media																								
Military & Defence																								
Oil Slick																								
Polling																								
Public Services																								
Sport																								
Spouse																								
Standards																								
TV Debates																								
Voter																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper																								
Date			Full Convergence				Partial Convergence				Full Convergence				Full Convergence									
			3rd																					
			May																					

Table 66: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 3rd 2010

Notable Event		Labour encourages tactical voting; Cameron embarks on non-stop tour of swing seats																					
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian				Independent				Telegraph				Times									
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
Bank Holidays																							
Big Society																							
Bigotgate																							
Business																							
Campaigning																							
Celebration																							
Cleggmania																							
Conservatives																							
Culture																							
Economy																							
Electoral Process																							
Electoral Reform																							
Foreign Affairs																							
Future of Brown																							
Future of Cameron																							
Future of Clegg																							
History																							
Hung Parliament																							
Labour																							
Lib/Con Coalition																							
Liberal Democrats																							
Manifesto																							
Margaret Thatcher																							
Media																							
Oil Slick																							
Polling																							
Public Services																							
Sport																							
Spouse																							
Standards																							
Tactical Voting																							
Tony Blair																							
Voter																							
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence				Partial Convergence				Full Convergence				Divergence									
Date		4th																					
		May																					

Table 67: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 4th 2010

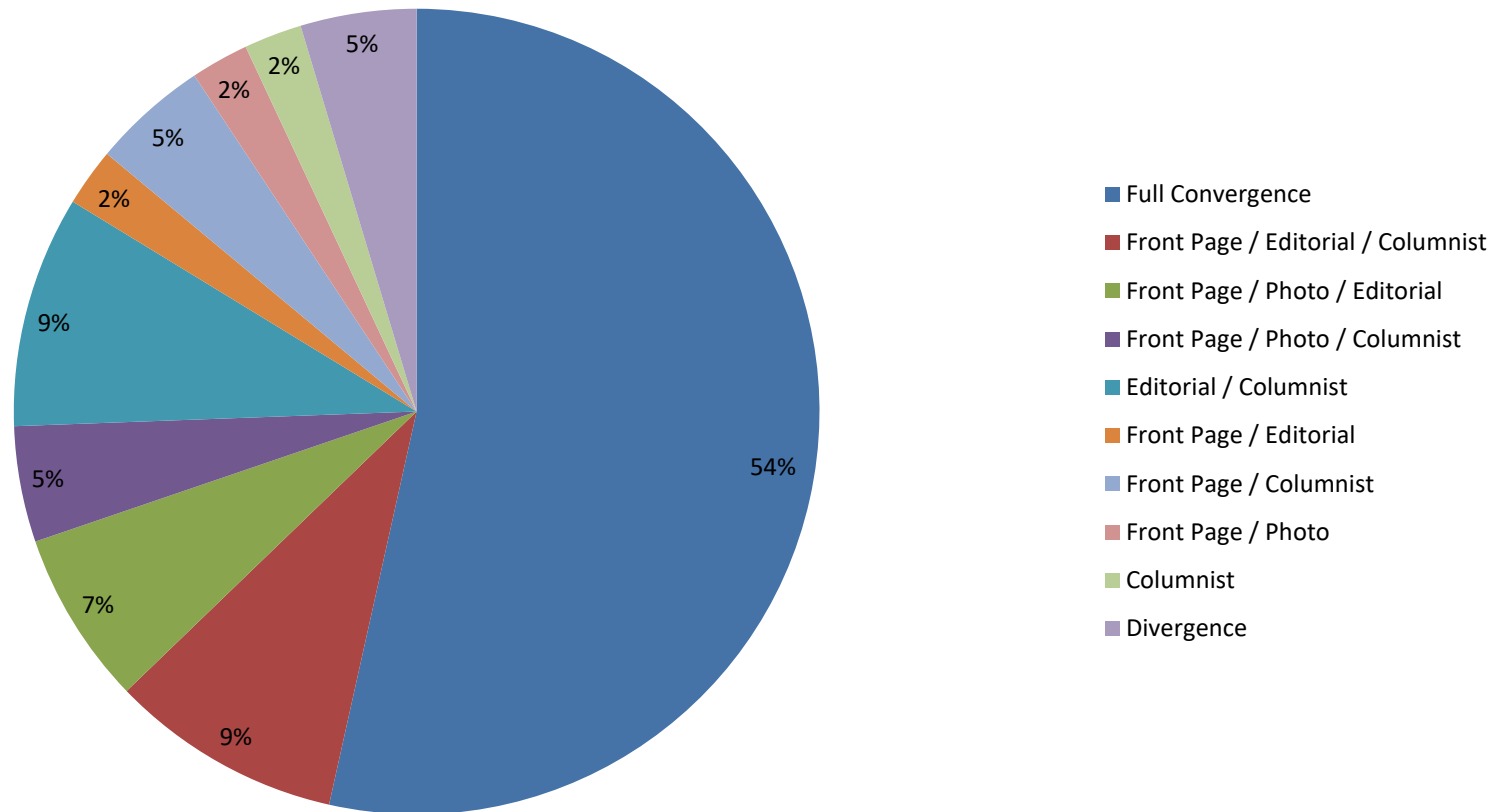
Notable Event		Election Result in doubt; Independent & Daily Telegraph Endorsements																			
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent				Telegraph				Times						
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
News Section																					
Big Society																					
Bigotgate																					
Business																					
Campaigning																					
Cleggmania																					
Coalition																					
Conservatives																					
Economy																					
Electoral Process																					
Electoral Reform																					
Foreign Affairs																					
Future of Brown																					
Future of Cameron																					
Future of Clegg																					
Health																					
Hung Parliament																					
Immigration																					
Labour																					
Lib/Lab Coalition																					
Liberal Democrats																					
Margaret Thatcher																					
Media																					
Military & Defence																					
Music																					
Myths																					
Northern Ireland																					
Polling																					
Public Services																					
Queen																					
Standards																					
Tactical Voting																					
Tax																					
Tony Blair																					
Voter																					
Wildlife																					
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Partial Convergence				Full Convergence				Full Convergence						
Date	5th																				
	May																				

Table 68: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 5th 2010

Notable Event		General Election																											
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Bigotgate																													
Business																													
Campaigning																													
Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Environment																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Hung Parliament																													
Immigration																													
Judicial Reform																													
Labour																													
Leaders Debates																													
Leadership Contest																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Media																													
Media Attack																													
Military & Defence																													
Polling																													
Posters																													
Public Services																													
Standards																													
Tactical Voting																													
Tony Blair																													
Volcanic Eruption																													
Voter																													
Wildlife																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full		Divergence							
Date		6th May																											

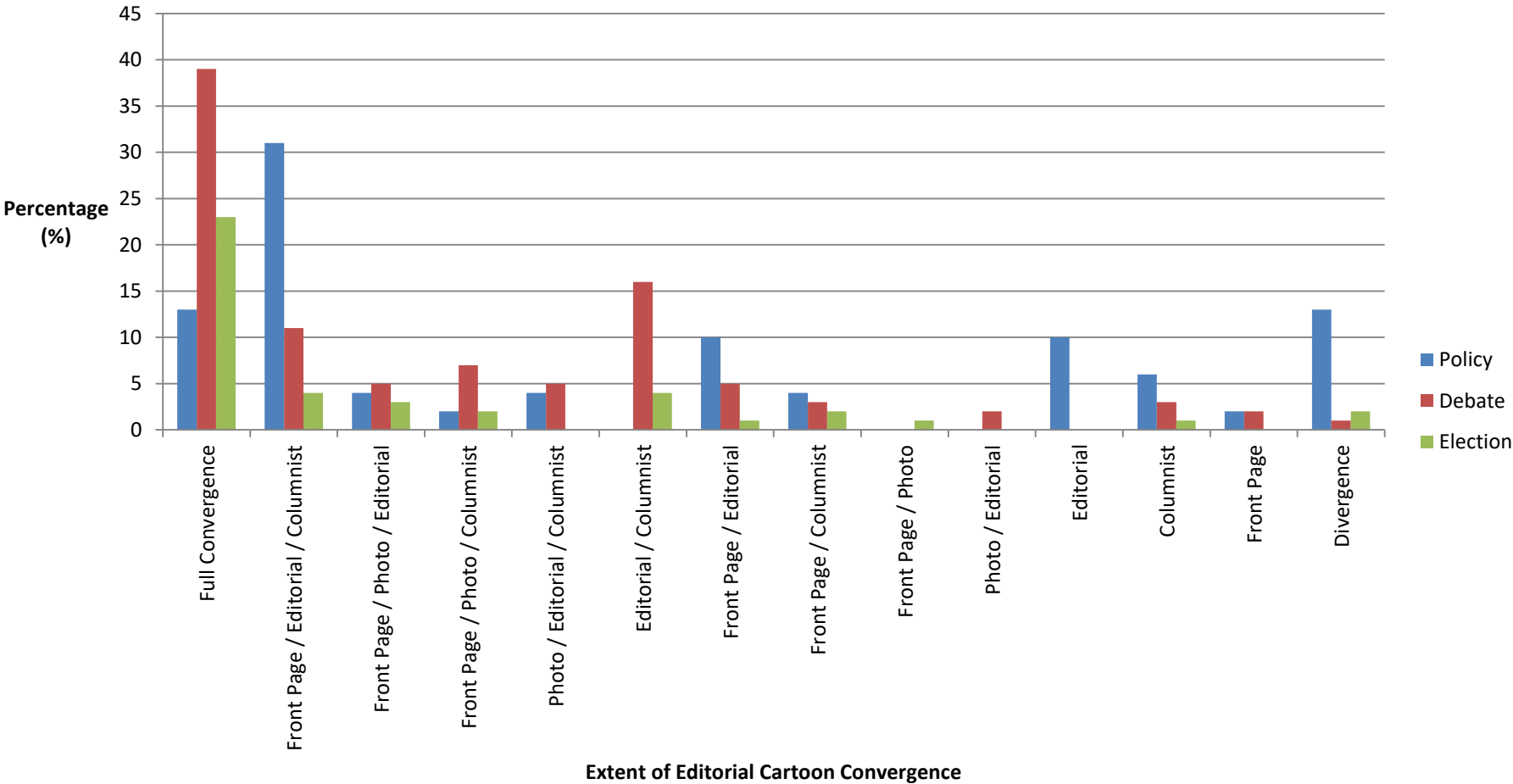
Table 69: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 6th 2010

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Election Phase



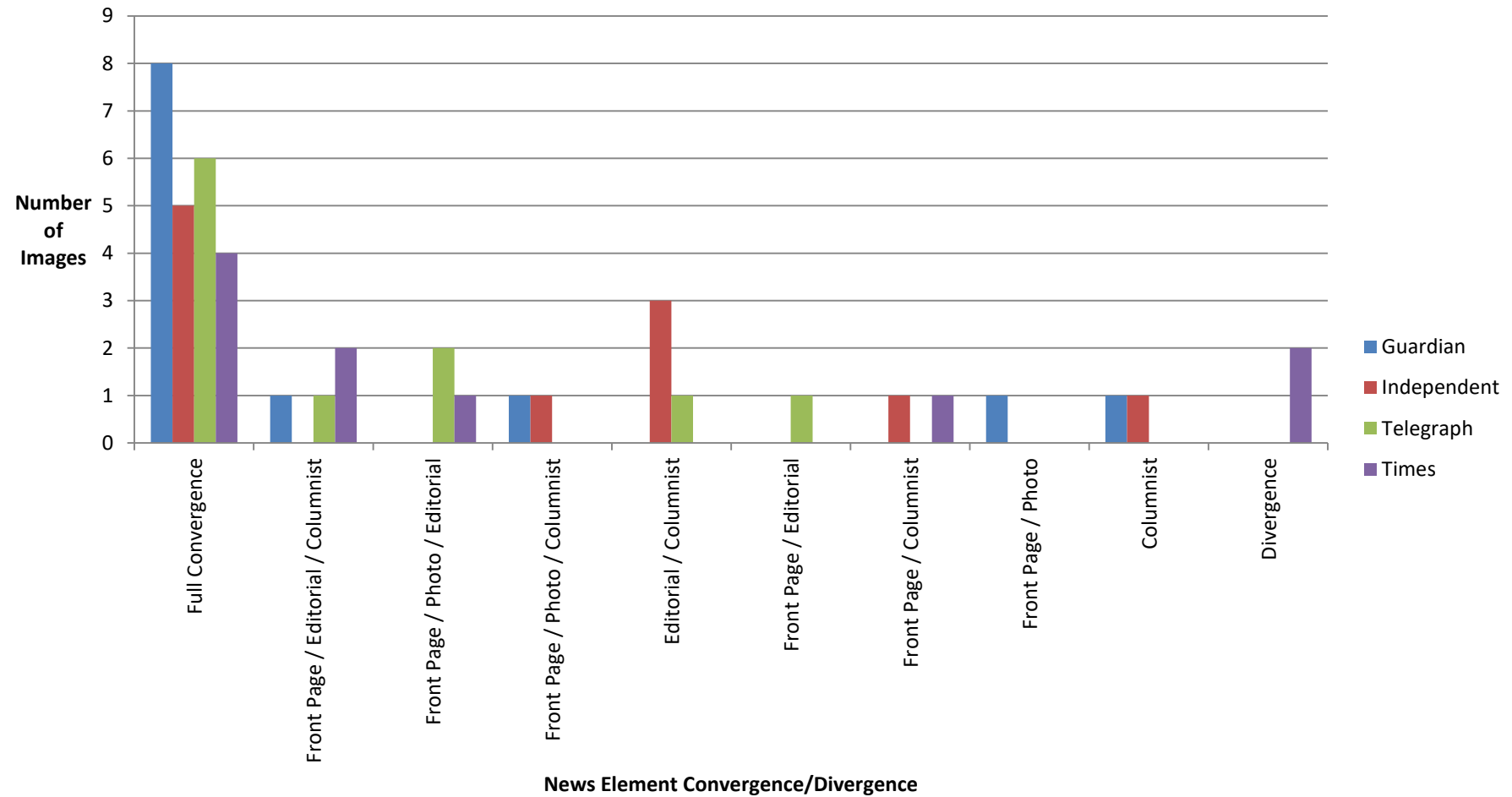
Pie Chart 3: Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Policy Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence across Policy, Debate and Election Phases



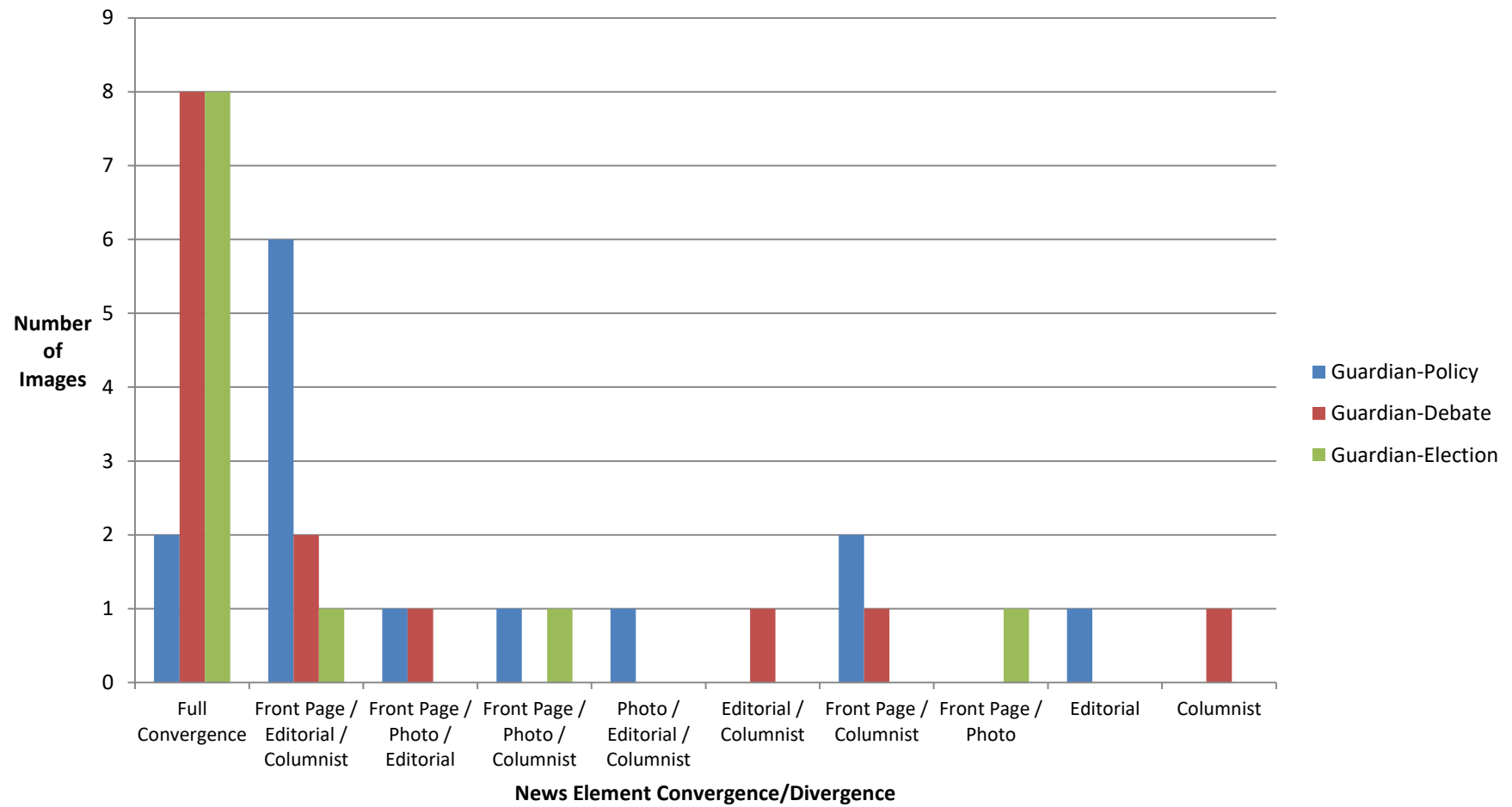
Bar Chart 34: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence Globally across Policy, Debate and Election Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase



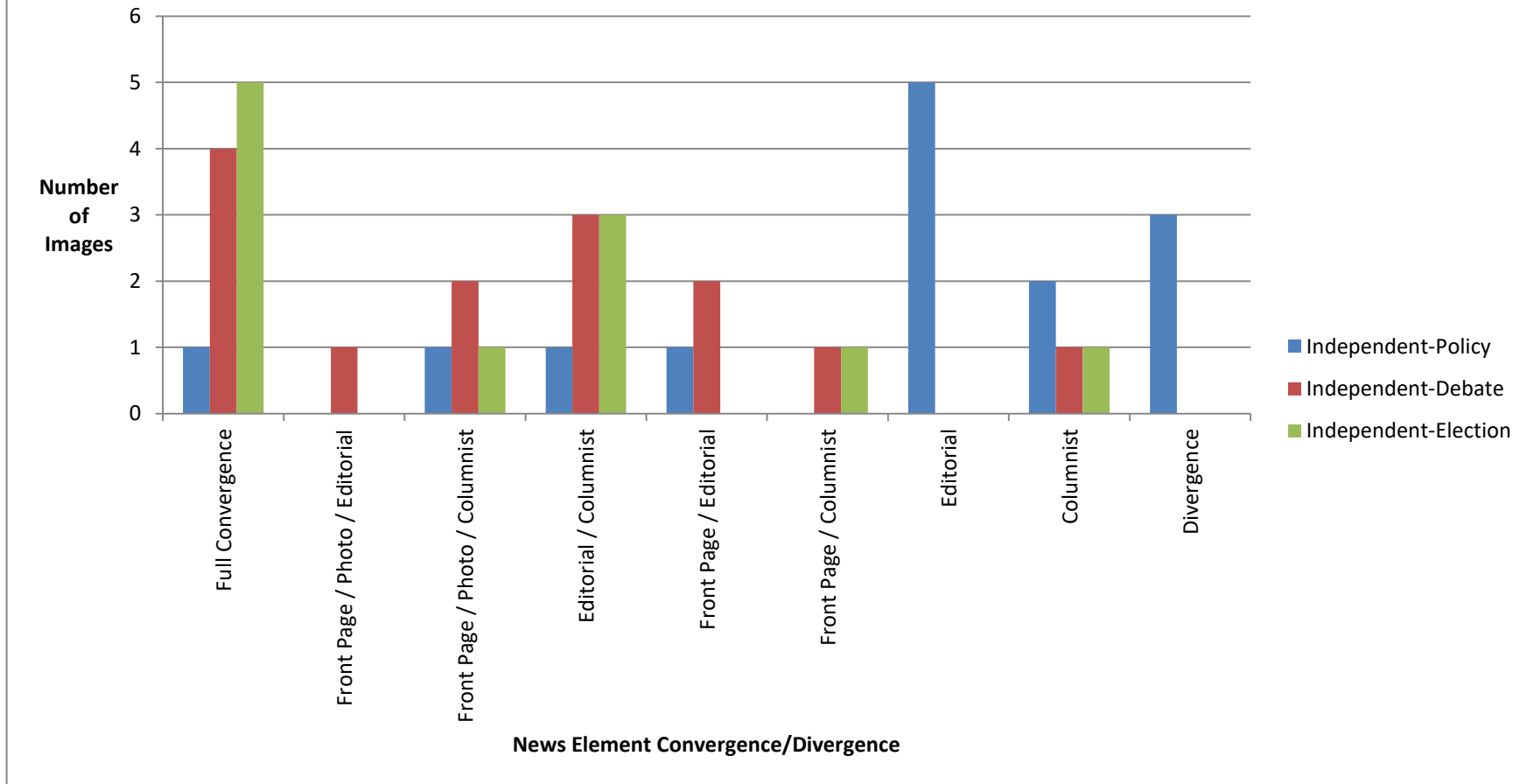
Bar Chart 35: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Election Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy, Debate and Election Phases



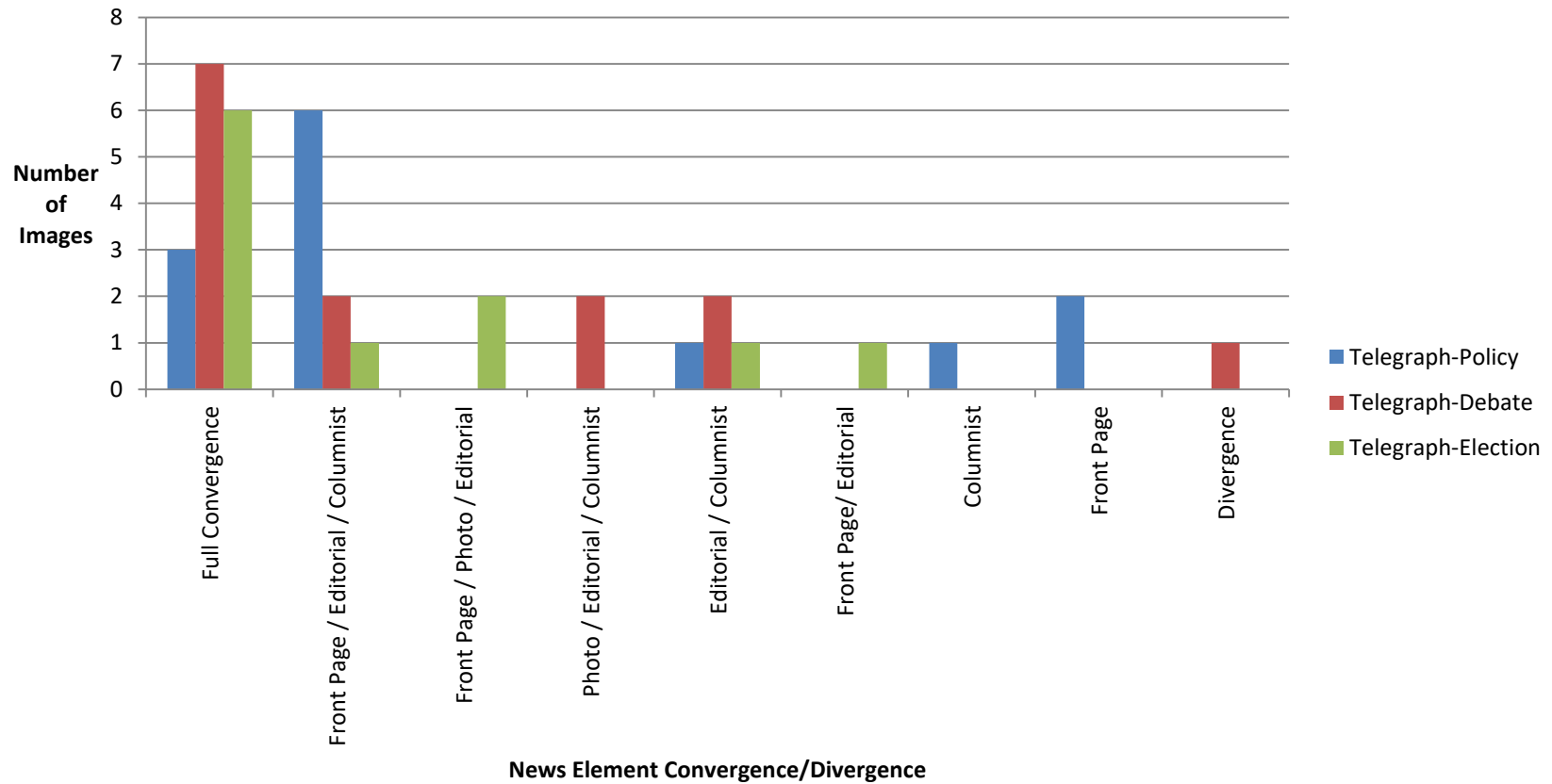
Bar Chart 36: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy, Debate and Election Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy, Debate and Election Phases



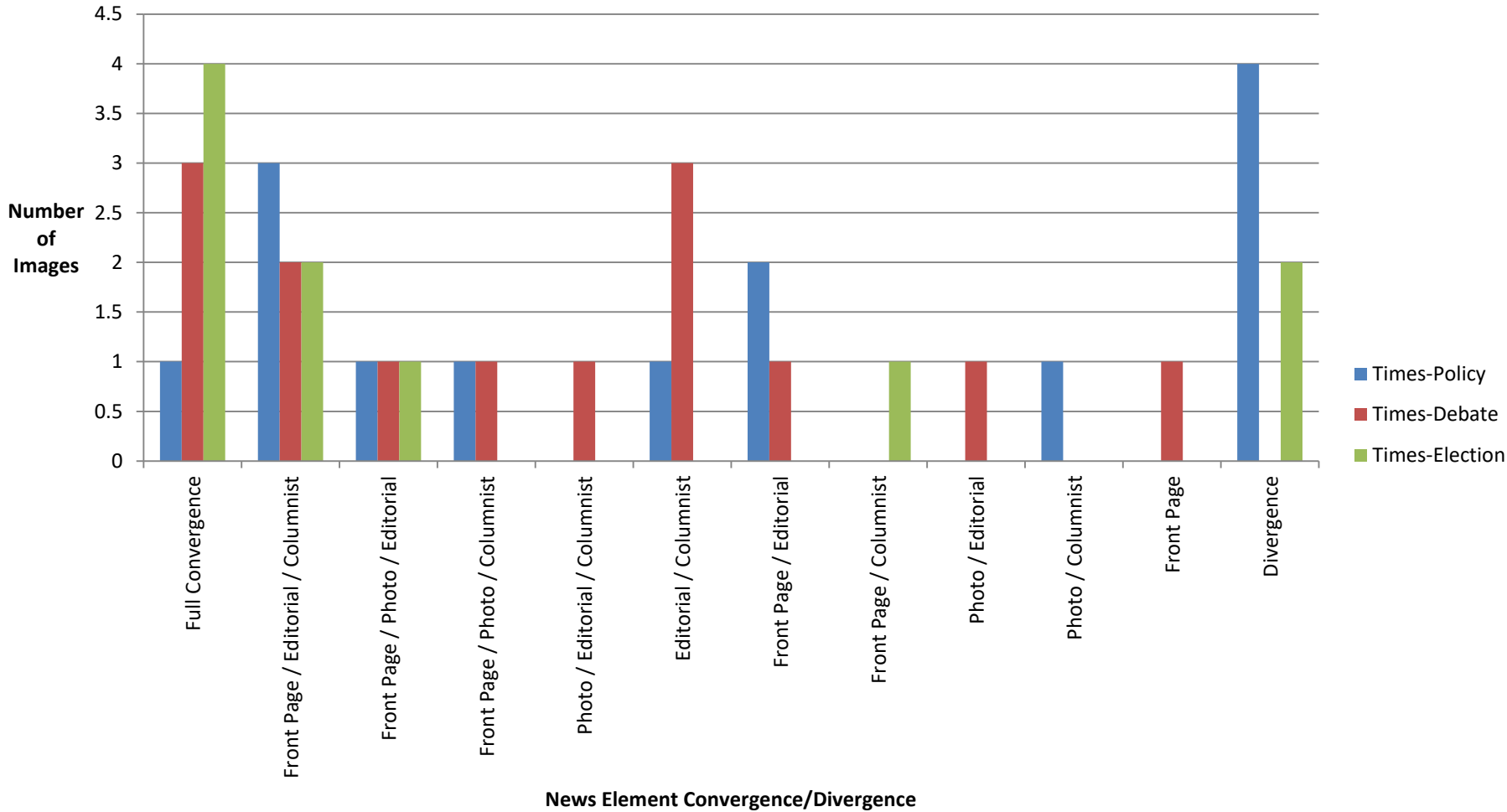
Bar Chart 37: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy, Debate and Election Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy, Debate and Election Phases



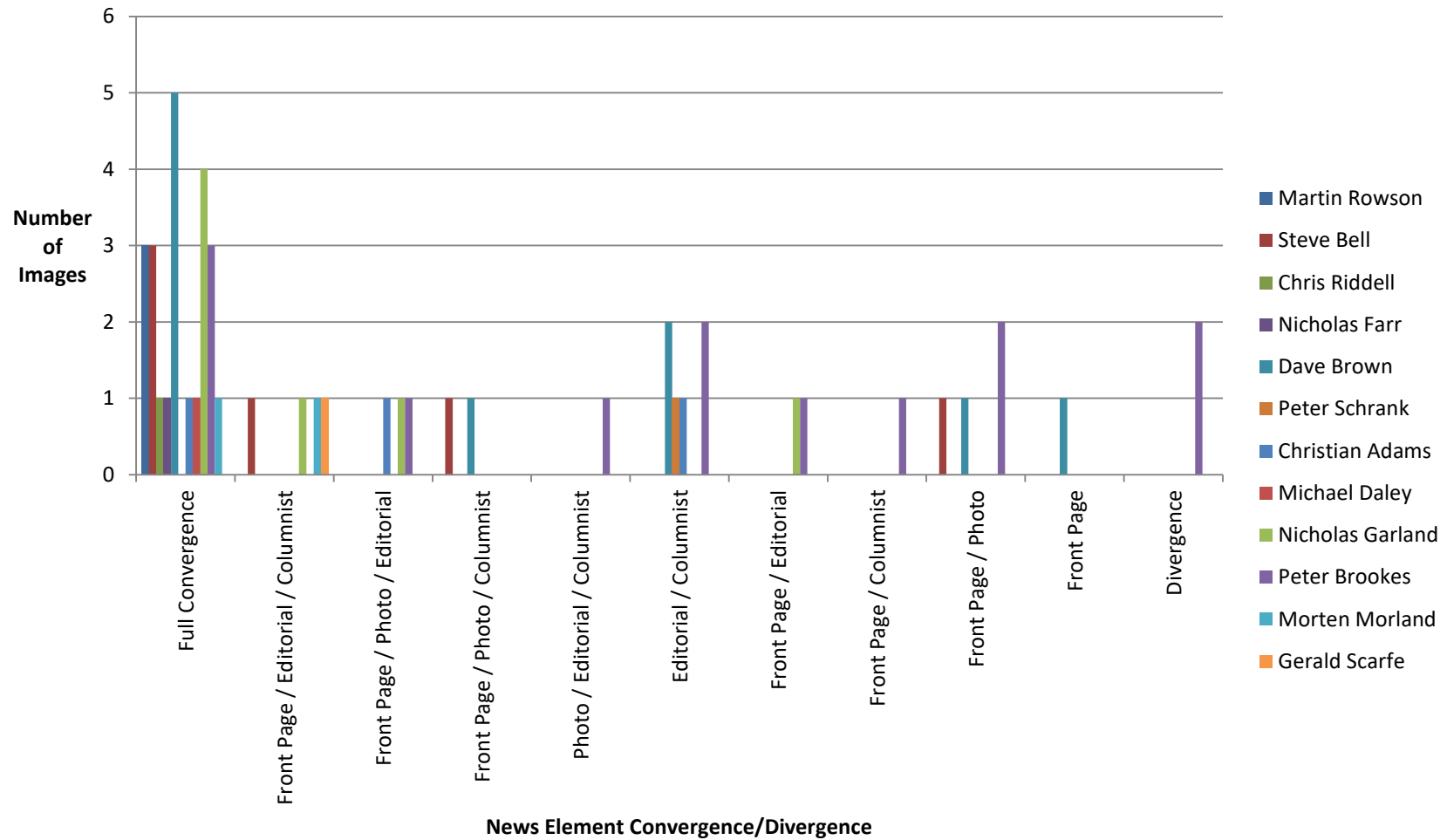
Bar Chart 38: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy, Debate and Election Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy, Debate and Election Phases



Bar Chart 39: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy, Debate and Election Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonists during Election Phase



Bar Chart 40: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonist during Election Phase

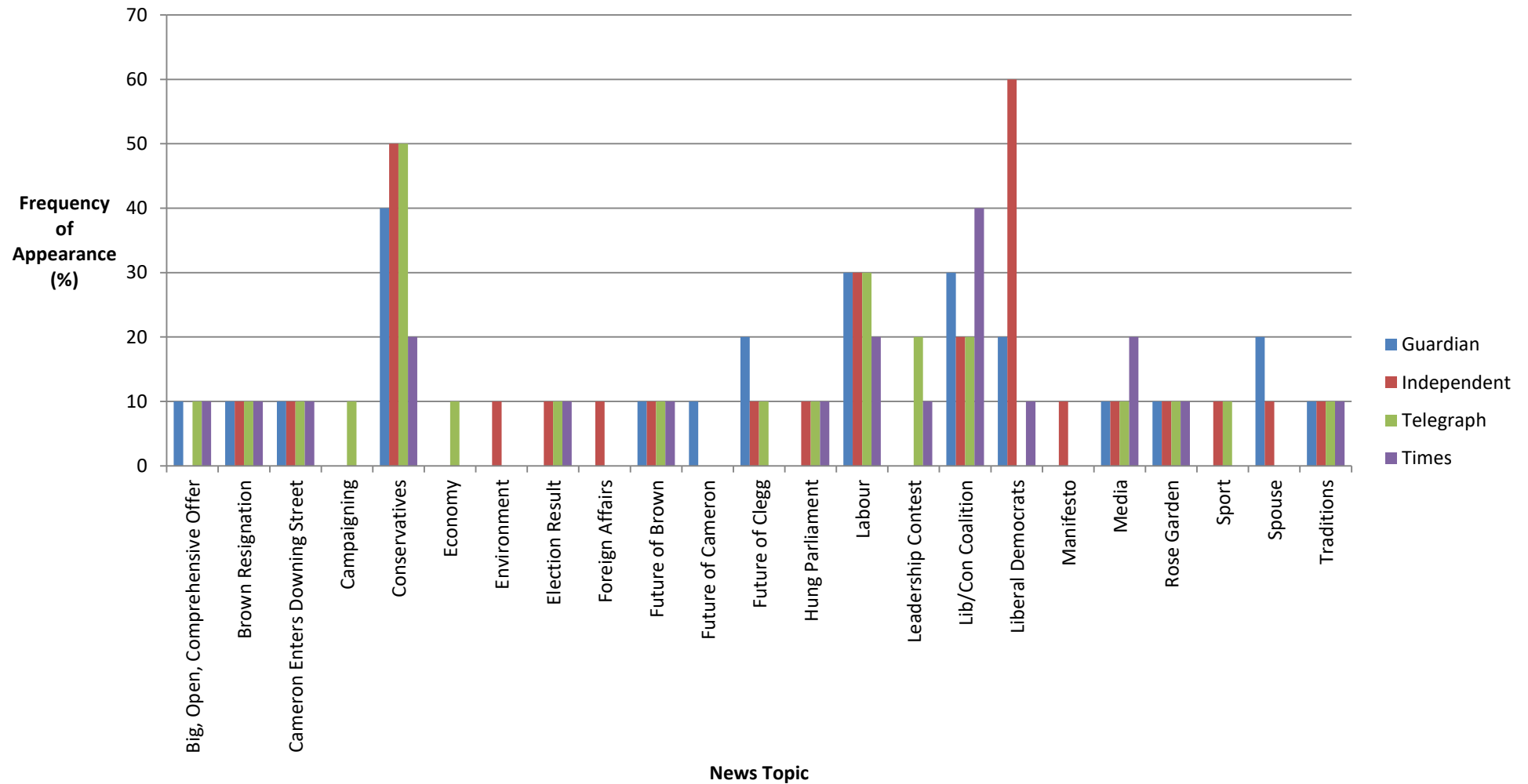
CHAPTER EIGHT

Coalition Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)		
	May																																		
Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																																		7.5	
Brown Resignation																																			10
Cameron Enters Downing Street																																			10
Campaigning																																			2.5
Conservatives																																			40
Economy																																			2.5
Environment																																			2.5
Election Result																																			7.5
Foreign Affairs																																			2.5
Future of Brown																																			10
Future of Cameron																																			2.5
Future of Clegg																																			10
Hung Parliament																																			7.5
Labour																																			27.5
Leadership Contest																																			7.5
Lib/Con Coalition																																			27.5
Liberal Democrats																																			22.5
Manifesto																																			2.5
Media																																			12.5
Rose Garden																																			10
Sport																																			5
Spouse																																			7.5
Traditions																																			10
Date	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16																									

Table 72: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Photographs across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Front Page Photographs for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase



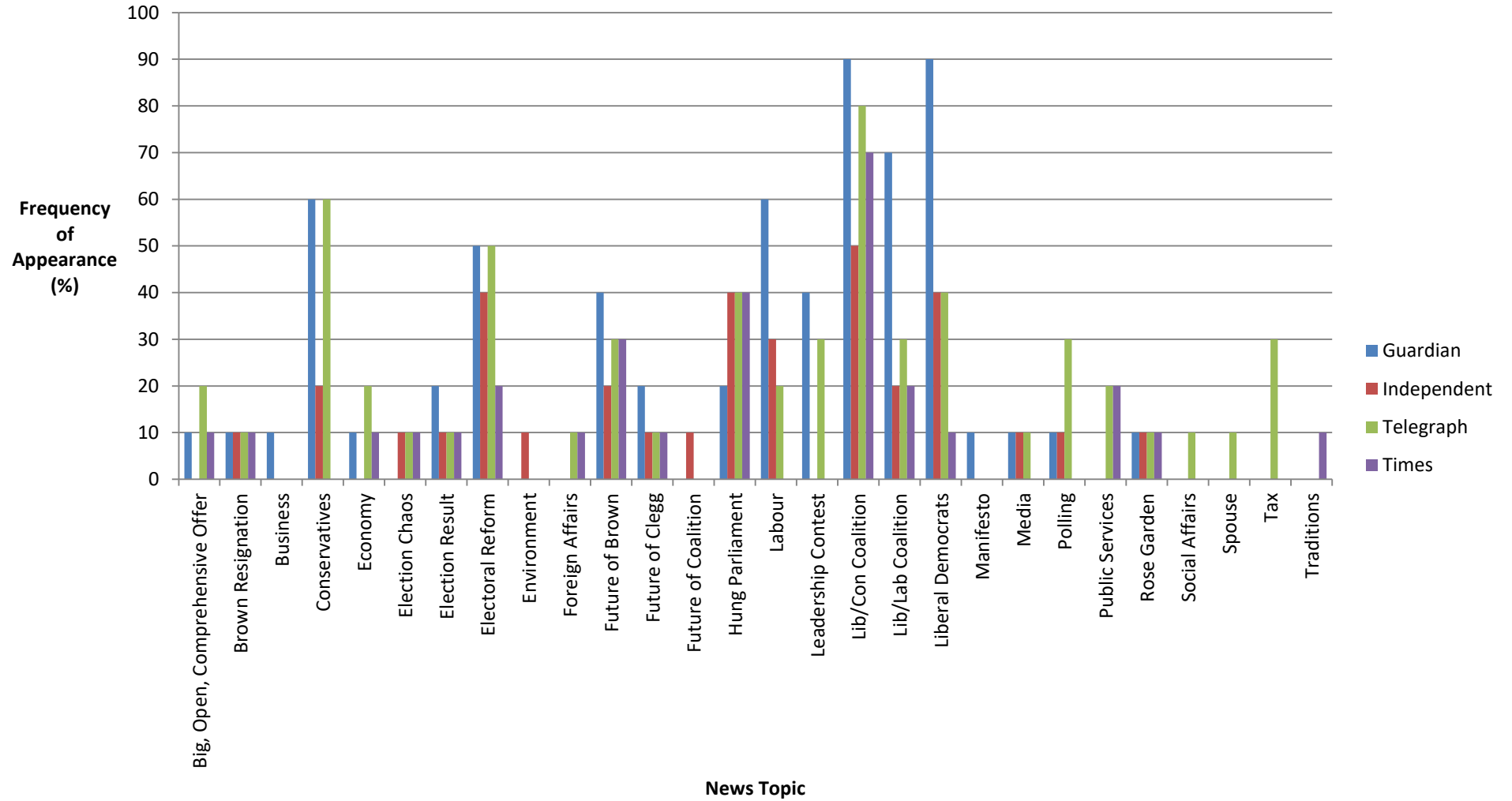
Bar Chart 41: Frequency of Front Page Photographs for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Coalition Case Study

Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)								
	07				08				09				10				11				12				13				14				15				16				
Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																																	10.00								
Brown Resignation																																	10.00								
Business																																	2.50								
Conservatives																																	35.00								
Economy																																	10.00								
Election Chaos																																	7.50								
Election Result																																	12.50								
Electoral Reform																																	40.00								
Environment																																	2.50								
Foreign Affairs																																	5.00								
Future of Brown																																	30.00								
Future of Clegg																																	12.50								
Future of Coalition																																	2.50								
Hung Parliament																																	35.00								
Labour																																	27.50								
Leadership Contest																																	17.50								
Lib/Con Coalition																																	72.50								
Lib/Lab Coalition																																	35.00								
Liberal Democrats																																	45.00								
Manifesto																																	2.50								
Media																																	7.50								
Polling																																	12.50								
Public Services																																	10.00								
Rose Garden																																	10.00								
Social Affairs																																	2.50								
Spouse																																	2.50								
Tax																																	7.50								
Traditions																																	2.50								
Date	07				08				09				10				11				12				13				14				15				16				
	May																																								

Table 73: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Front Page Articles across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

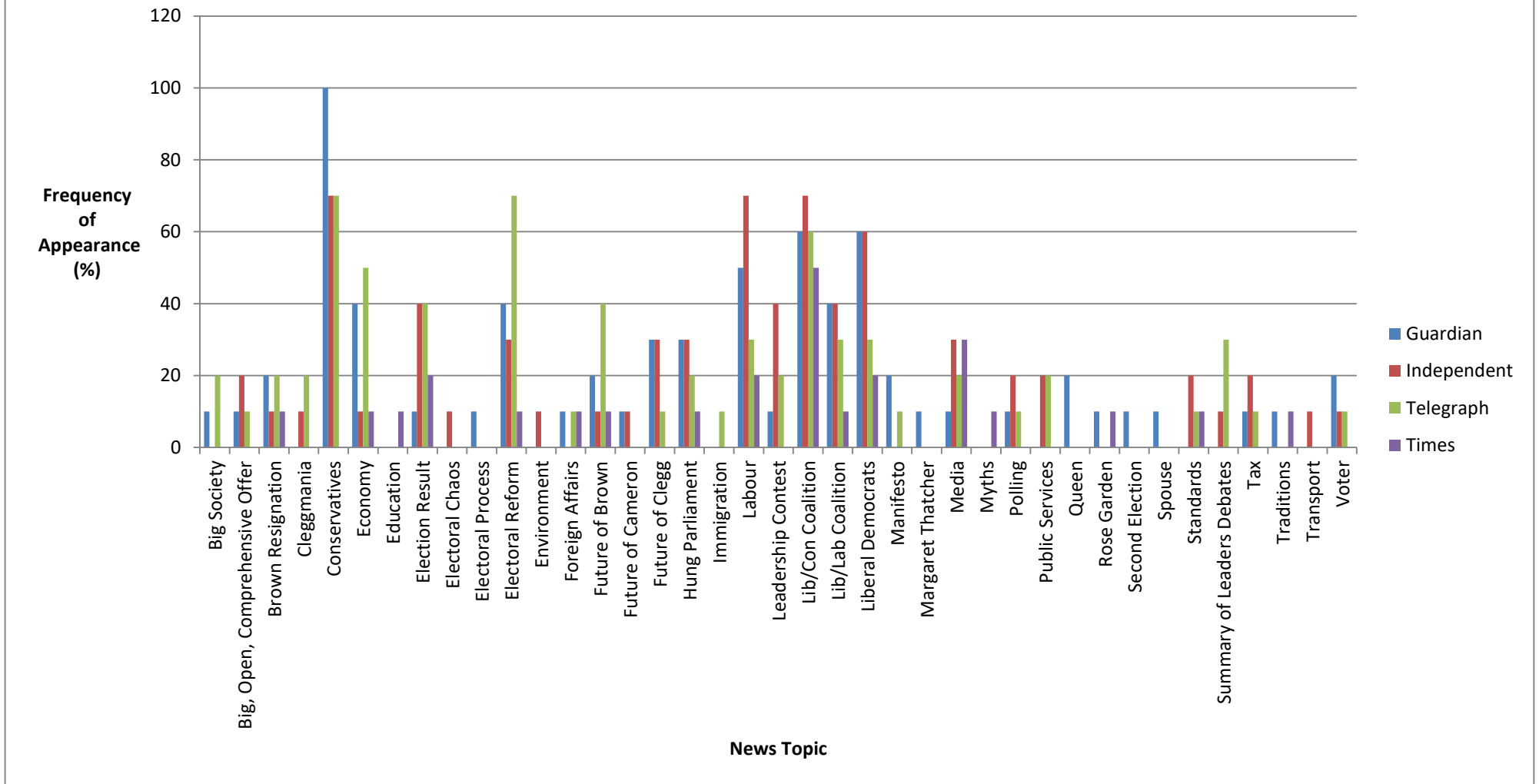


Bar Chart 42: Frequency of Front Page Article News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Debate Phase

		Coalition Case Study																												
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)	
	Appearance of Topic																													
Big Society																													7.50	
Big, Open & Comprehensive Offer																														10.00
Brown Resignation																														15.00
Cleggmania																														7.50
Conservatives																														60.00
Economy																														27.50
Education																														2.50
Election Result																														27.50
Electoral Chaos																														2.50
Electoral Process																														2.50
Electoral Reform																														37.50
Environment																														2.50
Foreign Affairs																														7.50
Future of Brown																														20.00
Future of Cameron																														5.00
Future of Clegg																														17.50
Hung Parliament																														22.50
Immigration																														2.50
Labour																														42.50
Leadership Contest																														17.50
Lib/Con Coalition																														60.00
Lib/Lab Coalition																														30.00
Liberal Democrats																														42.50
Manifesto																														7.50
Margaret Thatcher																														2.50
Media																														22.50
Myths																														2.50
Polling																														10.00
Public Services																														10.00
Queen																														5.00
Rose Garden																														5.00
Second Election																														2.50
Spouse																														2.50
Standards																														10.00
Summary of Leaders Debates																														10.00
Tax																														10.00
Traditions																														5.00
Transport																														2.50
Voter																														10.00
Date	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	May																			

Table 74: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Columnists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Columnist News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase



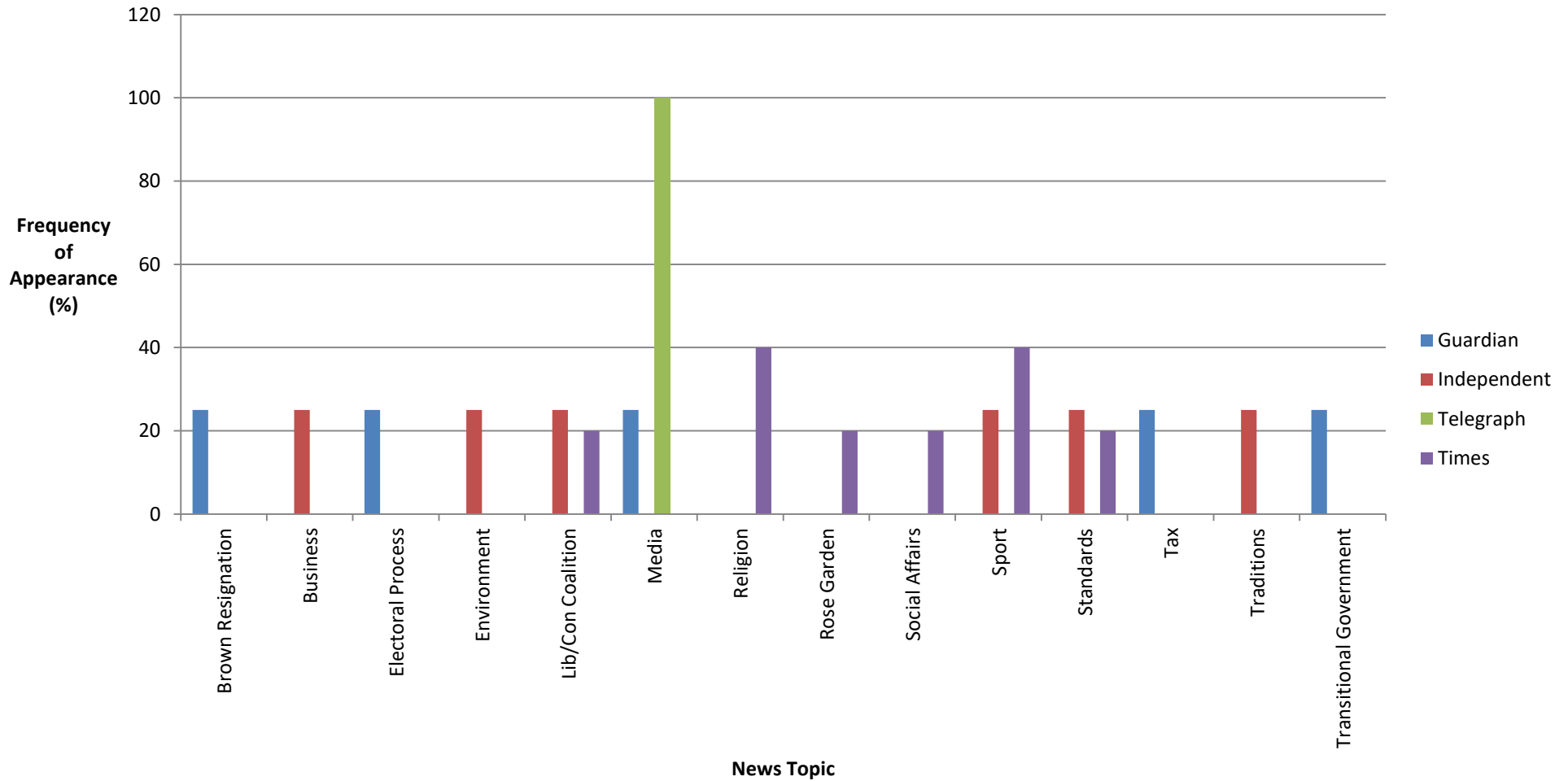
Bar Chart 43: Frequency of Columnist News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

Coalition Case Study

Appearance of Topic	Newspapers																Frequency (%)												
	Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times		Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times		
Brown Resignation																													2.50
Business																													2.50
Electoral Process																													2.50
Environment																													2.50
Lib/Con Coalition																													5.00
Media																													5.00
Religion																													5.00
Rose Garden																													2.50
Social Affairs																													2.50
Sport																													7.50
Standards																													5.00
Tax																													2.50
Traditions																													2.50
Transitional Government																													2.50
Date	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	May																		

Table 75: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Third Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Third Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

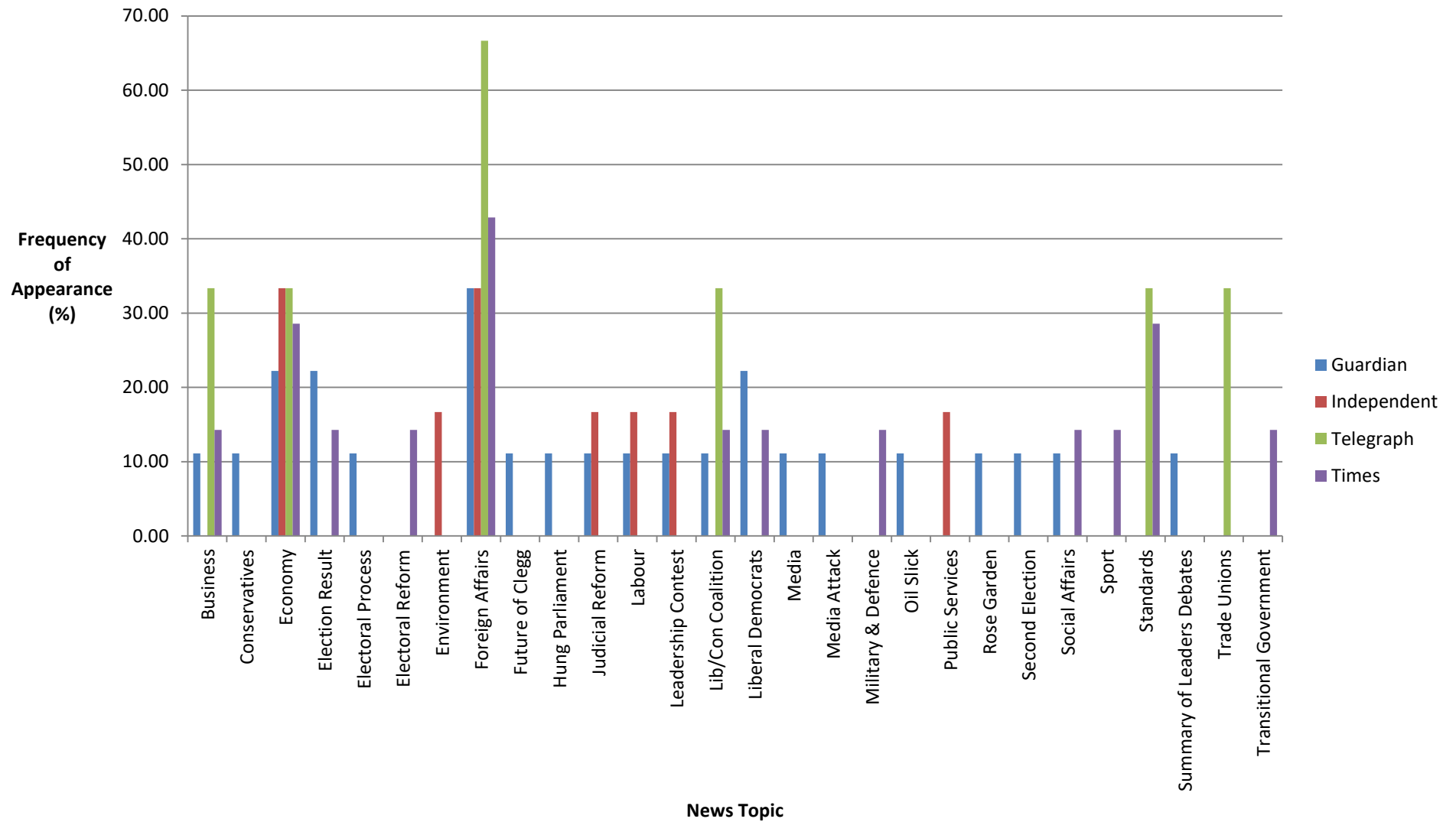


Bar Chart 44: Frequency of Third Leaders News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

Coalition Case Study																																	
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)
	Appearance of Topic																																
Business																																	7.50
Conservatives																																	2.50
Economy																																	17.50
Election Result																																	7.50
Electoral Process																																	2.50
Electoral Reform																																	2.50
Environment																																	2.50
Foreign Affairs																																	25.00
Future of Clegg																																	2.50
Hung Parliament																																	2.50
Judicial Reform																																	5.00
Labour																																	5.00
Leadership Contest																																	5.00
Lib/Con Coalition																																	7.50
Liberal Democrats																																	7.50
Media																																	2.50
Media Attack																																	2.50
Military & Defence																																	2.50
Oil Slick																																	2.50
Public Services																																	2.50
Rose Garden																																	2.50
Second Election																																	2.50
Social Affairs																																	5.00
Sport																																	2.50
Standards																																	7.50
Summary of Leaders Debates																																	2.50
Trade Unions																																	2.50
Transitional Government																																	2.50
Date	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	May																						

Table 76: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Second Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Second Leader News Topics covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

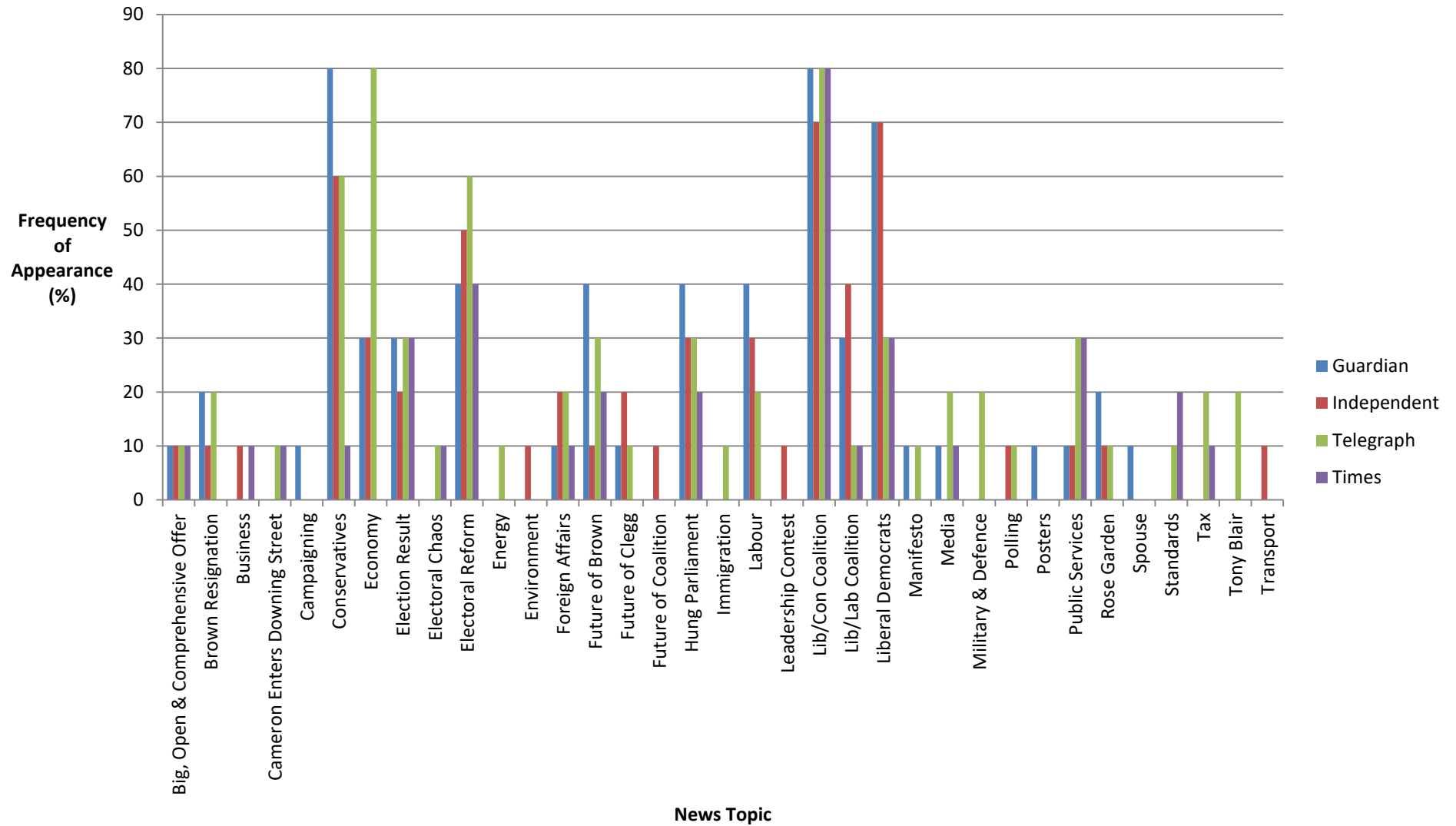


Bar Chart 45: Frequency of Second Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

		Coalition Case Study																																				
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)					
	Appearance of Topic																																					
Big, Open & Comprehensive Offer																																		10.00				
Brown Resignation																																		12.50				
Business																																		5.00				
Cameron Enters Downing Street																																		5.00				
Campaigning																																		2.50				
Conservatives																																		52.50				
Economy																																		35.00				
Election Result																																		27.50				
Electoral Chaos																																		5.00				
Electoral Reform																																		47.50				
Energy																																		2.50				
Environment																																		2.50				
Foreign Affairs																																		15.00				
Future of Brown																																		25.00				
Future of Clegg																																		10.00				
Future of Coalition																																		2.50				
Hung Parliament																																		30.00				
Immigration																																		2.50				
Labour																																		22.50				
Leadership Contest																																		2.50				
Lib/Con Coalition																																		77.50				
Lib/Lab Coalition																																		22.50				
Liberal Democrats																																		50.00				
Manifesto																																		5.00				
Media																																		10.00				
Military & Defence																																		5.00				
Polling																																		5.00				
Posters																																		2.50				
Public Services																																		20.00				
Rose Garden																																		10.00				
Spouse																																		2.50				
Standards																																		7.50				
Tax																																		7.50				
Tony Blair																																		5.00				
Transport																																		2.50				
Date	07		08				09			10				11				12				13				14				15				16				
May																																						

Table 77: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by First Leaders across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Election Phase

Frequency of First Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

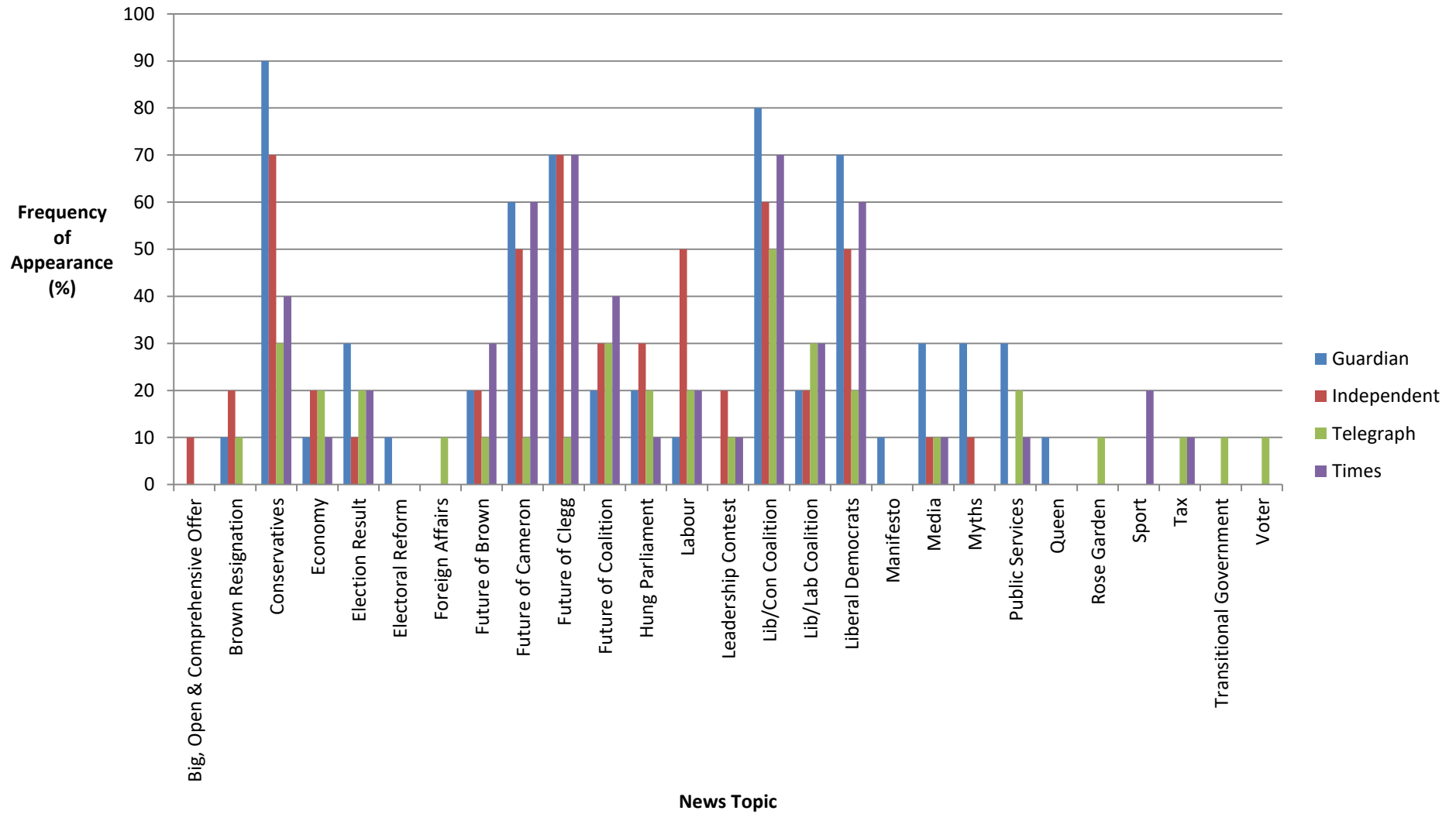


Bar Chart 46: Frequency of First Leader News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

Coalition Case Study																																				
Newspapers	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Guardian	Independent	Telegraph	Times	Observer	Independent on Sunday	Sunday Telegraph	Sunday Times	Frequency (%)			
	Appearance of Topic																																			
Big, Open & Comprehensive Offer																																			2.50	
Brown Resignation																																				10.00
Conservatives																																				57.50
Economy																																				15.00
Election Result																																				20.00
Electoral Reform																																				2.50
Foreign Affairs																																				2.50
Future of Brown																																				20.00
Future of Cameron																																				45.00
Future of Clegg																																				55.00
Future of Coalition																																				30.00
Hung Parliament																																				20.00
Labour																																				25.00
Leadership Contest																																				10.00
Lib/Con Coalition																																				65.00
Lib/Lab Coalition																																				25.00
Liberal Democrats																																				50.00
Manifesto																																				2.50
Media																																				15.00
Myths																																				10.00
Public Services																																				15.00
Queen																																				2.50
Rose Garden																																				2.50
Sport																																				5.00
Tax																																				5.00
Transitional Government																																				2.50
Voter																																				2.50
Date	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	May																									

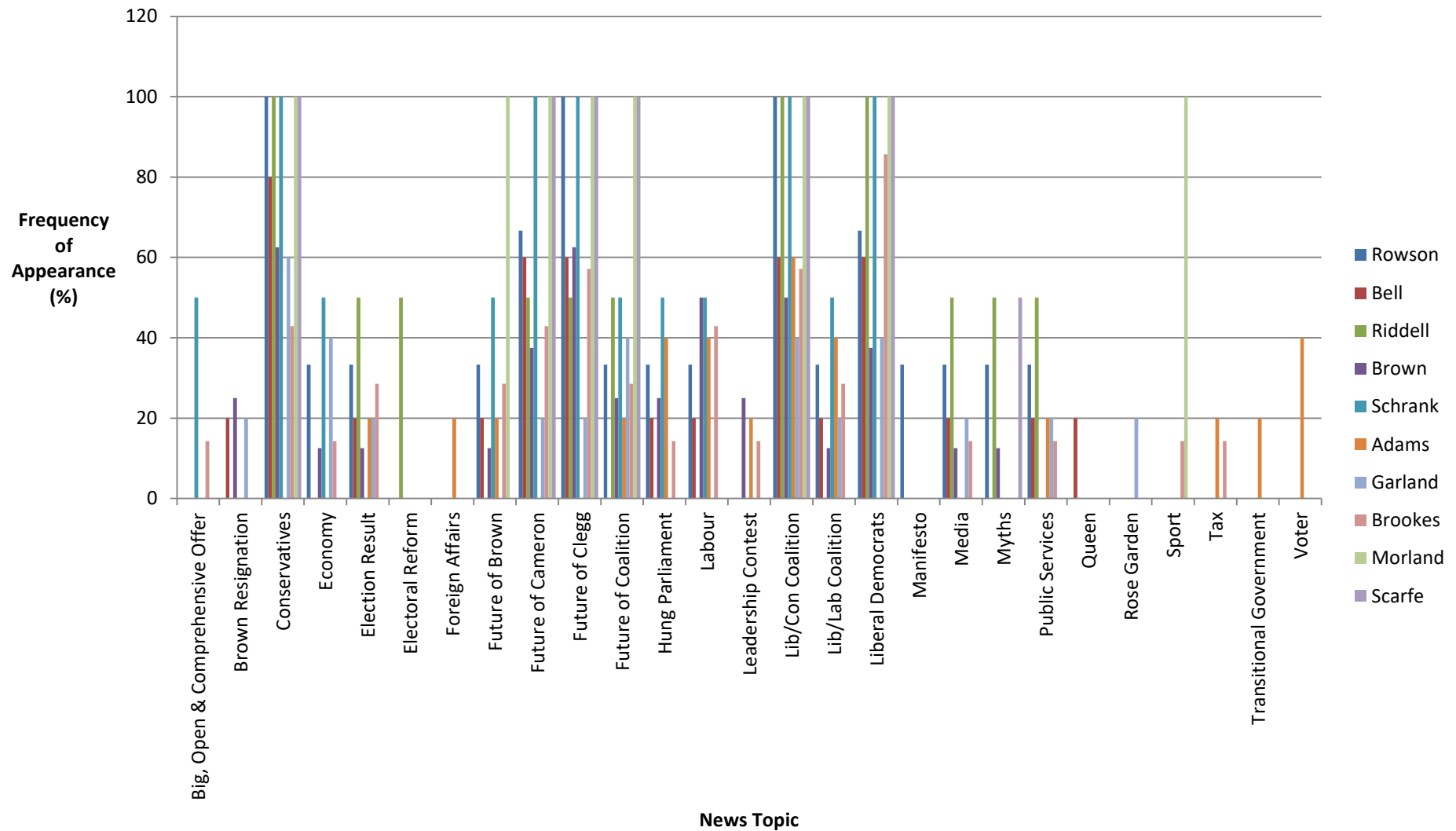
Table 78: Appearance of News Topics highlighted by Cartoonists across all Broadsheet Newspapers for Coalition Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase



Bar Chart 47: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics Covered by Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

Frequency of Cartoon News Topic covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonists during Coalition Phase



Bar Chart 48: Frequency of Cartoon News Topics covered by Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Coalition Phase

Notable Event		UK elects Hung Parliament																						
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times					
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist			
News Section																								
Campaigning																								
Cleggmania																								
Conservatives																								
Economy																								
Election Result																								
Electoral Chaos																								
Electoral Process																								
Electoral Reform																								
Environment																								
Foreign Affairs																								
Future of Brown																								
Future of Cameron																								
Future of Clegg																								
Hung Parliament																								
Labour																								
Lib/Lab Coalition																								
Liberal Democrats																								
Media																								
Polling																								
Posters																								
Public Services																								
Religion																								
Sport																								
Spouse																								
Standards																								
Summary of Leaders Debates																								
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Full		Divergence			
Date	7th																							
	May																							

Table 79: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 7th 2010

Notable Event		Cameron makes 'Big, Open & Comprehensive' Coalition to Liberal Democrats																										
Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	News Section																											
	Big Society																											
	Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																											
	Conservatives																											
	Economy																											
	Election Result																											
	Electoral Reform																											
	Future of Brown																											
	Future of Cameron																											
	Future of Clegg																											
	Hung Parliament																											
	Labour																											
	Leaders Debates																											
	Lib/Con Coalition																											
	Lib/Lab Coalition																											
	Liberal Democrats																											
	Manifesto																											
	Margaret Thatcher																											
	Media																											
	Media Attack																											
Standards																												
Voter																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Full Convergence									
Date	8th																											
	May																											

Table 80: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 8th 2010

Notable Event		Appearance of Party Leaders at VE day ceremony																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Observer						Independent on Sunday						Sunday Telegraph						Sunday Times									
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
		Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																											
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Election Result																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Brown																													
Future of Cameron																													
Future of Clegg																													
Future of Coalition																													
Hung Parliament																													
Labour																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Manifestos																													
Media																													
Myths																													
Polling																													
Standards																													
Tax																													
Traditions																													
Voter																													
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper																													
Date	9th																												
	May																												

Table 81: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 9th 2010

Notable Event		Coalition Negotiations; imposition of Transitional Government																					
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph				Times					
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
	Big Society																						
Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																							
Business																							
Conservatives																							
Economy																							
Election Result																							
Electoral Chaos																							
Electoral Process																							
Electoral Reform																							
Foreign Affairs																							
Future of Brown																							
Future of Cameron																							
Future of Clegg																							
Hung Parliament																							
Labour																							
Leadership Contest																							
Lib/Con Coalition																							
Lib/Lab Coalition																							
Liberal Democrats																							
Manifestos																							
Media																							
Myths																							
Public Services																							
Queen																							
Second Election																							
Social Affairs																							
Sport																							
Standards																							
Transitional Government																							
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence				Full Convergence					
Date		10th May																					

Table 82: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 10th 2010

Notable Event		Brown steps down as Labour leader to facilitate Lib/Lab coalition																																		
Newspapers	Guardian							Independent						Telegraph						Times																
	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist								
News Section																																				
Brown Resignation																																				
Conservatives																																				
Economy																																				
Electoral Reform																																				
Foreign Affairs																																				
Future of Cameron																																				
Future of Clegg																																				
Hung Parliament																																				
Labour																																				
Leadership Contest																																				
Lib/Con Coalition																																				
Lib/Lab Coalition																																				
Liberal Democrats																																				
Polling																																				
Public Services																																				
Religion																																				
Social Affairs																																				
Standards																																				
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence							Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial convergence																
Date	11th																																			
	May																																			

Table 83: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 11th 2010

Notable Event		Brown Resigns as Prime Minister; Coalition Government formed																											
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers	Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
Brown Resignation																													
Cameron Enters Downing Street																													
Conservatives																													
Economy																													
Electoral Process																													
Electoral Reform																													
Foreign Affairs																													
Future of Cameron																													
Future of Clegg																													
Future of Coalition																													
Hung Parliament																													
Labour																													
Leadership Contest																													
Lib/Con Coalition																													
Lib/Lab Coalition																													
Liberal Democrats																													
Media																													
Public Services																													
Queen																													
Spouse																													
Standards																													
Voter																													
	Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Partial Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Partial Convergence									
Date	12th																												
	May																												

Table 84: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 12th 2010

Notable Event		Joint Appearance of Clegg & Cameron at Downing Street; Rose Garden Press Conference																												
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times									
	News Section		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
	Cleggmania																													
Conservatives																														
Economy																														
Electoral Reform																														
Foreign Affairs																														
Future of Cameron																														
Future of Clegg																														
Future of Coalition																														
Hung Parliament																														
Immigration																														
Labour																														
Leadership Contest																														
Lib/Con Coalition																														
Liberal Democrats																														
Media																														
Military & Defence																														
Public Services																														
Rose Garden																														
Second Election																														
Social Affairs																														
Summary of Leaders Debates																														
Tax																														
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper			Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence						Full Convergence									
Date	13th																													
	May																													

Table 85: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 13th 2010

Notable Event		First Cabinet Meeting; Coalition Tensions																							
Newspapers		Guardian						Independent						Telegraph						Times					
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist				
																						Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial
Big Society																									
Business																									
Conservatives																									
Economy																									
Election Result																									
Energy																									
Foreign Affairs																									
Immigration																									
Judicial Reform																									
Labour																									
Leadership Contest																									
Lib/Con Coalition																									
Liberal Democrats																									
Media																									
Military & Defence																									
Oil Slick																									
Polling																									
Public Services																									
Sport																									
Spouse																									
Standards																									
Tax																									
Trade Unions																									
Traditions																									
Transitional Government																									
Transport																									
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper	Full Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial Convergence						Partial convergence						
Date	14th																								
	May																								

Table 86: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 14th 2010

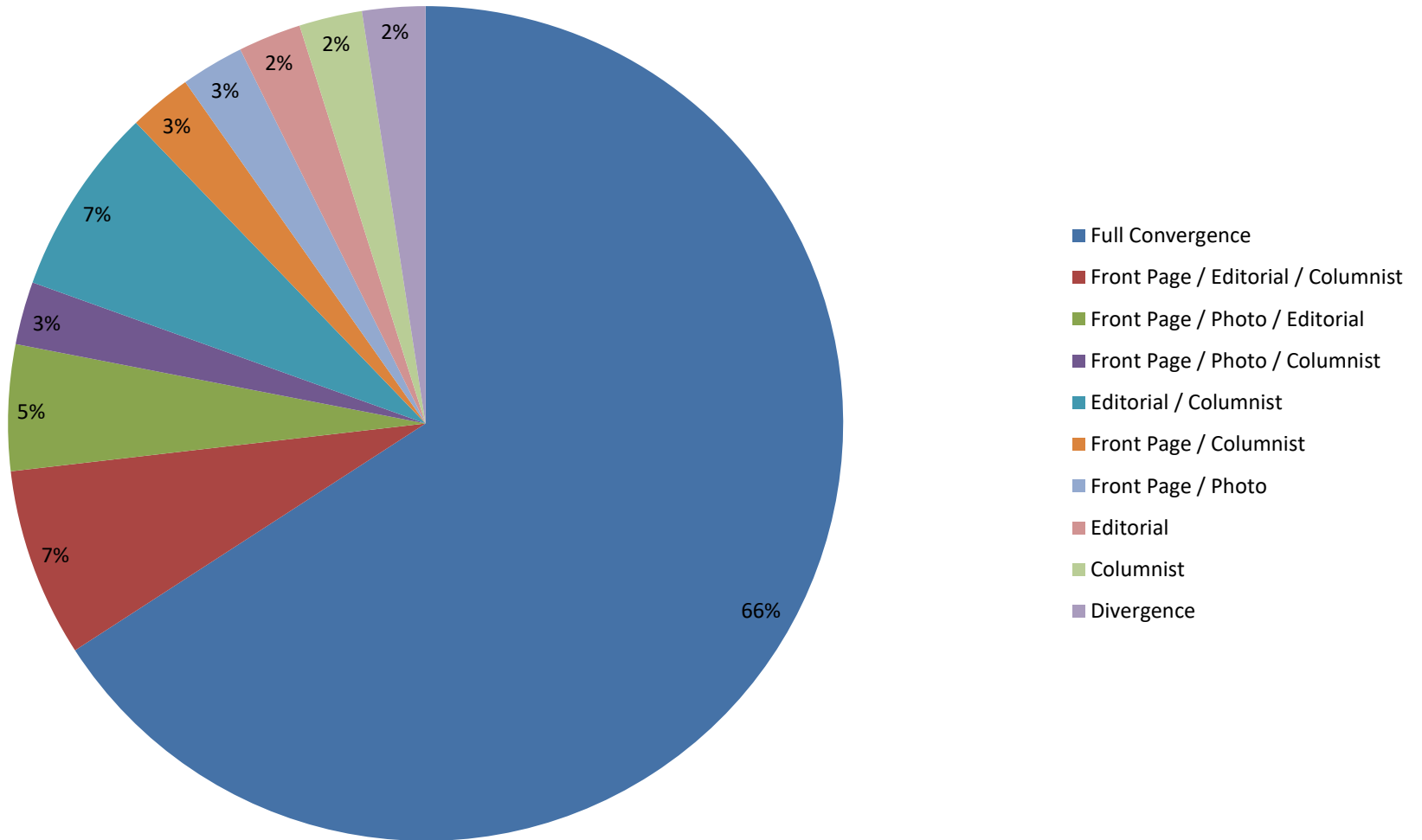
Notable Event		Continuation of Coalition Tensions																										
Newspapers		Guardian					Independent					Telegraph					Times											
News Section	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist
		Business																										
Conservatives																												
Economy																												
Education																												
Electoral Reform																												
Environment																												
Foreign Affairs																												
Future of Cameron																												
Future of Clegg																												
Future of Coalition																												
Judicial Reform																												
Labour																												
Leaders Debates																												
Leadership Contest																												
Lib/Con Coalition																												
Lib/Lab Coalition																												
Liberal Democrats																												
Manifestos																												
Myths																												
Public Services																												
Rose Garden																												
Sport																												
Tax																												
Tony Blair																												
Voter																												
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence					Full convergence											
Date		15th																										
		May																										

Table 87: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 15th 2010

Notable Event		Recriminations over Labour's Government Record & dealings with Liberal Democrats																					
Newspapers	News Section	Observer					Independent on Sunday					Sunday Telegraph					Sunday Times						
		Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	Photo	Front Page	Columnist	Tertiary Editorial	Secondary Editorial	Primary Editorial	Cartoonist	
Appearance of Topic/Theme in Newspaper	Big, Open, Comprehensive Offer																						
	Brown Resignation																						
	Business																						
	Conservatives																						
	Economy																						
	Electoral Reform																						
	Environment																						
	Foreign Affairs																						
	Future of Cameron																						
	Future of Clegg																						
	Future of Coalition																						
	Hung Parliament																						
	Labour																						
	Leadership Contest																						
	Lib/Con Coalition																						
	Lib/Lab Coalition																						
	Liberal Democrats																						
	Media																						
	Military & Defence																						
	Polling																						
	Public Services																						
	Public Services																						
	Rose Garden																						
Tax																							
Tony Blair																							
Transport																							
Voter																							
Cartoon Convergence with Host Paper		Full Convergence					Partial Convergence					Partial Convergence					Full Convergence						
Date		16th May																					

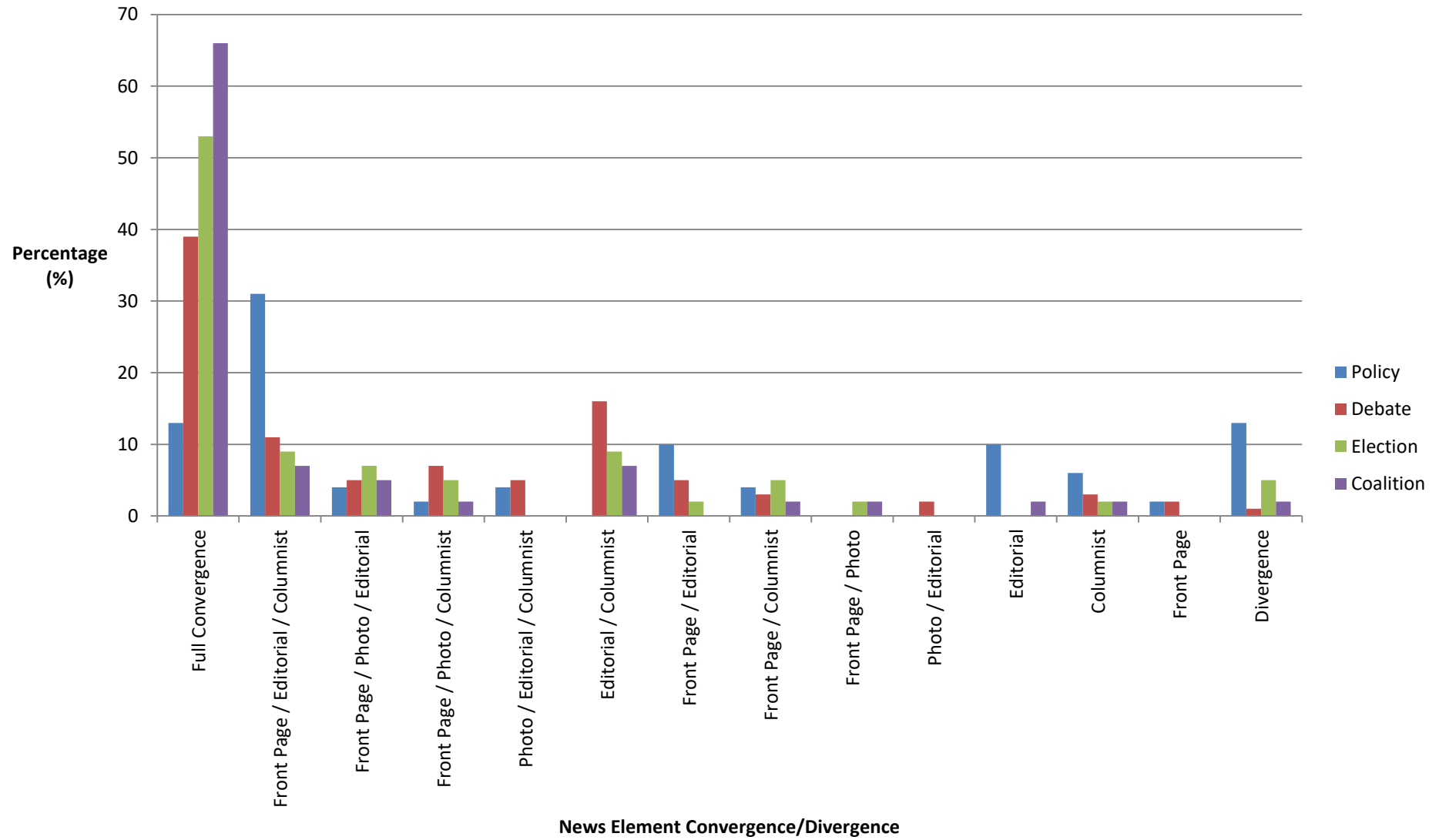
Table 88: Points of Convergence/Divergence between Editorial Cartoons and News Elements within and across Broadsheet Newspapers for May 16th 2010

Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Coalition Phase



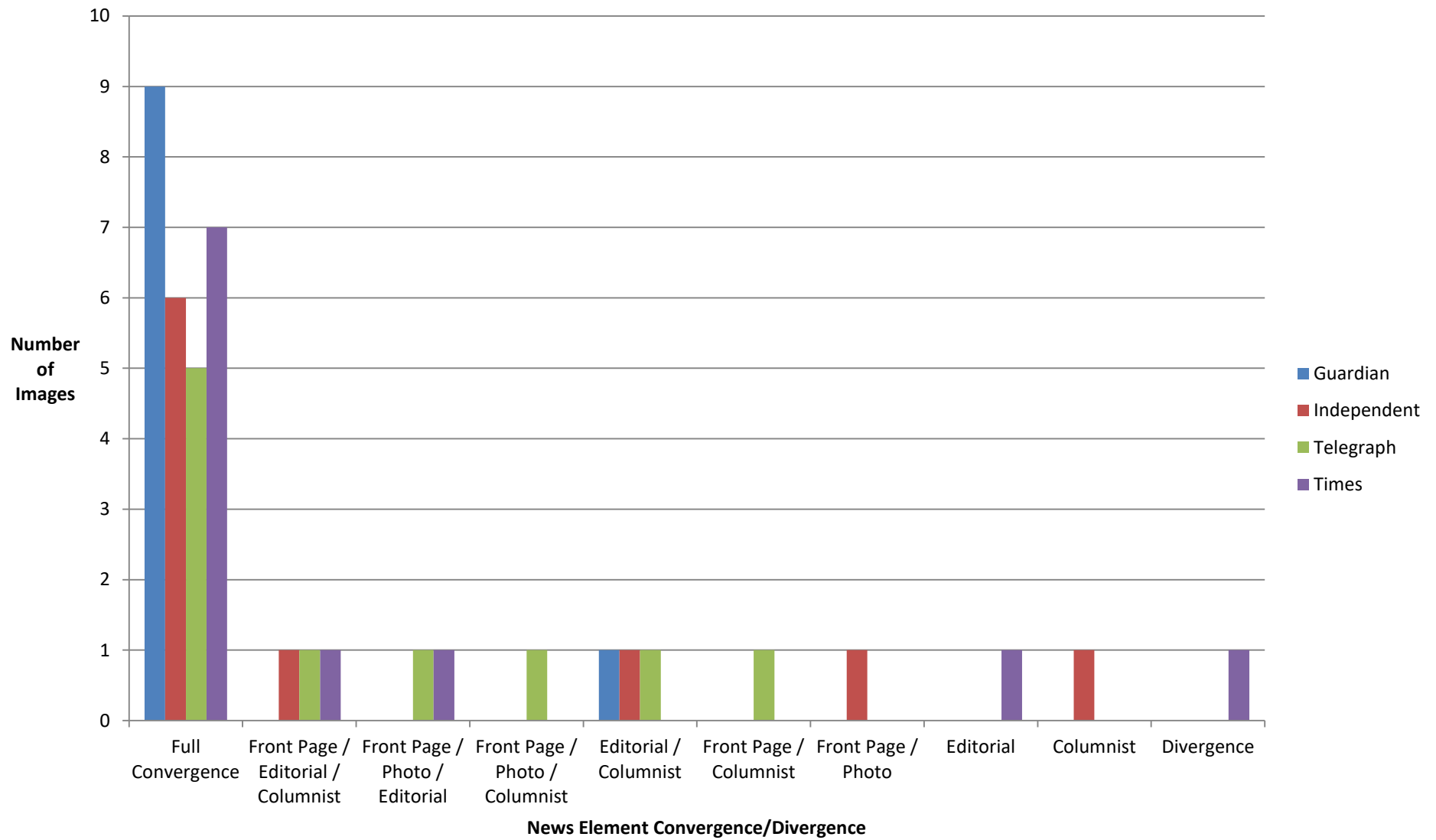
Pie Chart 4: Global Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence during Coalition Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence Globally across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases



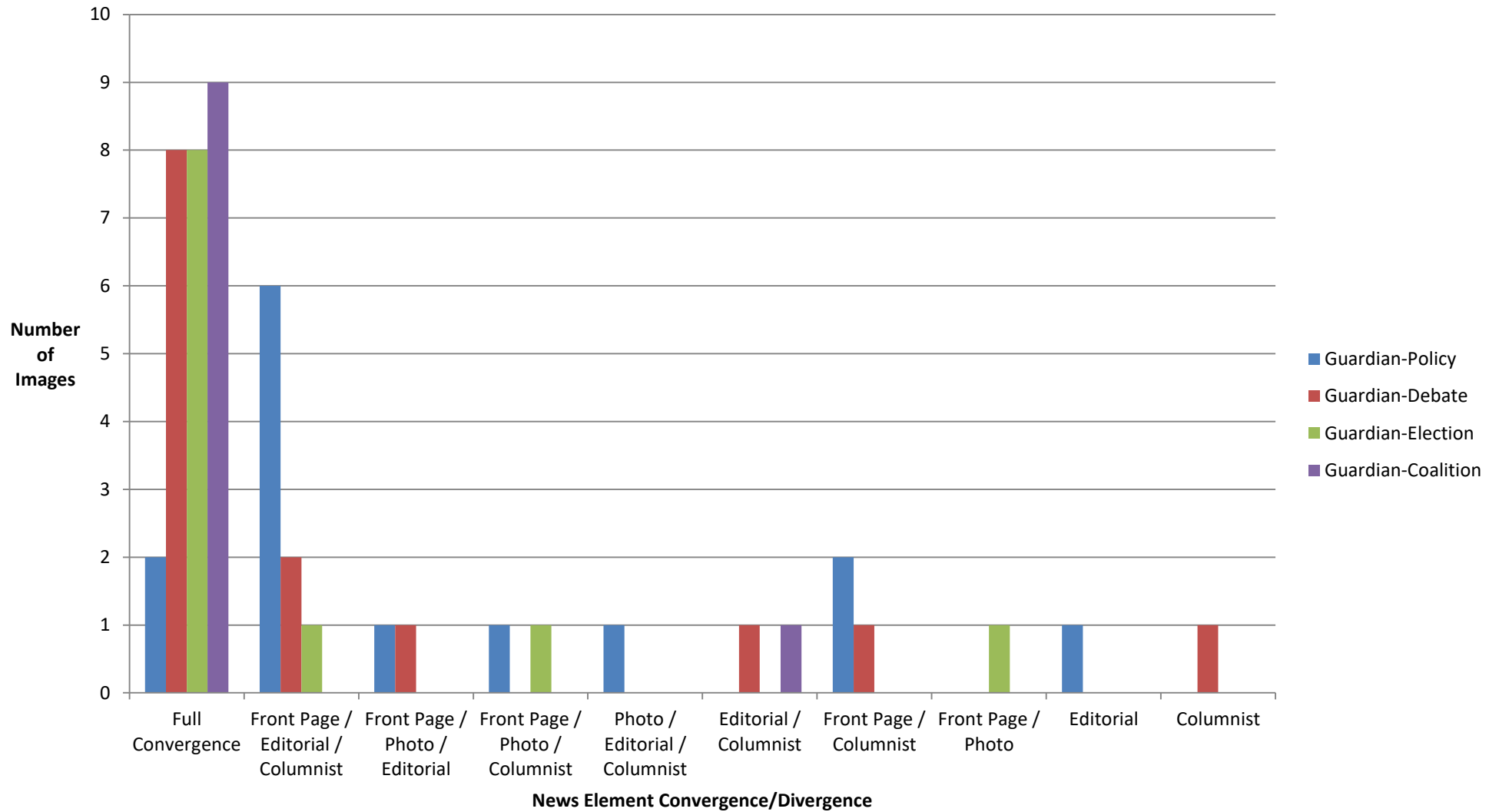
Bar Chart 49: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence Globally across Policy, Debate Election and Coalition Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase



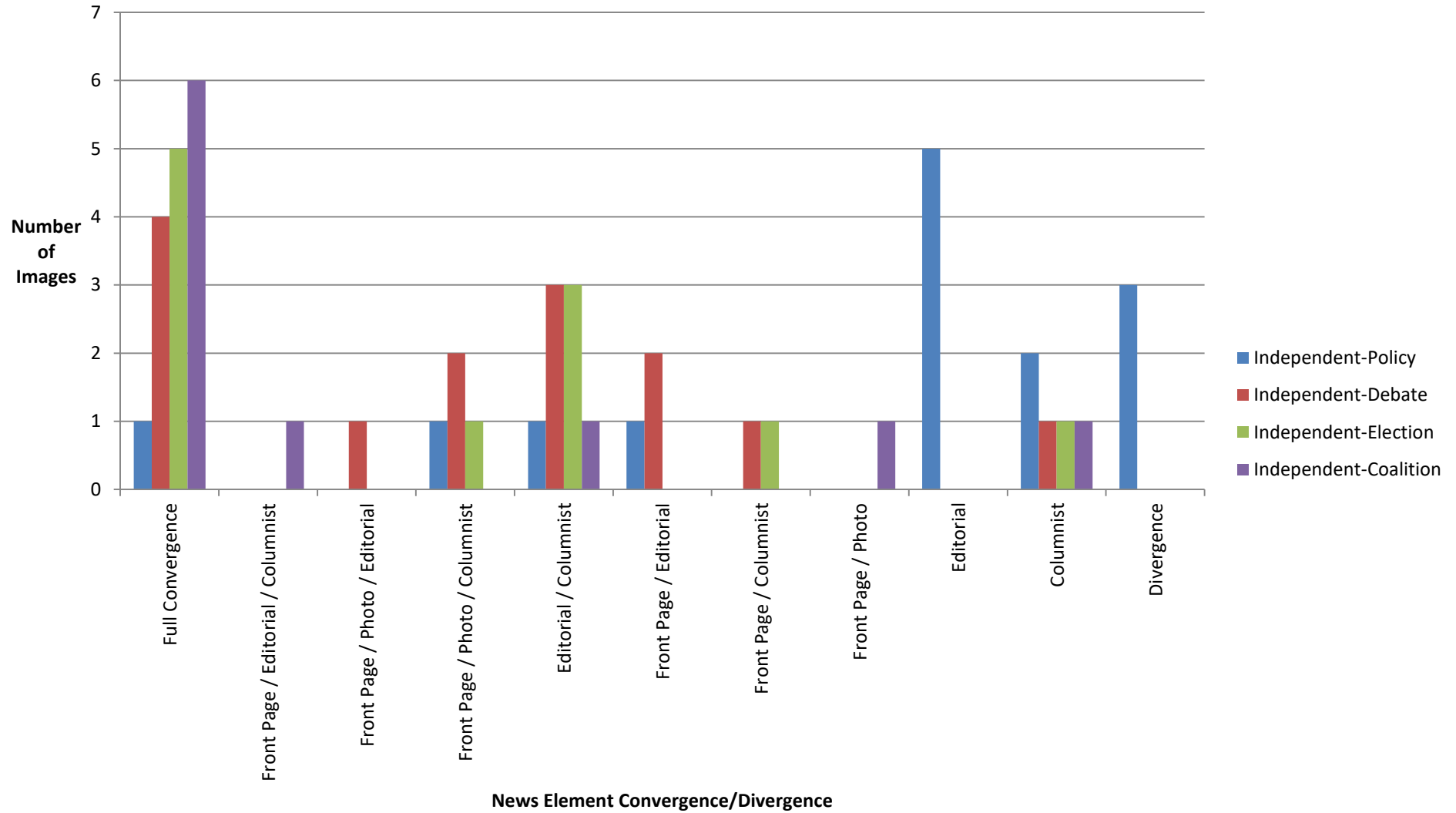
Bar Chart 50: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Broadsheet Newspapers during Coalition Phase

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases



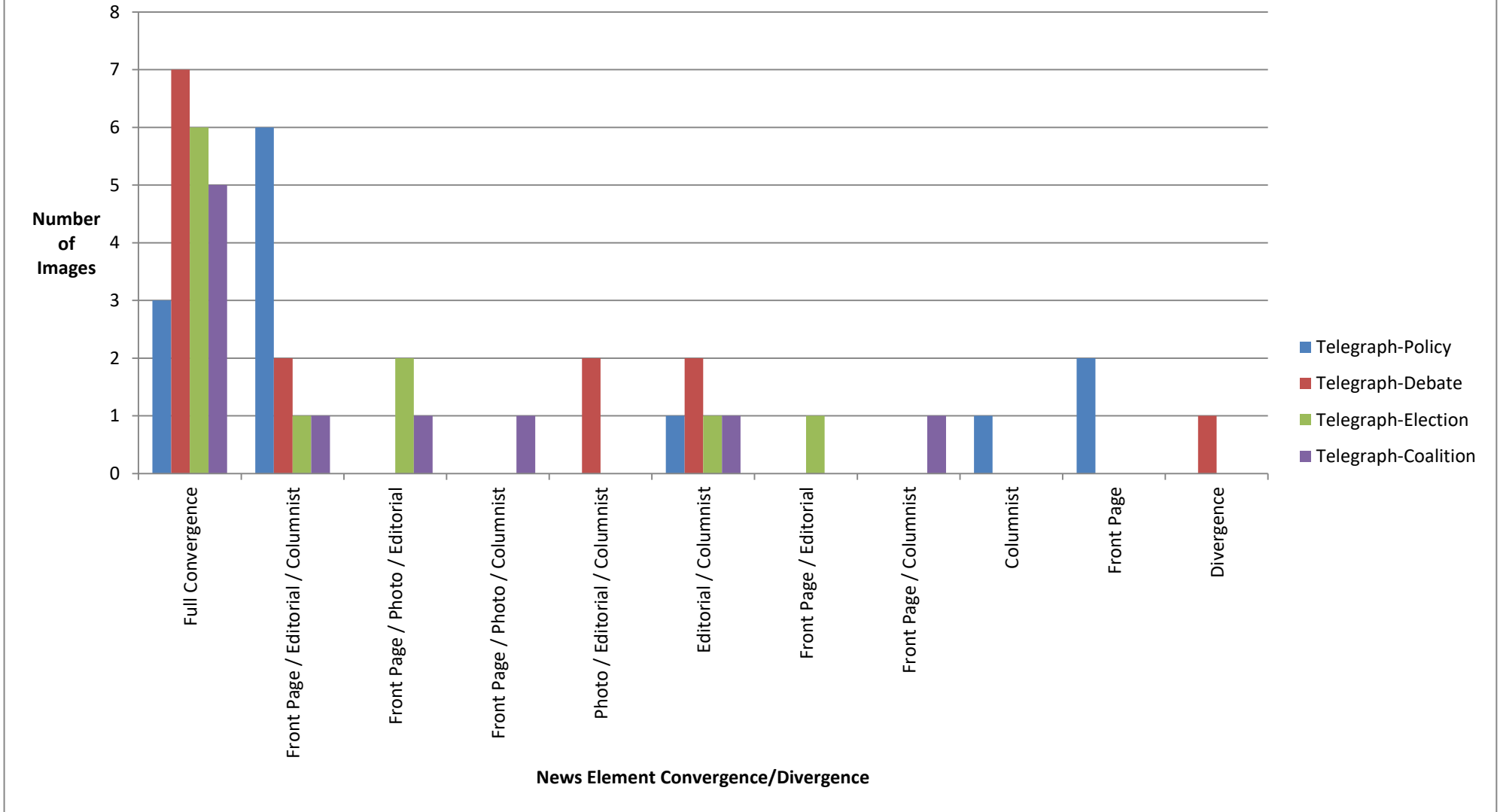
Bar Chart 51: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Guardian/Observer across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases



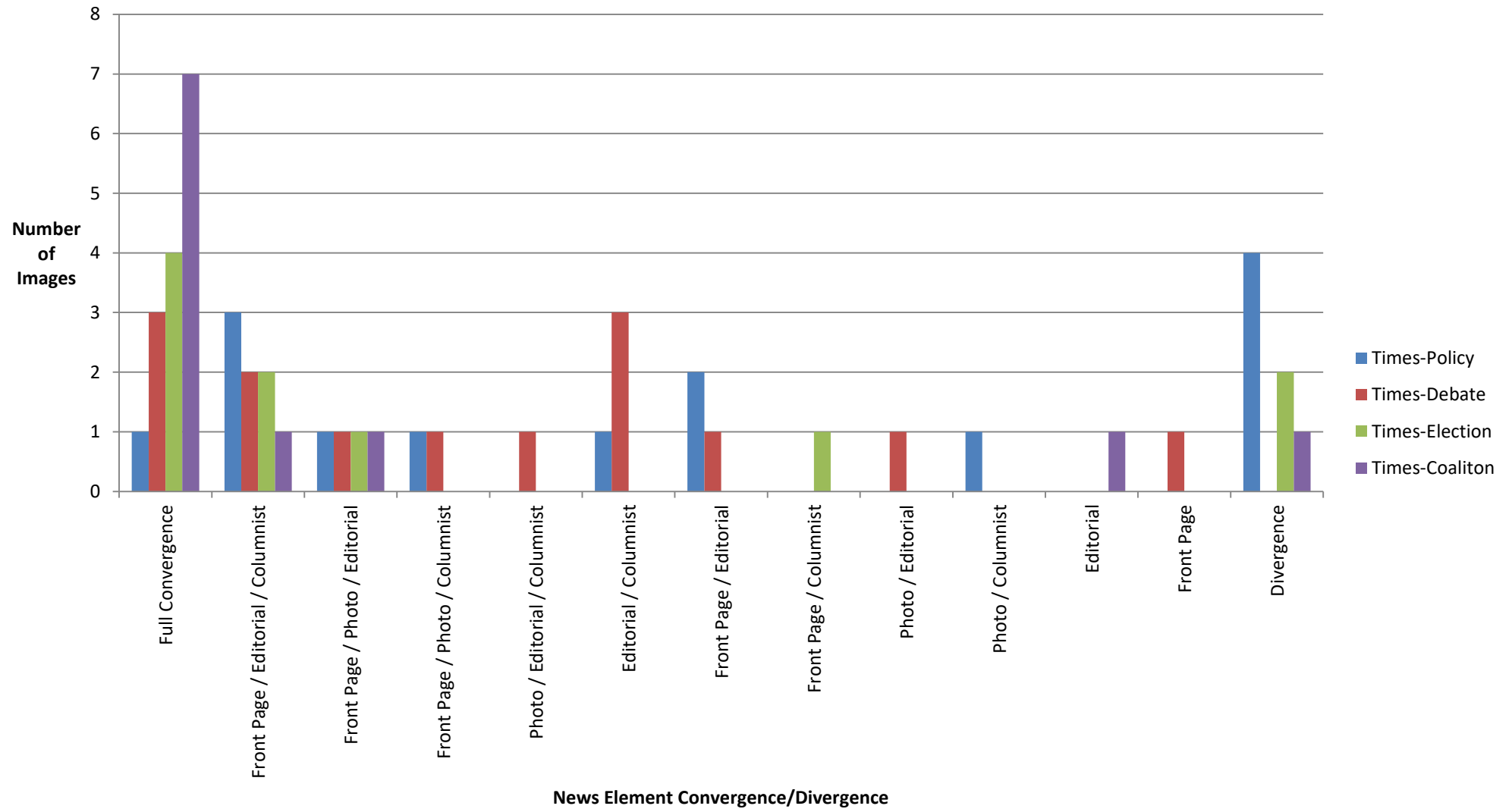
Bar Chart 52: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Independent/Independent on Sunday across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases



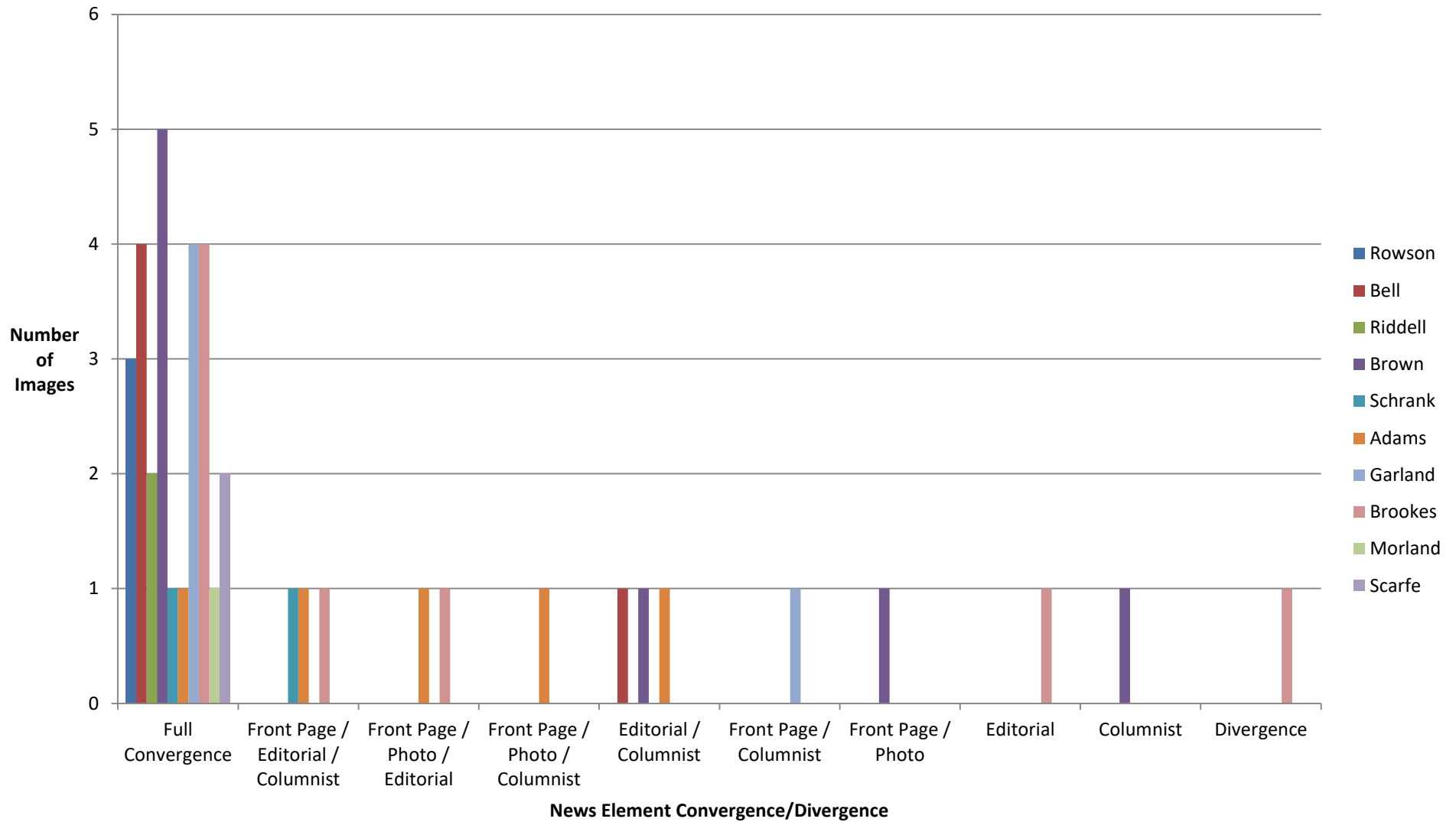
Bar Chart 53: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases

Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases



Bar Chart 54: Comparison of Editorial Cartoon Convergence for Times/Sunday Times across Policy, Debate, Election and Coalition Phases

Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Editorial Cartoonist during Coalition Phase



Bar Chart 55: Breakdown of Editorial Cartoon Convergence/Divergence for Individual Cartoonist during Coalition Phase

CONCLUSION

	Guardian		Independent		Telegraph		Times		Global	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Full Convergence	27	55.1	16	32.65	21	43.75	15	30.61	79	40.51
Front/Editorial/Columnist	9	18.37	1	2.04	10	20.83	8	16.33	28	14.36
Front/Photo/Editorial	2	4.08	1	2.04	3	6.25	4	8.16	10	5.13
Front Page/ Photo/ Columnist	2	4.08	4	8.16	1	2.08	2	4.08	9	4.62
Photo/Editorial/ Columnist	1	2.04	0	0	2	4.17	1	2.04	4	2.05
Editorial/ Columnist	2	4.08	8	16.33	5	10.42	4	8.16	19	9.74
Front Page/ Editorial	0	0	3	6.12	1	2.08	3	6.12	7	3.59
Front Page/ Columnist	3	6.12	2	4.08	1	2.08	1	2.04	7	3.59
Front Page/ Photo	1	2.04	1	2.04	0	0	0	0	2	1.03
Photo/ Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.04	1	0.51
Photo/ Columnist	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.04	1	0.51
Editorial	1	2.04	5	10.2	0	0	1	2.04	7	3.59
Columnist	1	2.04	5	10.2	1	2.08	0	0	7	3.59
Front Page	0	0	0	0	2	4.17	1	2.04	3	1.54
Photo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Divergence	0	0	3	6.12	1	2.08	7	14.29	11	5.64
Reflective of Editorial Content	42	85.71	34	69.39	45	89.58	37	75.51	158	81.02
Reflective of Newspaper Content	49	100	46	93.88	47	97.92	42	85.71	184	94.36
Cartoons Not Reflecting Editorial/ Newspaper Content	0	0	3	6.12	1	2.08	7	14.29	11	5.64

Table 89: Global Areas of Convergence/Divergence between the Editorial Cartoon and the News Elements of Broadsheet Newspapers

	Rowson		Bell		Riddell		Farr		Brown		Scrank		Lubbock		Adams		Daley		Garland		Brookes		Morland		Scarfe	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Full Convergence	9	50.00	12	52.17	5	71.43	1	100.00	14	42.42	2	20.00	0	0.00	12	40.00	1	25.00	8	50.00	9	25.71	2	25.00	4	57.14
Front Page / Editorial / Columnist	5	27.78	3	13.04	1	14.29	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	10.00	0	0.00	6	20.00	0	0.00	4	25.00	4	11.43	1	12.50	3	42.86
Front Page / Photo / Editorial	1	5.56	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	6.67	0	0.00	1	6.25	5	14.29	0	0.00	0	0.00
Front Page / Photo / Columnist	1	5.56	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	12.12	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.33	1	25.00	0	0.00	2	5.71	0	0.00	0	0.00
Photo / Editorial / Columnist	0	0.00	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	6.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00
Editorial / Columnist	0	0.00	2	8.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	12.12	4	40.00	0	0.00	4	13.33	1	25.00	0	0.00	2	5.71	1	12.50	0	0.00
Front Page / Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.03	1	10.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	12.50	3	8.57	0	0.00	0	0.00
Front Page / Columnist	1	5.56	1	4.35	1	14.29	0	0.00	1	3.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	6.25	1	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00
Front Page / Photo	0	0.00	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	6.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	5.71	0	0.00	0	0.00
Photo / Editorial	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Photo / Columnist	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Editorial	0	0.00	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	15.15	1	10.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	5.71	0	0.00	0	0.00
Columnist	1	5.56	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	6.06	1	10.00	0	0.00	1	3.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	12.50	0	0.00
Front Page	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.33	1	25.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Photo	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Divergence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	9.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	11.43	3	37.50	0	0.00
Reflective of Editorial Content	15	75.00	19	82.61	6	85.71	1	100.00	22	57.89	9	90.00	1	100.00	25	83.33	1	25.00	15	93.75	24	68.57	4	50.00	7	100.00
Reflective of Newspaper Content	20	100.00	23	100.00	7	100.00	1	100.00	35	92.10	10	100.00	1	100.00	29	96.66	4	100.00	16	100.00	31	88.57	5	62.50	7	100.00
Cartoons Not Reflecting Editorial/ Newspaper Content	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	7.90	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	12.43	3	37.50	0	0.00

Table 90: Individual Cartoonist Points of Convergence/ Divergence with Host newspaper News Element

Thumbnails of Editorial Cartoons Studied for Thesis

Editorial Cartoons for March 29th 2010



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



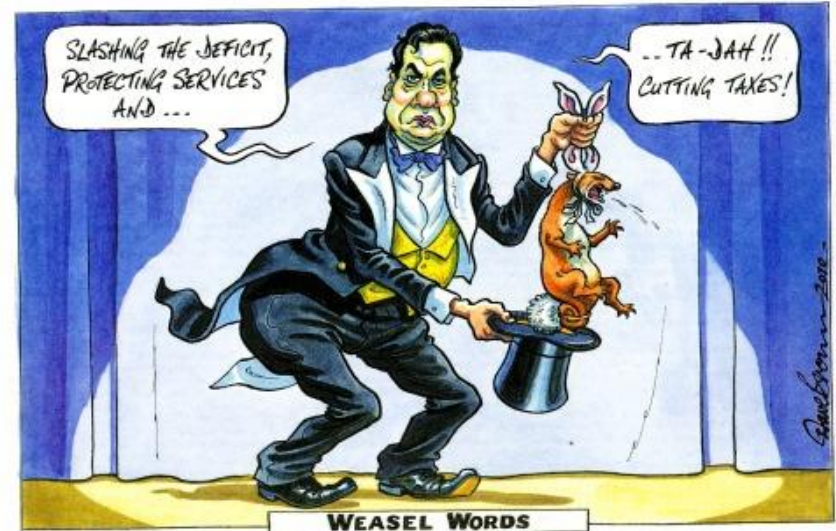
Unittled (Michael Daley, Telegraph)



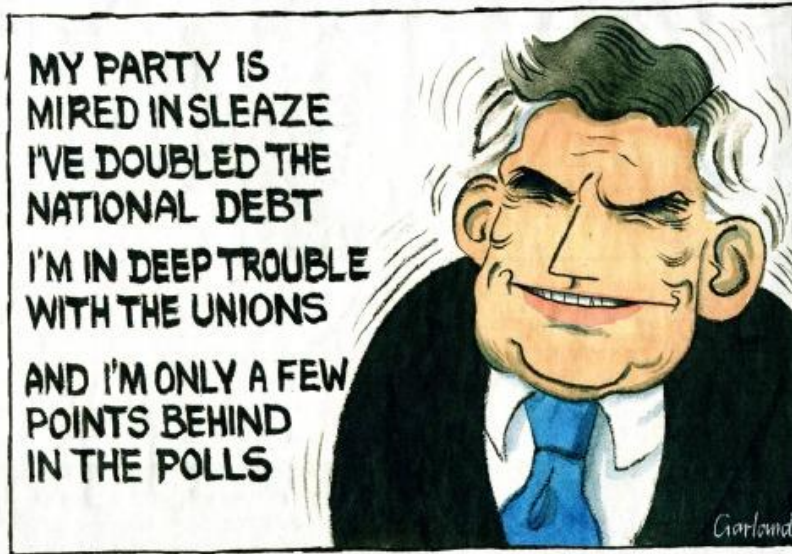
Untitled (Morten Morland, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



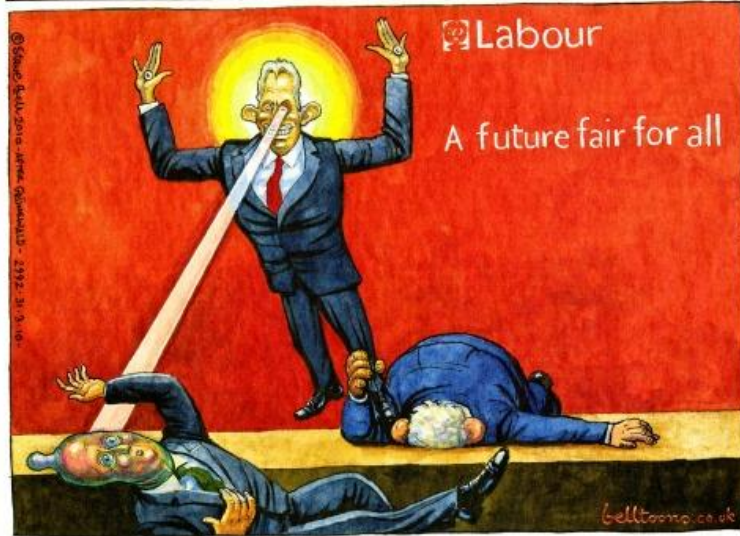
Weasel Words (Dave Brown, Independent)



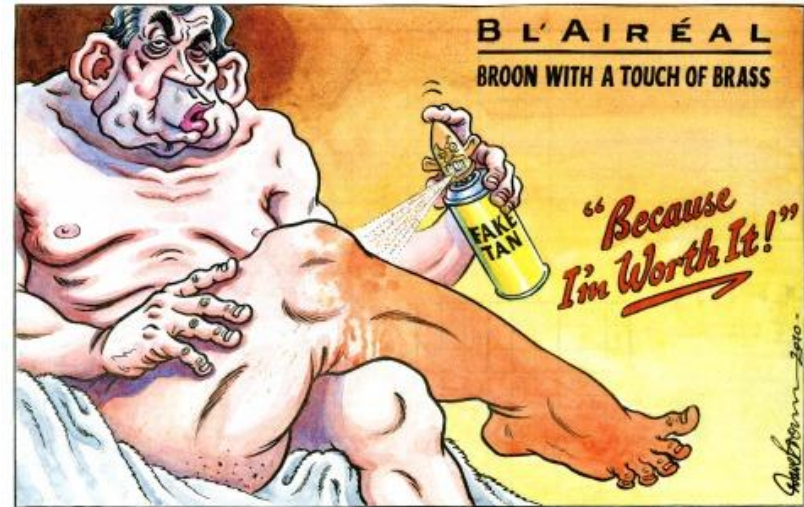
Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



The Great Debate...(Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



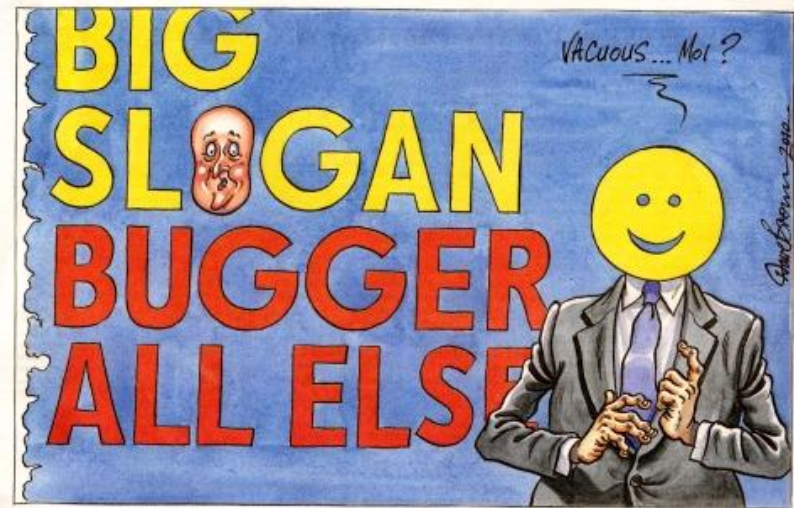
There is Nothing You Could Ever Say... (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



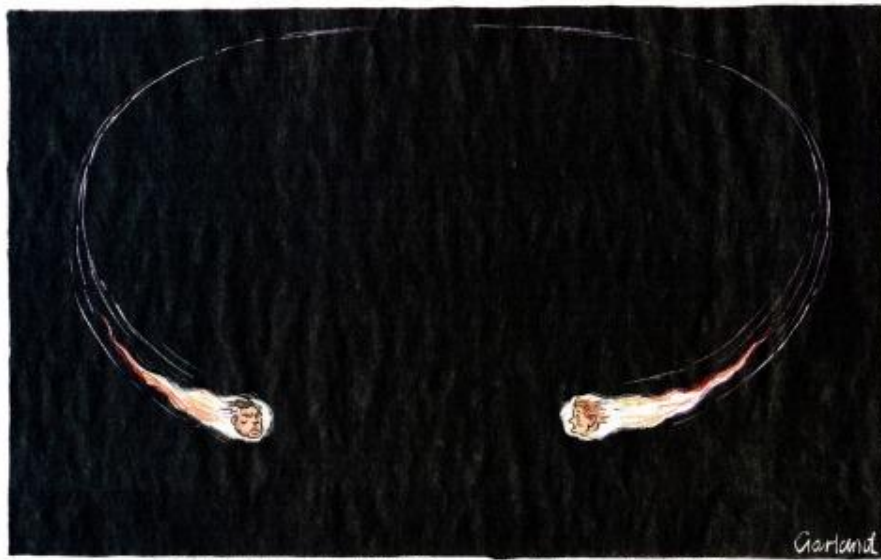
Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



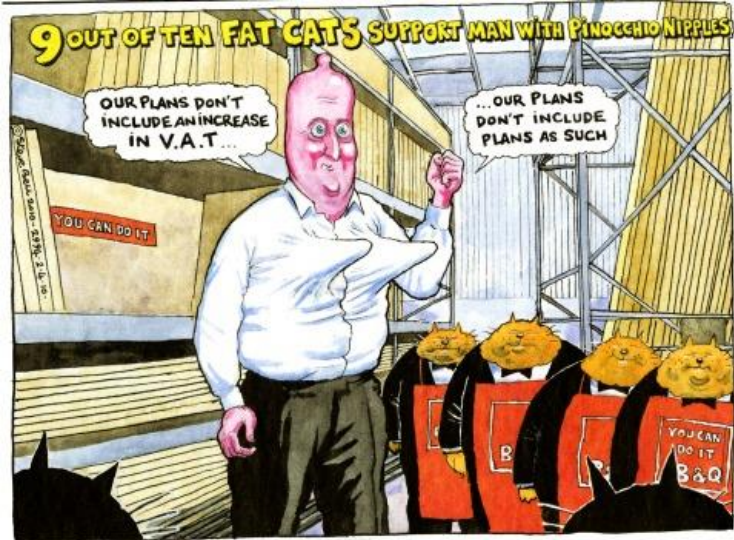
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Collider Up and Running...(Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



9 Out of Ten Fat Cats (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)

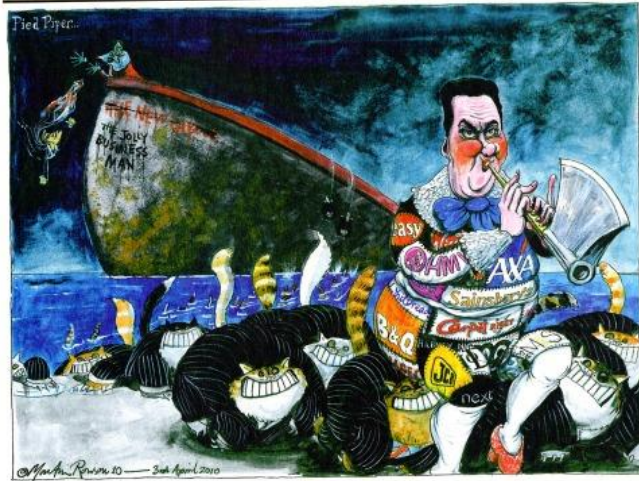


Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)

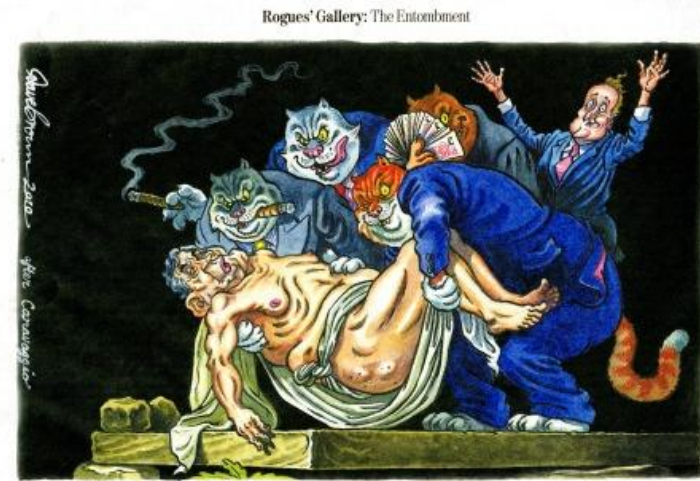


Untitled (Morten Morland, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 3rd 2010



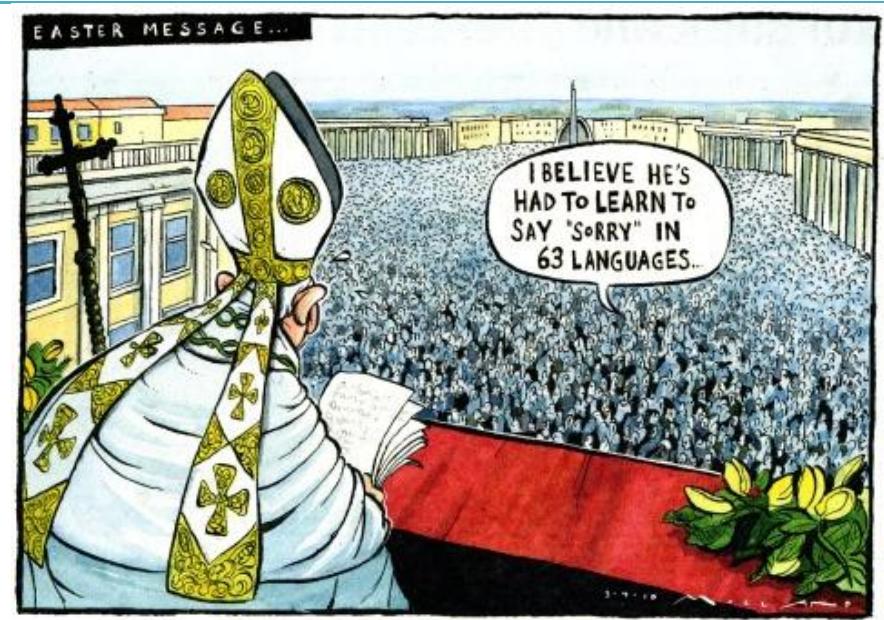
Pied Piper (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Rogues' Gallery-The Entombment (Dave Brown, Independent)



Easter Egg Hunt (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



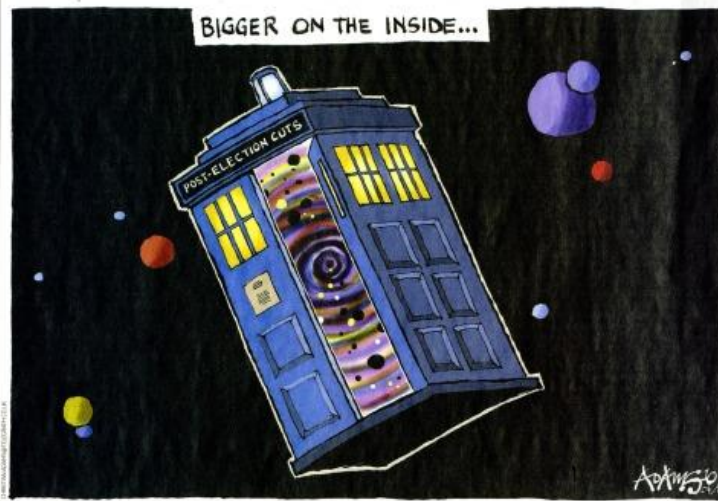
Easter Message... (Morten Morland, Times)



Untitled (Chris Riddell, Observer)



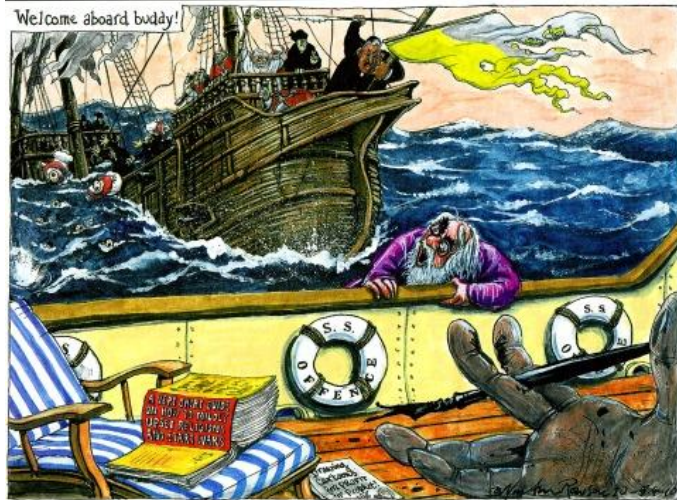
Surprise, Surprise (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)



Bigger on the Inside... (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



Ready for the Off (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)



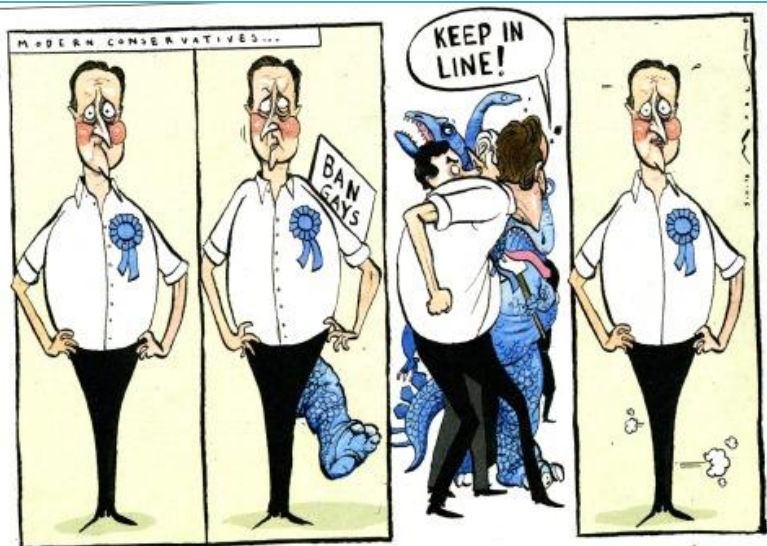
Welcome Aboard Buddy! (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



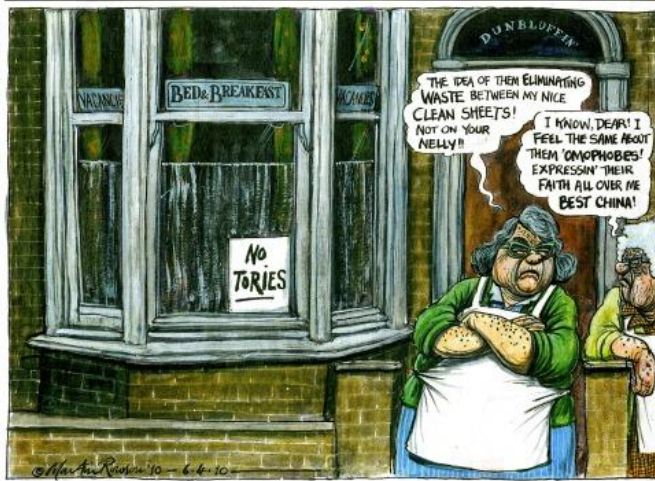
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



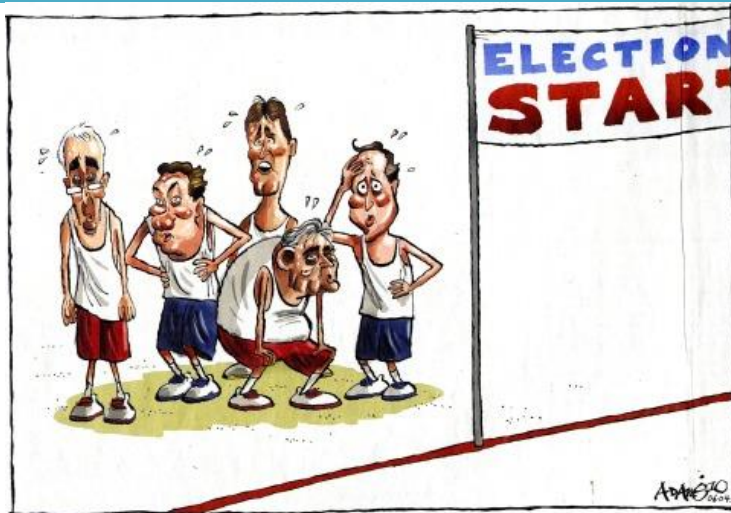
Modern Conservatives... (Morten Morland, Times)



Untitled (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Democracy in Action... (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 7th 2010



Comix Update... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



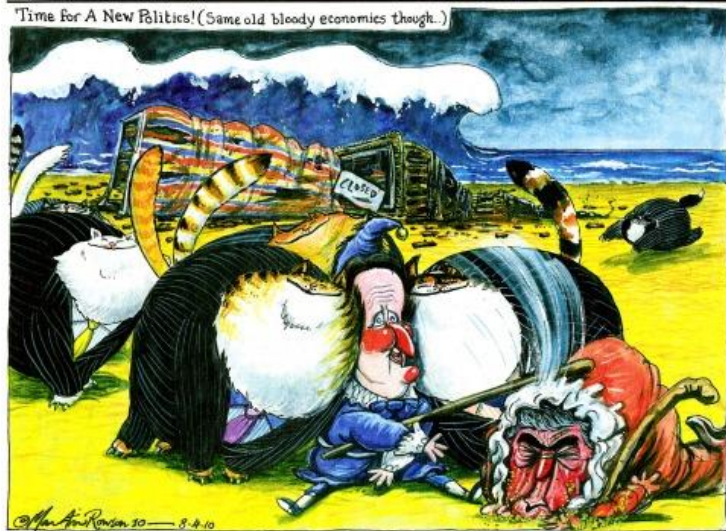
...And They're Off! (Dave Brown, Independent)



Stuffed? (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Time for a New Politics!... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Mating Ritual... (Dave Brown, Independent)

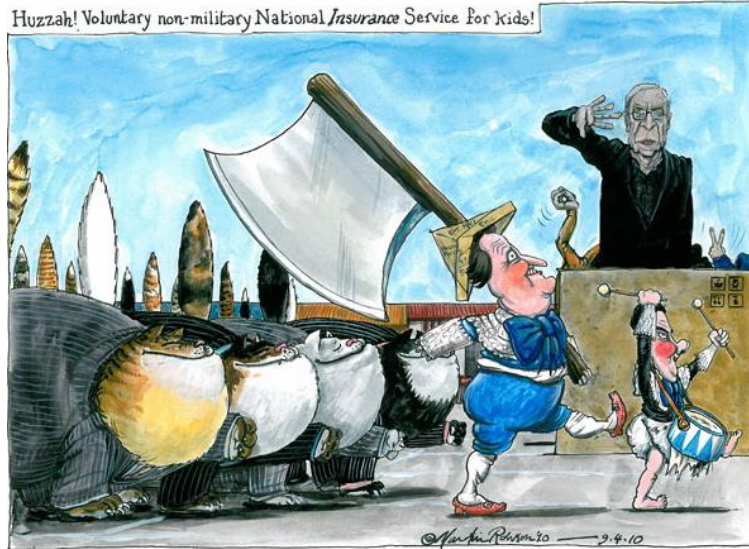


The Great Ignored (Christian Adams, Telegraph)

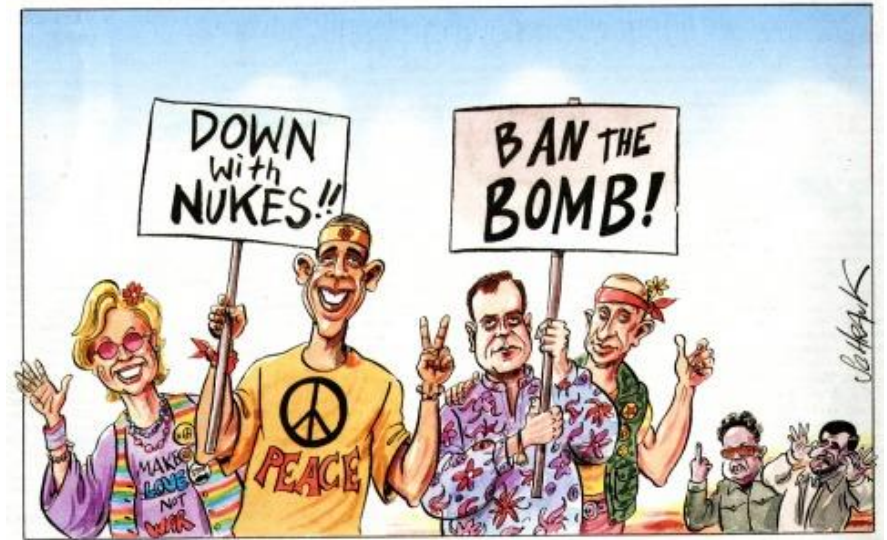


Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 9th 2010



Huzzah!... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Poll Dancer... (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 10th 2010



Untitled (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Tom Lubbock, Independent)



God Save Us All (Christian Adams, Telegraph)

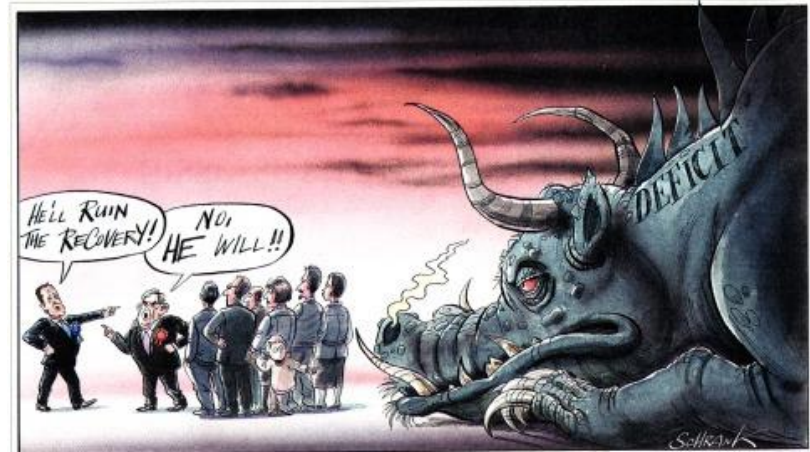


Nature Notes-The Great Iguanored (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 11th 2010



Untitled (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)



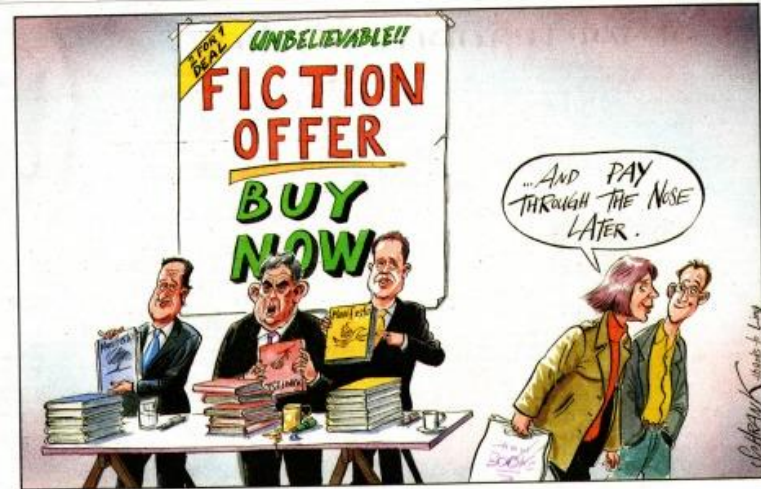
"Civil" Partnership (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



The Debate Begins (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)



It's Ma-a-aa-anifesto Time!(Martin Rowson, Guardian)



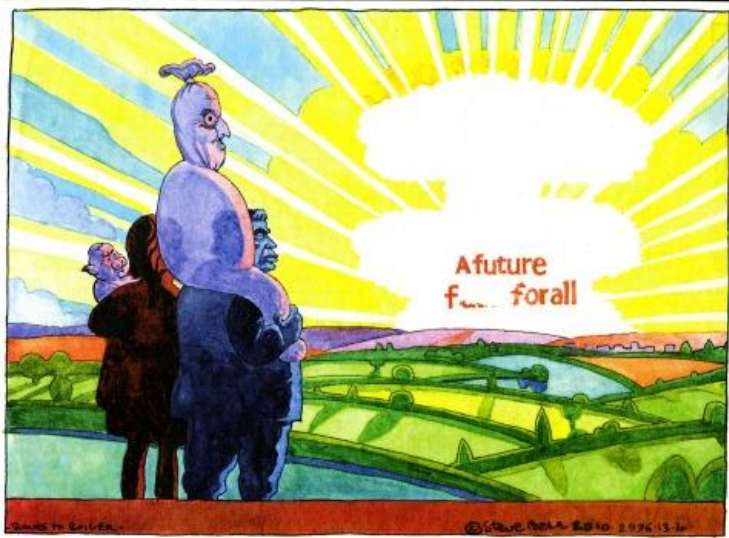
Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent)



Untitled (Michael Daley, Telegraph)



Teed Off... (Morten Morland, Times)



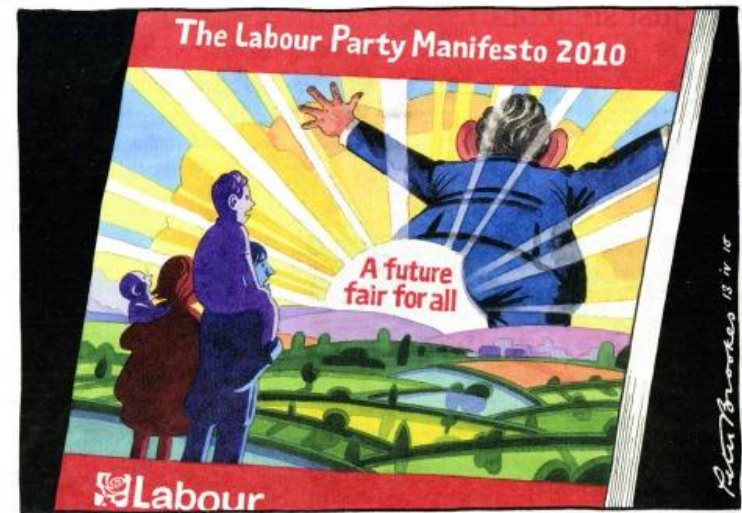
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



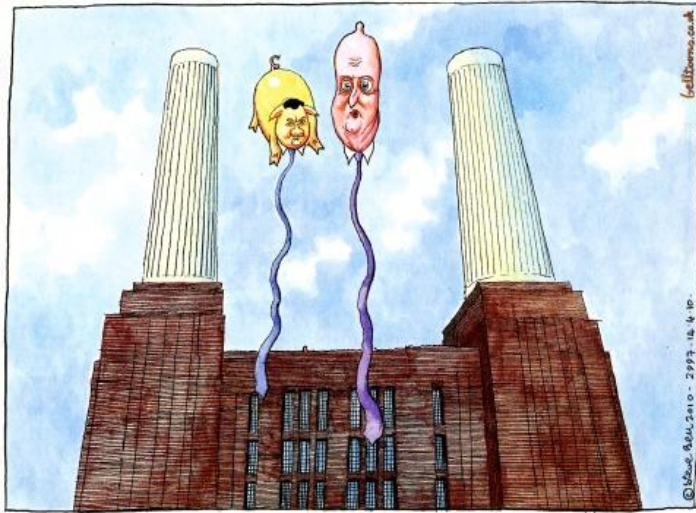
Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



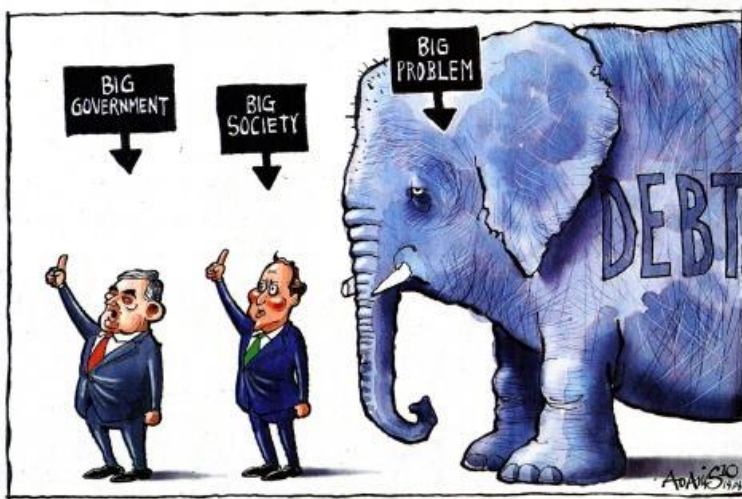
Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



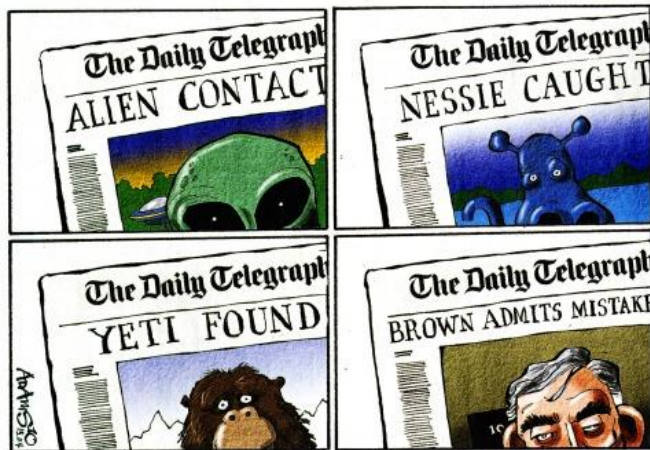
Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



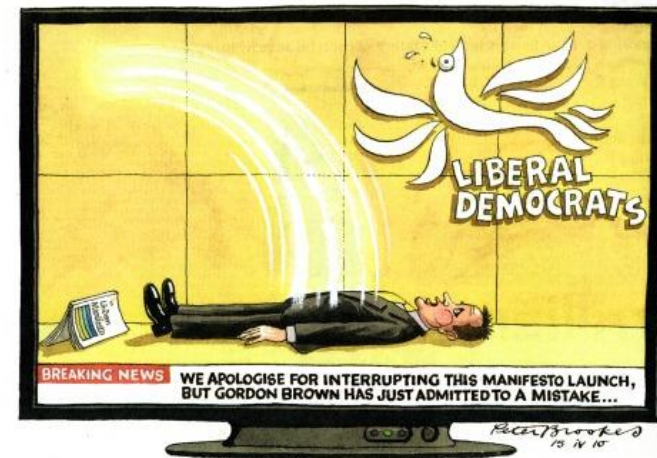
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



The Launch... (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



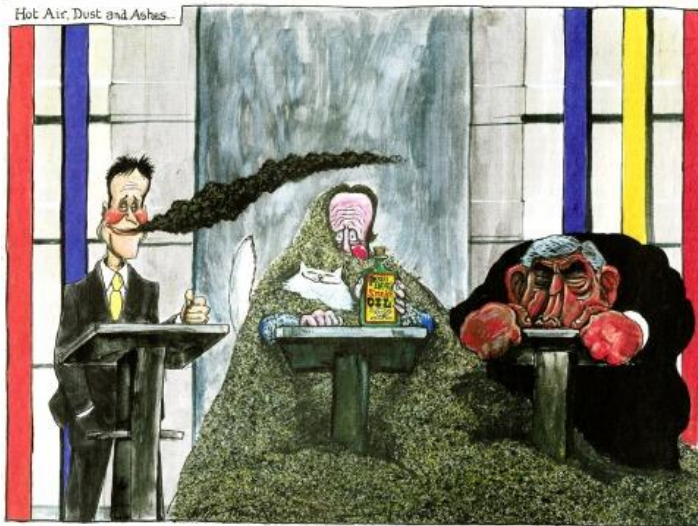
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



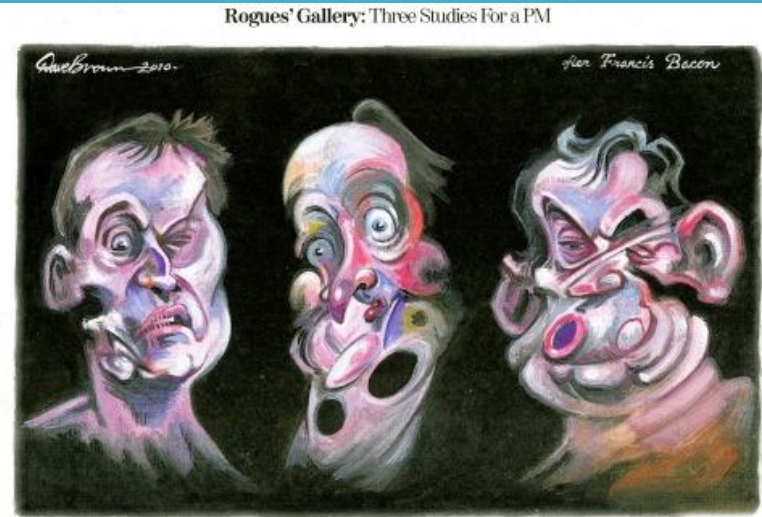
Eruption Smothers Britain (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



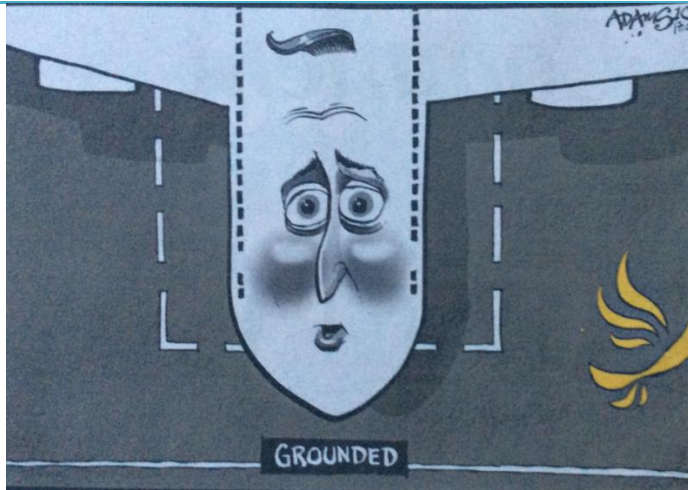
Obvious Hot Air Metaphor, Too Good to Miss...(Peter Brookes, Times)



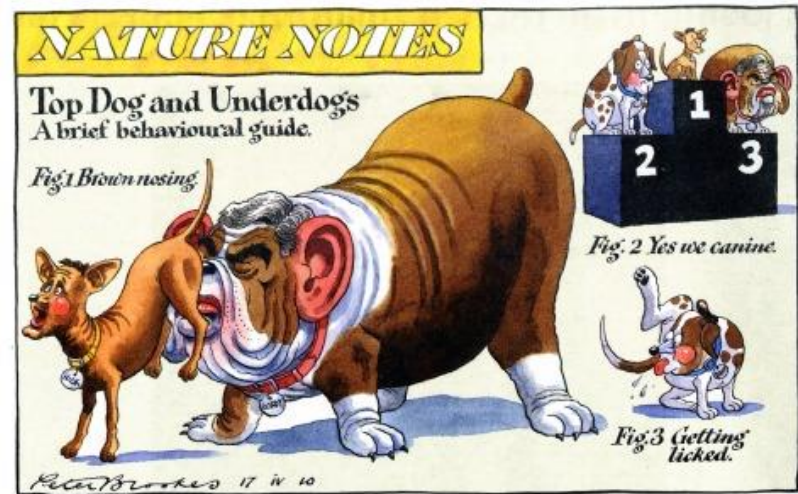
Hot Air, Dust and Ashes (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Rogue's Gallery-Three Studies for a PM (Dave Brown, Independent)



Grounded (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Nature Notes-Top Dogs and Underdogs (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 18th 2010



Untitled (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)



Clear Skies! (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



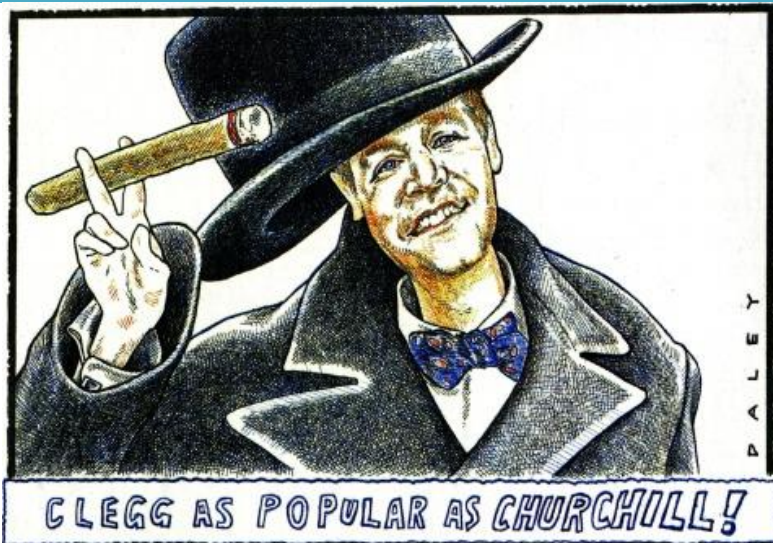
One Still Flying (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)



When You Wish Upon a Star (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Clegg as Popular as Churchill! (Michael Daley, Telegraph)



Untitled (Morten Morland, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 20th 2010



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



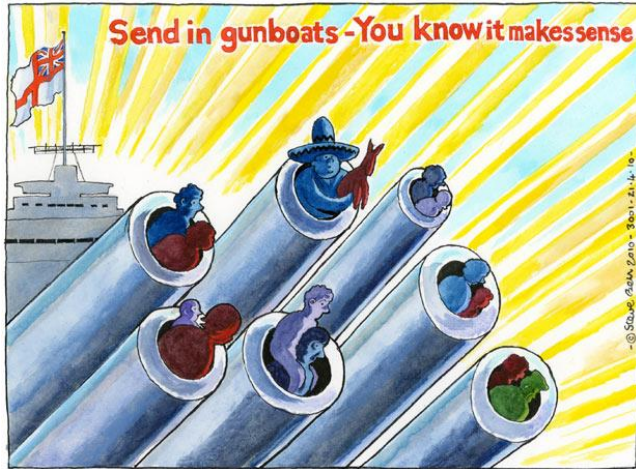
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Ingenuity...(Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Ingenuity...(Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Eyjafjalljokameron...(Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for April 23rd 2010



That Crazy Old Tory Press... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



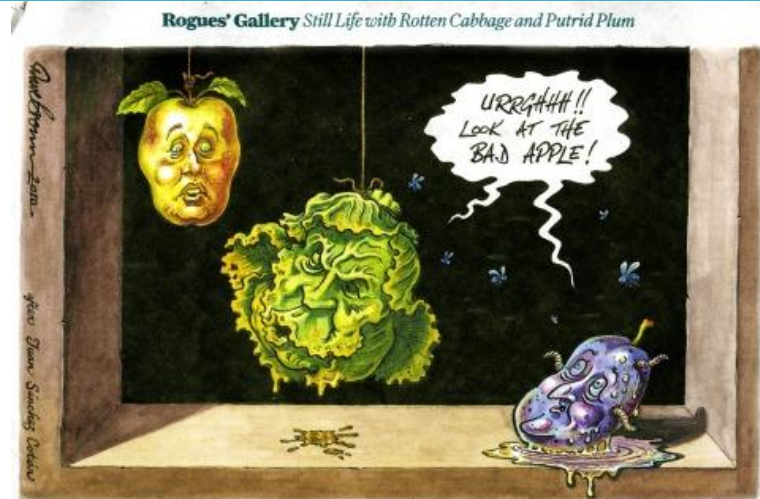
Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



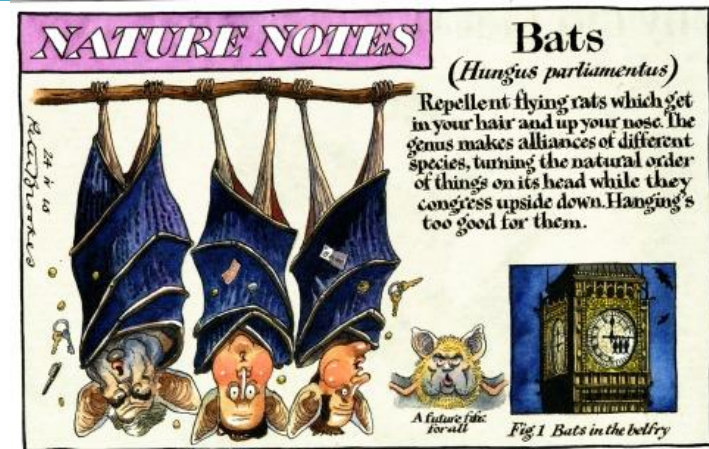
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Rogues' Gallery-Still Life with Rotten Cabbage & Putrid Plum (Dave Brown, Independent)



We're Not in Kansas Anymore... (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



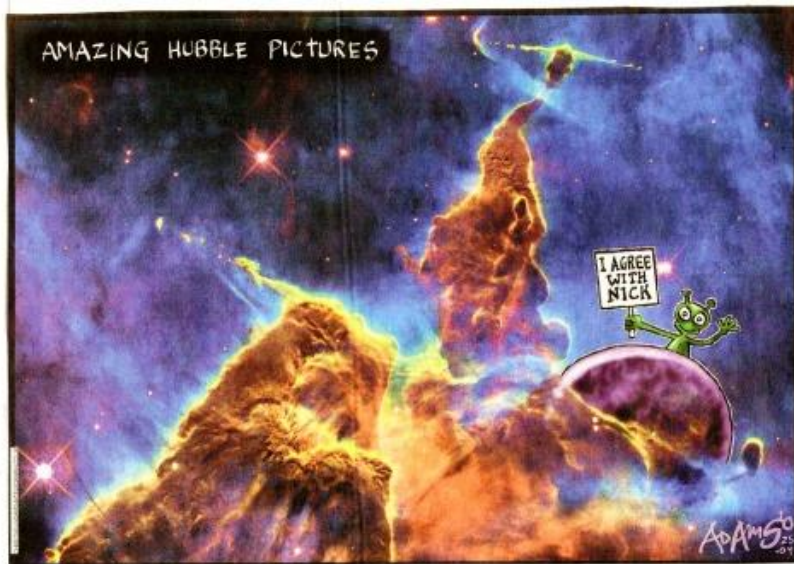
Nature Notes-Bats (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)

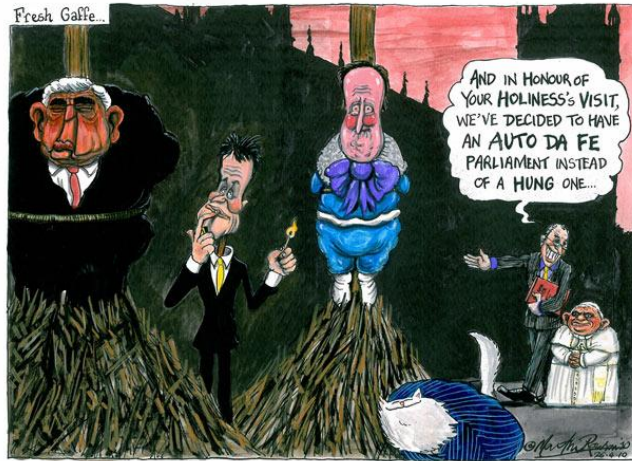


Amazing Hubble Pictures (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



Kiss of Life (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)

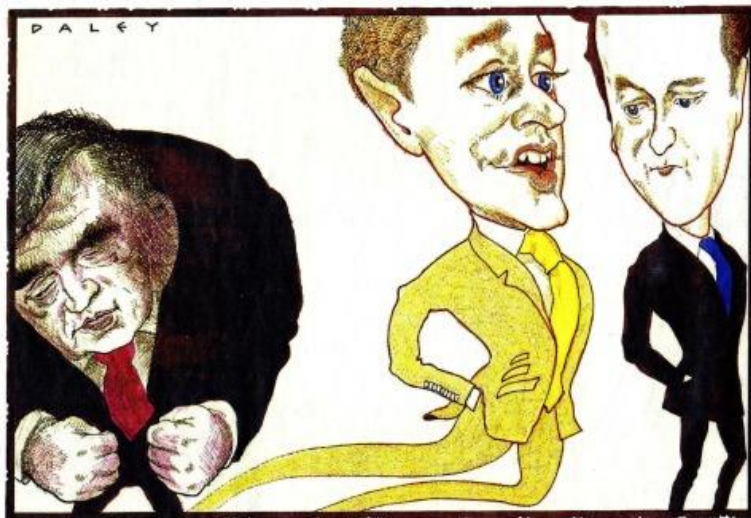
Editorial Cartoons for April 26th 2010



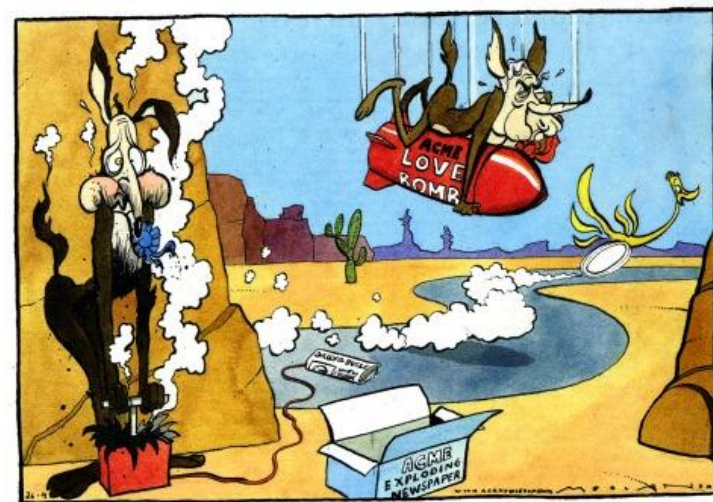
Fresh Gaffe (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



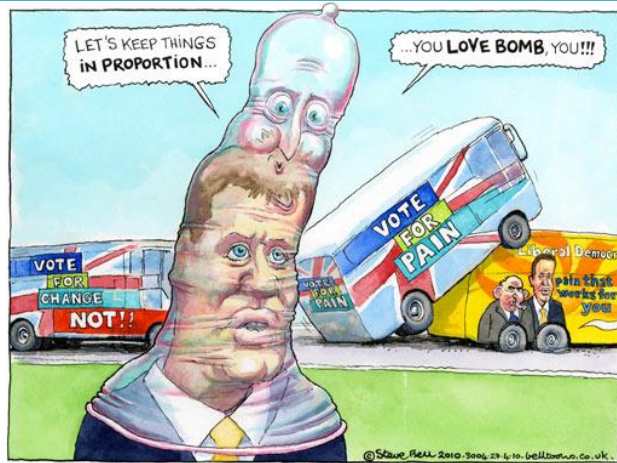
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Michael Daley, Telegraph)



Untitled (Morten Morland, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



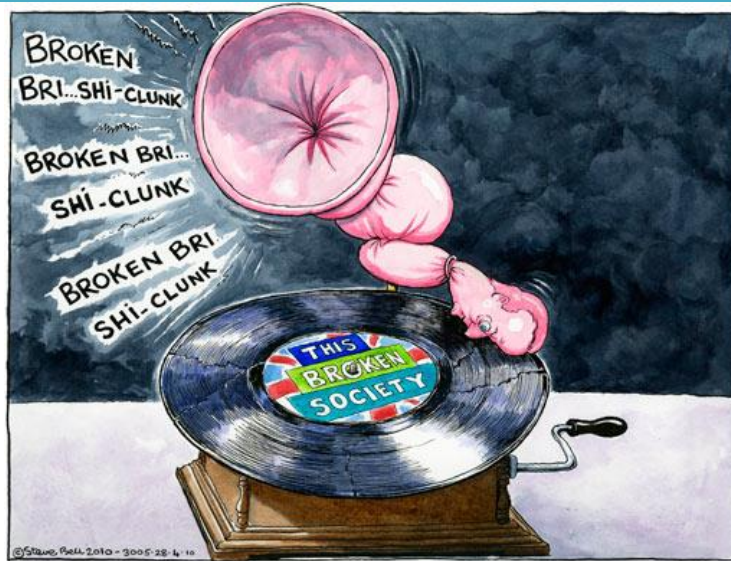
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



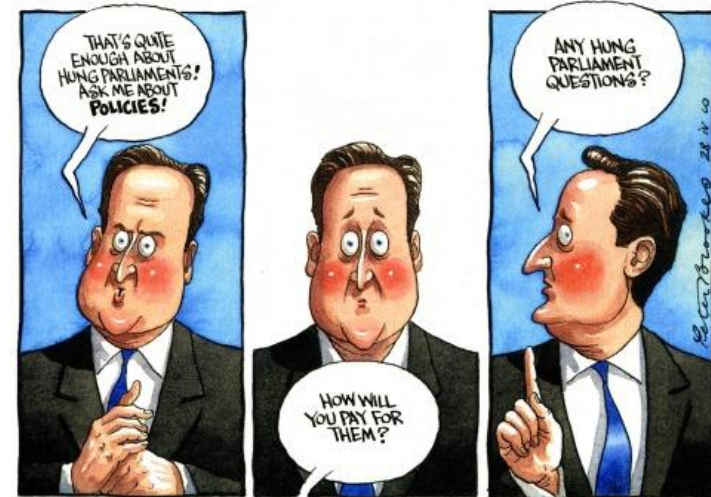
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Here Be Monsters (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



CLUNKING FOOT

Clunking Foot (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



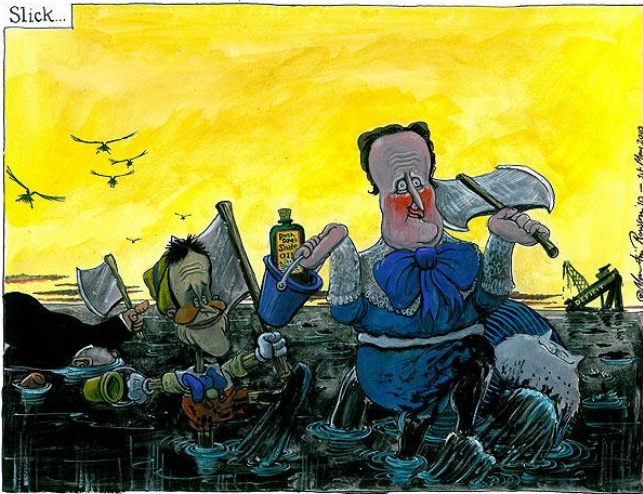
"MAY I ONCE AGAIN APOLOGISE IF - BECAUSE OF WHAT HAPPENED YESTERDAY - ANYONE GOT HURT."

May I Once Again Apologise If... (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)

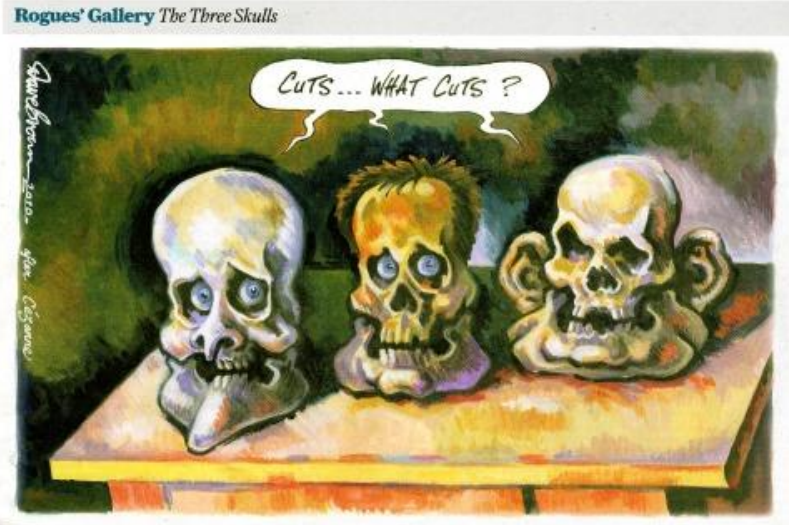


Lennon's 'A Day in the Life' Lyrics for Sale... (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for May 1st 2010



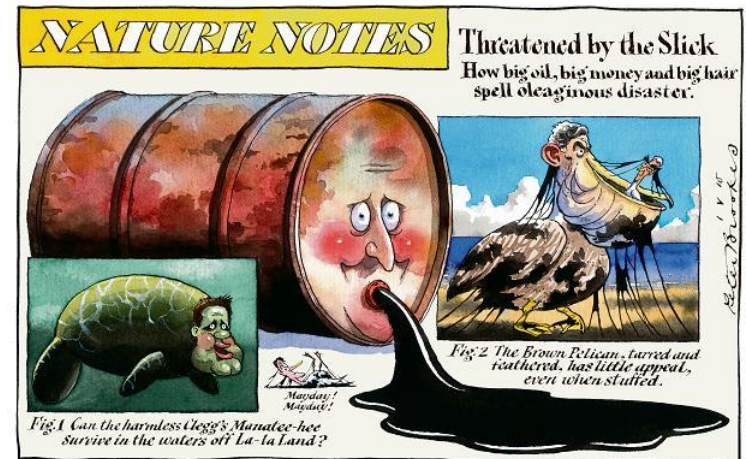
Slick... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Rogues' Gallery-The Three Skulls (Dave Brown, Independent)



Slick Reaches Coast (Christian Adams, Telegraph)

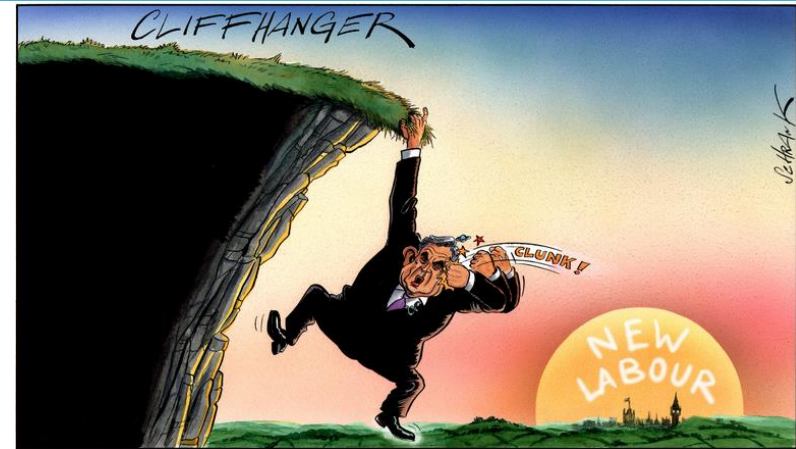


Nature Notes-Threatened by the Slick (Peter Brookes, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for May 2nd



The Bungle Book (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Cliffhanger (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)

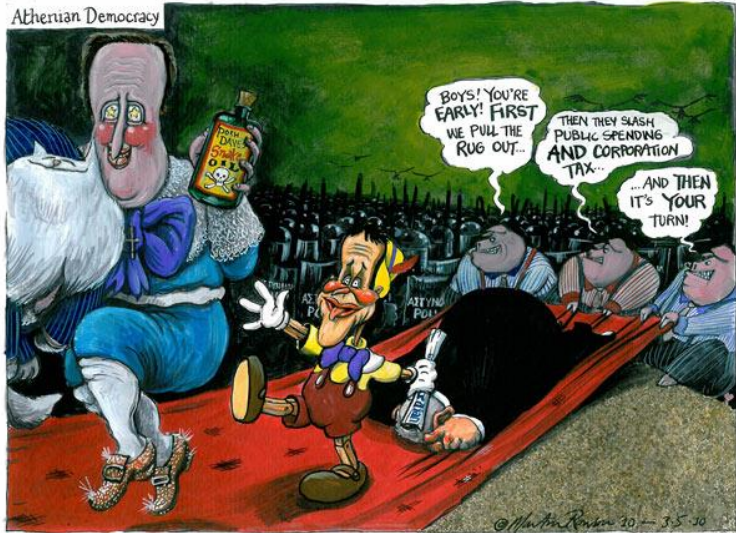


Untitled (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



The Voters' Choice (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)

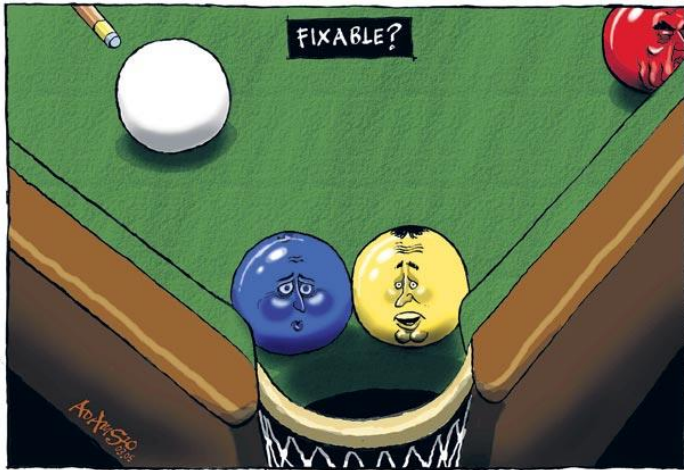
Editorial Cartoons for May 3rd 2010



Athenian Democracy (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Snookered... (Dave Brown, Independent)



Fixable? (Christian Adams, Telegraph)

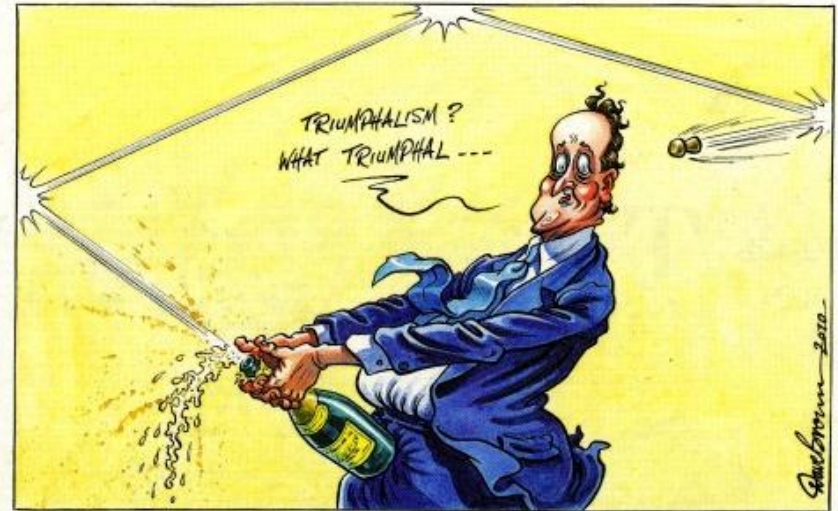


Trying to Defuse Amateurish Explosive Device...(Morten Morland, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for May 4th 2010



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



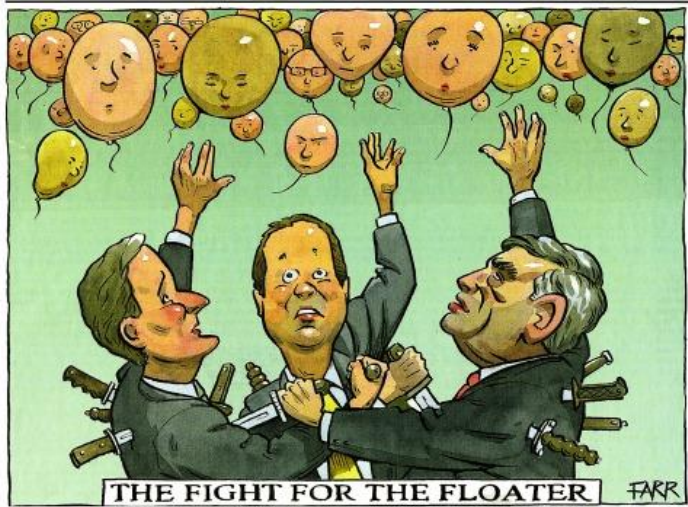
Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



"Mine!" (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Post-Election Scenarios #27 (Peter Brookes, Times)



The Fight for the Floater (Nicholas Farr, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Britannia before Death and the Doctors (Dave Brown, Independent)



Dropping the Pilot (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



Untitled/In a Grim Week, Some Joy... (both Peter Brookes, Times)





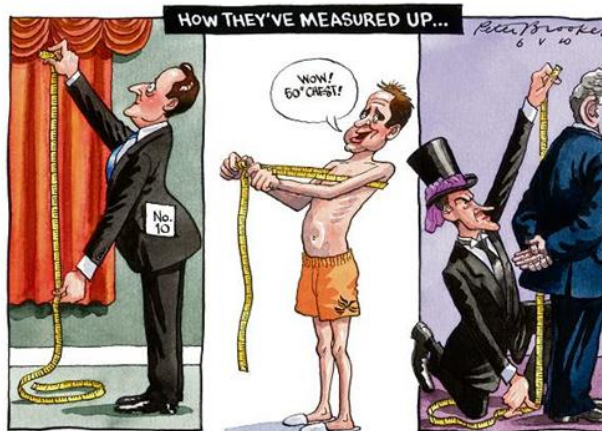
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)

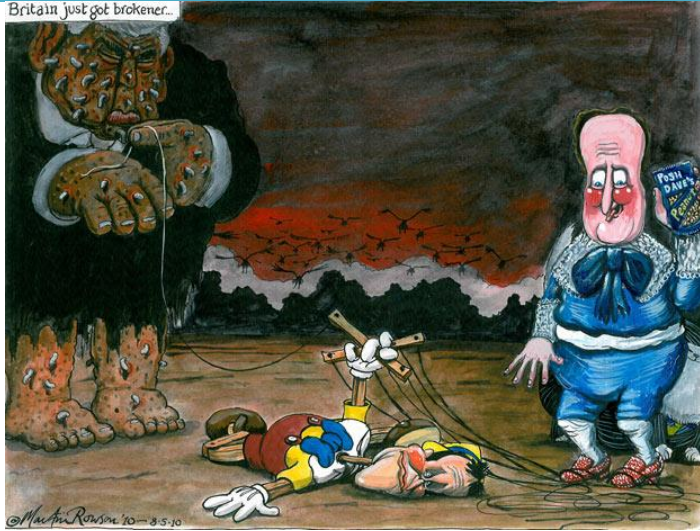


How They've Measured Up.../Under Starters Orders... (both Peter Brookes, Times)



Editorial Cartoons for May 8th 2010

Britain just got brokener...



Britain just got Brokener... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)

Rogues' Gallery Hung Parliament



Rogues' Gallery-Hung Parliament (Dave Brown, Independent)



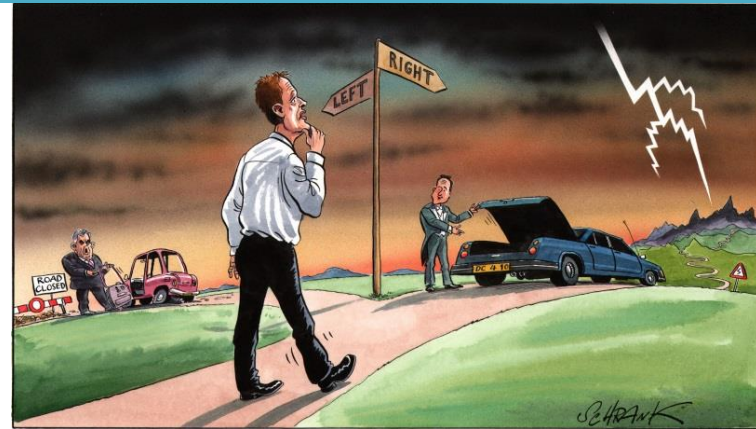
The People have Spoken (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Hung Parliament Yesterday... (Peter Brookes, Times)



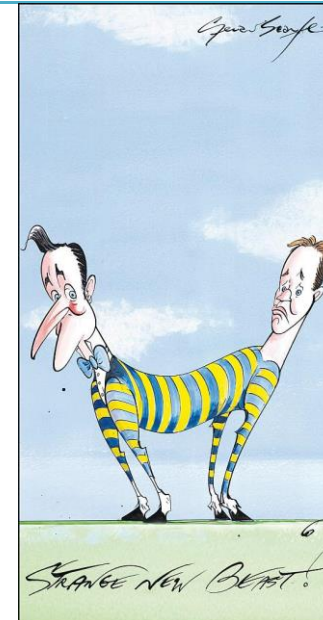
Untitled (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)



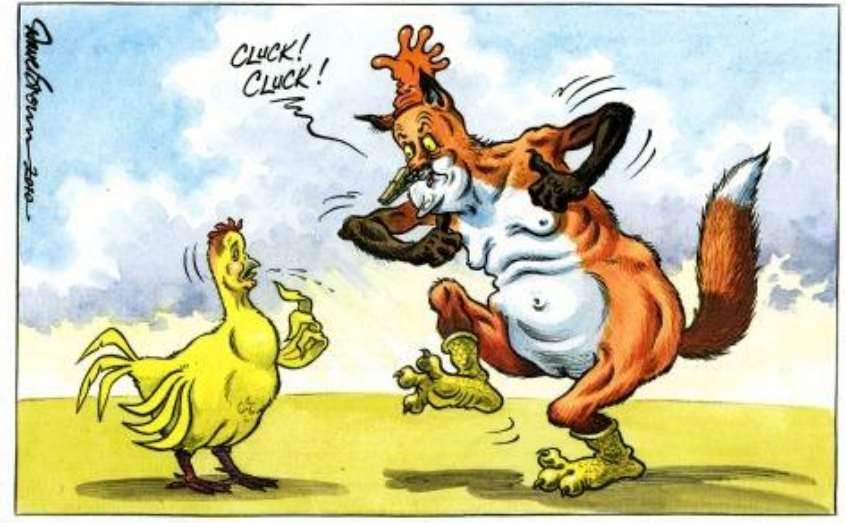
Dress your new Cabinet Minister! (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



Strange New Beast? (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)



Untitled (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Stability (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Untitled (Morten Morland, Times)

Editorial Cartoons for May 11th 2010



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



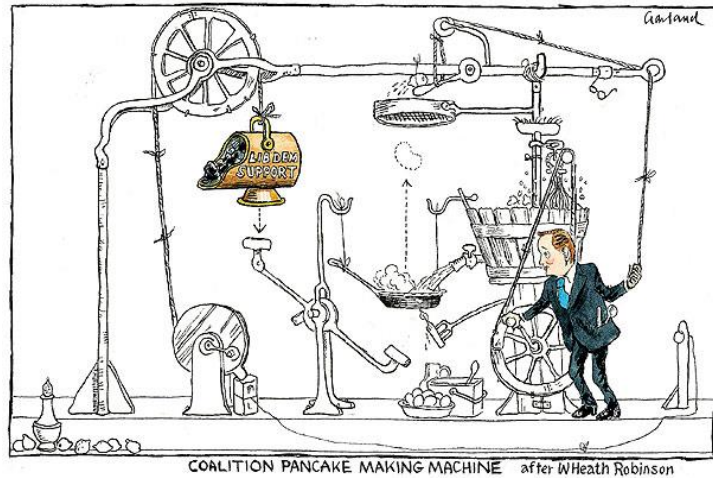
Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



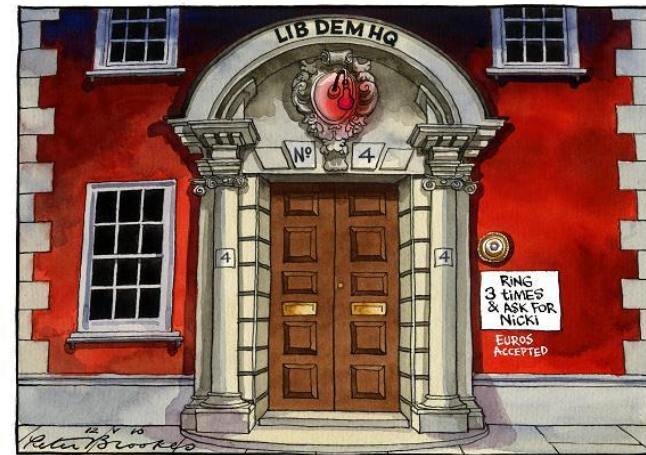
Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Somewhere Under the Rainbow...(Dave Brown, Independent)



Coalition Pancake Making Machine (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



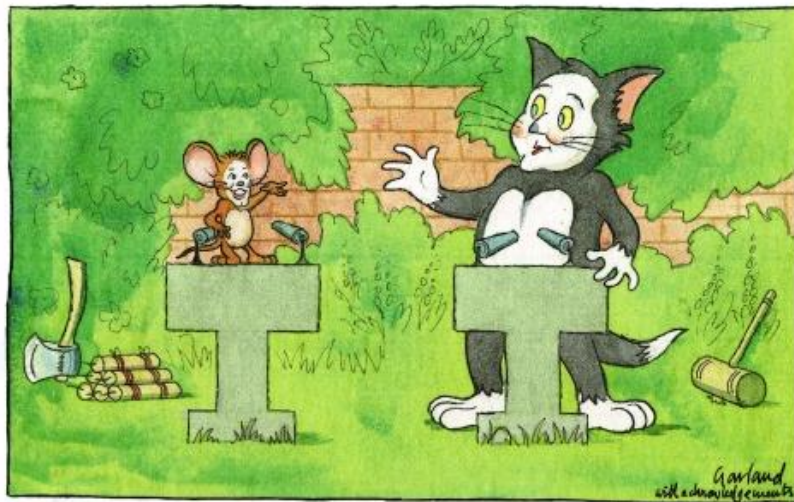
Untitled (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)



Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



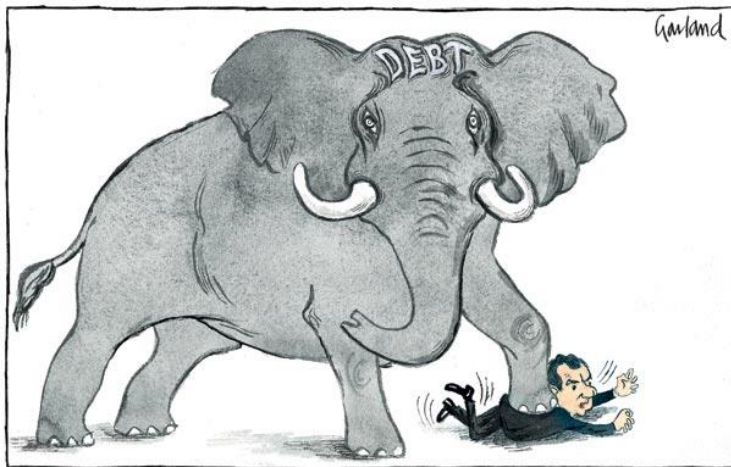
The New Politics... (Peter Brookes, Times)



Untitled (Steve Bell, Guardian)

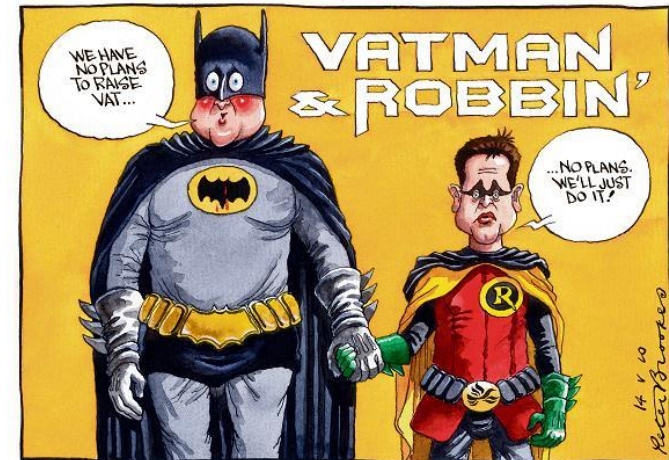


Untitled (Dave Brown, Independent)



THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM

The Elephant in the Room (Nicholas Garland, Telegraph)



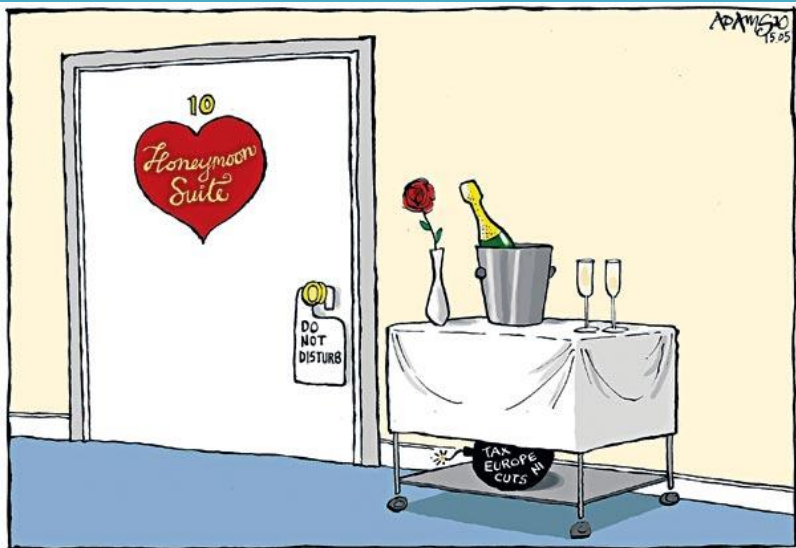
Vatman & Robbin' (Peter Brookes, Times)



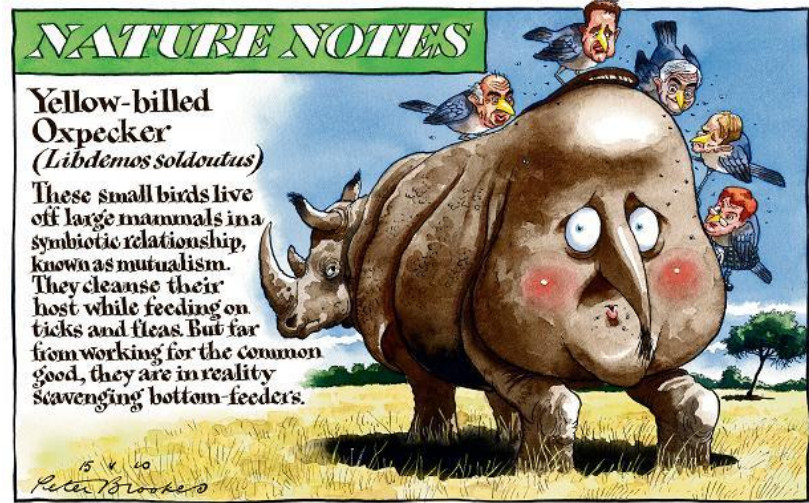
Lock In... (Martin Rowson, Guardian)



Rogues' Gallery-Boy with a Pet Bird (Dave Brown, Independent)



Untitled (Christian Adams, Telegraph)



Nature Notes-Yellow-billed Oxpecker (Peter Brookes, Times)



The Pantomime Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Chris Riddell, Observer)



Untitled (Peter Schrank, Independent on Sunday)



New Labour in Tryptych (Christian Adams, Sunday Telegraph)



How Long Before We're Back to Punch & Judy Politics? (Gerald Scarfe, Sunday Times)