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# **Caricature Images for Religious Profiling: A Multimodal Analysis of Islamophobia in Selected Press Images**

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## **Abstract**

The problem of religious profiling and the increase of animosity, exclusion and maltreatment of Muslim minorities in the West have reached an unprecedented level in a community where racism and segregation are usually denounced. The paper investigates the concept of Islamophobia as presented in 25 selected caricature images, along with their accompanying texts, chosen from magazines and specialized cartoon websites. Multimodality and its related analytic tools are utilized for making explicit the interactive messages encoded within these caricature images. The theoretical framework upon which this study is conducted incorporates Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions, and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) adaptation of them for the analysis of images and their captions.

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## **1. Introduction**

Due to the rapid technological and social changes, language is no longer viewed as the sole mode of communication. Moreover, in order to arrive at a more accurate analysis, the integration of various modes in a particular genre for meaning-making should be taken into consideration. The concept of multimodality and the rising trend to multimodal analysis emerged in the early 1970s with the works of Roland Barthes and Christian Metz. Understanding cartoons as a genre and having the ability to read its visual grammar is not as easy as it might appear. El Refaie and Horschelmann (2010, 195) believe that "there is a growing evidence that reading cartoons is, in fact, a highly complex process that requires people to draw on a whole range of different literacies". The tendency to eradicate multimodality illiteracy was initiated by several linguists. Jewitt and Kress (2003) promoted multimodal literacy education. Similarly, Kleeman (2006, 144), who examines the utilization of cartoons as an instructional tool, asserts that cartoons enable students to "identify bias and formulate opinions". Moreover, El Refaie and Horschelmann (2010) study the degree of multimodal literacy that young adults possess when they come to interpret political cartoons. They found out that young people are

able to provide a correct interpretation of cartoons, first, if they have the ability to identify the real-life referent to which the fictitious cartoon alludes, second, if they can follow the narrative embodied in the cartoon image and finally, if they understand the intertextual referents. On the other hand, Bazalgette and Buckingham (2013, 95) criticise both the theory of multimodality and its application for the development of children's curriculum.

Within the multimodal approach, communication modes include images, gaze, sounds, symbols, space, hand-arm movements along with language. Any communication mode is affected by cultural, historical, ideological and social background. Baldry and Thibault refer to the combination of these modes or resources as "resource integration". In their comprehensive work *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis*, they investigate the organizational patterns adopted in various fields, such as TV advertisements, sequential cartoons and leaflets, and they come to the conclusion that "different semiotic modalities adopt different organizational principles for creating meaning" (2006, 4)

Caricatures or cartoon drawings encapsulate several messages within one single image, and as such, they are considered as a semiotic mode for meaning-making. Caricature producers attempt to present the objects in terms of their minimal defining characteristics. The terms *cartoon* and *caricature* are used interchangeably in this paper since the majority of the images analysed are a sarcastic representation of male and female Muslims and their prophet. Being a form of communication, caricature drawings are viewed as a genre, which conveys a relation between the general public, on the one hand, and the knowledgeable, resourceful, professional producer, on the other. Caricatures can even be viewed as a form of discourse. Kress (2014, 36) asserts that "In MMDA the textual 'threads' are many and they are materially diverse: *gesture, speech, image* (still or moving), *writing, music* (on a website or in a film). These, as well as three-dimensional entities, can be drawn into one textual/semiotic whole". As a means of foregrounding specific social or religious values and political views, caricatures mostly rely on verbal and visual ways to communicate messages. Verbal messages are in the form of bubble talks and/or captions. Such linguistic and visual features are combined to present "one single multimodal communicative act, in which image and text blend like instruments in an orchestra" (Van Leeuwen 2005, 121).

Similar to texts, caricature drawings are proven to be instances of social meaning that have their own situational context. They cannot be recognized as meaningful if examined in isolation, but, as Halliday asserts, "always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said (or expressed through drawings) derive their meaning" (1978, 28). Caricature images represent what Van Leeuwen termed "semiotic resource", used as a means of visual communication to construct representation of what is going on in the world, and the meanings communicated by these caricatures is what is termed as "semiotic potential", used to stereotype, persuade, provoke or

prejudice an idea or a belief (2005, 3). Kress and Van Leeuwen assert that “Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual ‘grammar’ will describe the way in which depicted elements – people, places and things – combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension” (1996, 1).

Political cartooning has come into existence since American cartoonist Benjamin Franklin published his famous cartoon “Join or die” in 1754 (West, 2014). Political cartoons have been studied by several scholars, such as Conners (2007), who states that cartoons or caricatures utilize certain tools for their production, such as character traits, situational themes, literary or cultural allusions. In their analysis of elements of graphic persuasion as embodied in political cartoons, Medhurst and Desousa (1981, 199) adopt a psychoanalytical, sociological and communicative approach. They argue that “The cartoonist must discover or invent content, arrange that content for specific effect, and stylize the presentation by conscious application of the artistic principles inherent in the medium”. They add that contrast, contradictory and commentary are techniques adopted by cartoonists for their creation. Through contrast, the cartoonist provides the viewers with two choices and they make their own decision based on their predisposition. With contradiction, viewers are directed to distinguish the contradictions presented through the image. As for commentary, the cartoonist offers the viewer with a perspective as an unquestionable truth; “The claim is offered without the means to evaluate its validity” (1981, 207).

## **2. Western Islamophobia and religious profiling of Muslims**

The study of Islamophobia was initiated by Runnymed Trust Report in 1996 and was later followed by other studies on the topic both in Europe and the USA. In “The West’s Modern Encounter with Islam: From Discourse to Reality,” Monshipouri (1998) attempts to convince policy makers to have a more practical rather than ideological approach when dealing with issues concerning Muslims. Green (2015) adopts the definition of Islamophobia provided by Runnymed Trust Report (1997) as “The dread or hatred of Islam”. The report works its way to distinguish legitimate criticism of Islam, which they termed “open” views and which contrasts with “closed” views as the trigger of Islamophobia. According to Green, the word “Islamophobia” has become “an integral part of political and public discourse” (2015, 9).

Along with cartoons, Ridouani (2011) asserts that other media representations, whether in the movies, paintings or even Disney productions for kids, feed into the conclusions and generalizations drawn about Islam and Muslims. In addition, Mantyla defines religious profiling by stating that “assuming that individuals of a specific race or religion are more likely to be criminals or

terrorists is – by definition – both racial and religious profiling” (2006). In their article “Religious Profiling: an Unwelcome Guest”, Goitein and Patel (2012), describe how The New York City Police Department monitors Muslims’ everyday lives, infiltrates mosques, and tracks Muslim student groups in universities around the USA as “the most egregious example”. Similarly, a report submitted by Amnesty International (2012) confirms that “Discrimination against Muslims in Europe is fuelled by stereotypes and negative views”. It urges European politicians to be more rational by abandoning stereotyping Islam as a violent religion that calls for gender inequality. Moreover, Green (2015, 31) interprets the hate directed towards Islam and Muslims as an attempt to preserve national and European identity.

### 3. The data

The data selected for the study comprises 25 caricature drawings which were selected from online newspapers such as *Jyllands-Posten*, *El Watan* and *Chicago Sun-Times*, in addition to specialized cartoons websites such as *Cartoon Movement* and *Cartoon Stock* and several prominent cartoonists’ websites. Apart from three cartoons which rely on image alone, all the caricatures analysed utilize the visual along with the textual for meaning-making. The target audience of these caricatures is divergent. The producer is the one in power deciding what is to be said by the images, how it is represented and how it should be interpreted. The caricatures under study focus on the broad theme of religious profiling, but are sub classified according to three major themes. The first group tackles cartoons attacking Islam, its beliefs, and its practitioners. The second group handles satirical cartoons about Muslim women’s attire. The third group criticizes the Western press with its double standards. As such, the third group can be viewed as a response or a reaction to the first and second groups.

### 4. The purpose of the study

Media representation generally and caricature drawings as one form of this representation focusing on racial or religious profiling, are found to aggravate tension and widen the cultural gap between Muslims and the West. Hence, by relying on a multimodal approach for analysing images, the paper attempts to make explicit the interactive messages encoded within caricature images and the response to these caricatures by other caricatures that attempt to present a different point of view or clarify a misrepresentation. The present study aims to investigate how Halliday’s (1978) textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are realized in drawings to communicate a more elaborate message than can be communicated by a text. It attempts to reveal which types of processes, as

identified by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), are more prevalent for this type of multimodal representation. It will finally attempt to reveal some of the organizational patterns adopted by caricature producers for meaning-making. The study adopts a qualitative descriptive method based on observation and analysis of the selected data in an attempt to reduce the cultural gap between non-Muslim Western views about Islam and the reality. Halliday's and Kress and Van Leeuwen's approaches to text and image analysis provide a set of well-suited analytic tools for that purpose.

## 5. The framework of the study

The framework adopted in the paper integrates Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework for analysing images under a social semiotic theory, with Halliday's framework for viewing language as social semiotics. A multimodal text is defined by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 177) as "any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code". According to Halliday, any social action tends to be encoded "linguistically in the form of ideational meaning, the role relationships in the form of interpersonal meanings and the symbolic mode in the form of textual meaning" (1978, 123).

The ideational function as presented by Halliday encompasses both the experiential and the logical meaning. The experiential meaning refers to "the speaker's meaning potential as an observer" (1978, 12) and it embodies the speaker's cultural experience, his/her personal experience of the external world, his/ her thoughts, feelings and reactions to the processes taking place in this external world. The meaning potential is expressed, on the one hand, by caricature producers who rely on their observations of what is happening in the outside world and, on the other hand, by representatives or participants in the caricature. The logical meaning is concerned with recursive structures that are utilized to build up complex chain structure, among which are the causal and temporal relations.

In Halliday's framework, the interpersonal metafunction is concerned with language as a mode for communicating attitudes and evaluations. He argues that the interpersonal metafunction "is the component, through which the speaker intrudes himself into the context of the situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgments, and seeking to influence the attitudes, and behaviour of others" (1978, 112). In other words, the interpersonal function is realized in caricature drawings that are published in widely distributed newspapers or editorial cartoons websites through producers who attempt to communicate their viewpoints of the world and present them from their own perspective, aiming at influencing a vast majority of the public and persuade them with these views. Halliday's third metafunction, the textual metafunction, is realized by the way language is organized into a coherent text, how text and context are related and the way

information is distributed within the text. As such, textual meaning is concerned with creating relationships between different parts of the whole.

In *Introducing Social Semiotics*, Van Leeuwen states that images have always been studied as “representations” rather than “interactions”. However, he asserts that images are utilized “to do things to, or for or with people: to persuade, instruct, explain, and warn and so on” (2005, 58). He concludes that, as such, images can perform the same function as speech acts through different relationships between participants either within the image or between the producer and the intended viewers of the images. In addition, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen,

Images [and other kinds of visuals] involve two kinds of participants, represented participants (the people, the places and things depicted in images) and interactive participants (the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images), and three kinds of relations: (1) relations between represented participants; (2) relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants’ attitudes towards the represented participants); and (3) relations between interactive participants (the things interactive participants do to or for each other through images). (1996, 120)

The first relation between represented participants involves analysing the images, and elaborating the interactional messages communicated through these images. This is done away from elaborating any intentions on the part of the producer or any assumptions made by the viewer. As for the second relation between interactive and represented participants, it investigates the relation between the caricature producer and his attitude towards whatever he/ she presents on the one hand, and the participants in a caricature and the viewers as interactive participants, on the other.

Caricature producers from varied cultural and ideological backgrounds, when addressing the audience, will entice different attitudinal reactions towards whatever is presented by the represented participants in the caricatures. This leads to the third type of relation, which involves the effect or reaction on the viewer. The images presented suffice in communicating the producers’ attitude towards the issue presented. The viewers’ attitude can either be that of supporters or opponents to the producer. In the first case, viewers are on the same ground, sharing the same ideology and cultural background. Hence, the cartoon will be interpreted as sarcastic or funny. In the second case, viewers will be offended by the presented images, as they infringe or misrepresent adopted concepts and beliefs. Hence, the real life effect on the former is that of establishing a wide base of supporters against a particular belief, which in turn increases hostility and animosity. The effect on the latter is either a feeling of oppression, infringement and unjust representation or a counter-reaction by cartoonists from the oppressed culture.

Kress and Van Leeuwen focus on the realization of Halliday’s three metafunctions, originally applied to language analysis, to the analysis of visual modes.



Their approach in *Reading Images* focuses on understanding the visual as “representation and communication”. They analyse a wide variety of images including photographs of real humans, creatures and statues, advertisements, illustrations in children’s books and textbooks, magazine cover pages, mind maps, and charts.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 59), images in general are subjected to four processes that describe how participants are related to each other within the image. Narrative processes are usually about events or actions between participants. They are connected by vectors that are symbolized by diagonal lines from one participant to the other(s). These vectorial patterns represent narrative in images. Classificational processes refer to how things are ordered within the image, and in what way this order affects the relation between participants. With analytical processes, the relationship is that of part-to-whole, where the whole is referred to as the “carrier” and the parts as the “possessive attributive”. “The analytical process is the usual, the ‘unmarked’ and therefore also the most elementary option in the visual system of representation” (1996, 91). Finally, “symbolic processes are about what a participant means or is”. Kress and Van Leeuwen differentiate between “Symbolic Attributive” and “Symbolic Suggestive” processes. In the former there are two participants: one is the “carrier” whose identity is established in the relation and the other is the participant who represents the identity itself. It is realized by certain characteristics, such as being foregrounded or well-lit, distinguished from the whole by fine details, pointed at by means of gestures and “conventionally associated with symbolic values.” (1996, 105). “Symbolic Suggestive”, on the other hand, refers to a single participant as “carrier”. Contrary to the former type, images exhibiting Symbolic Suggestive processes magnify mood and environment over details. Participants are “silhouettes”, colours are hazy and unidentified. As such, they do not depict “a specific moment but a generalized essence”(1996, 106).

Van Leeuwen and Kress identify several factors that determine the amount of interactivity achieved by the image. They state that image production involves the choice between “demand” and “offer”. With the first, the image demands an action or an attitude from the viewer. This is usually achieved through direct gaze at the viewer. As for “offer”, the image offers something to the viewer and this is characterized by the lack of immediate eye contact with the viewer.

## 6. Analysis

The division of the analysis section is primarily based on the three metafunctions and their sub-sections focus on the types of caricatures under scrutiny, on whether they offer or demand, and on how salience, information value and framing are utilized.



## 6.1. The ideational function of images

Within the ideational metafunction, the paper examines how the producers' cultural and worldly experience with regards to Islam, its beliefs and practitioners, Muslim women's attire and the West's double standards are realized through images. Among these are, to mention but a few: Muhammad is an evil character whose evil ideas, executed by his followers "the extremists", are the reason behind discomfort, restlessness and Islamophobic state in the West. Another dominant idea in several caricature drawings is that of equating Islam as a religion to terrorism. The majority of anti-Islam caricatures exaggerate the actions of radicals, extremists and fanatics, who are a minority, as representatives of Islam and the Muslim people. The ideational realization behind this theme is that Islamists are so indifferent, relaxed, and do not move a wink when they hear or read about atrocities committed in the West. However, when it comes to infamous cartoons about Muhammad, they boil in rage and react violently.

### *Demand caricature*

The common attribute among the group of caricatures dealing with this theme is the foregrounding and full figure portrayal of the radical Islamist emphasising their rage and terrifying looks. The predominant process in these cartoons is the narrative process. This process is characterized by what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed as "an explicit indicator of directionality" (1996). In some instances, a vector is shown to be directed from the represented participant, "actor", towards another represented participant, "goal", or towards the viewer, "goal", as an interactive participant. In Figures 1 and 2, the eye contact between the actor and the goal totally diminishes and is replaced by glottal contact. What the goal observes upon looking at this group of caricature drawings is the widely open mouth showing the glottis of the actor as an indication of rage, anger and fury directed towards the goal. The open mouth in these instances plays the role of the vector instead of the outstretched arms or lines, identified by Van Leeuwen and Kress.



Fig. 1

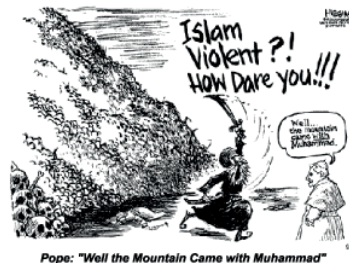


Fig. 2

In Figure 1, the actor is emitting bidirectional vectors. Primarily, his gaze is directed to the represented participant, i.e. the newspaper, whereas the glottal contact is directed to the interactive participant, i.e. the viewer. The text in the dialogue balloon with the word *OUTRAGED* presented in bold font and all caps and the fumes emitted from his head are all intended to communicate the message of “beware the coming revenge”. Similarly in Figure 2, the gaze, the open mouth, the violent action of sword-wielding in addition to the wide rushing steps, all function as vectors directed towards the goal, the Pope. Norris (2004, 24) defines posture as “The ways that participants position their bodies in a given interaction. People may display open or closed postures, and they display directionality through posture”. The postural direction that the extremist takes up towards the Pope indicates animosity. The Pope’s indifferent calm and peaceful reactions along with his closed arms contrast with the separated limbs and knees and open-arm movement of the extremist. However, the cartoon as a whole with the hazy background of the mountain of skulls and skeletons are intended to transfer the threat to the interactive participant, the viewer. The mountain of skulls represents what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed “symbolic suggestive”. Along with the accompanying caption, the mountain signifies that the remnants of Muhammad’s preaching are a huge number of deaths. The text accompanying the image is intended to portray the believers of this faith as hypocrites whose actions do not match their words. It first expresses denial in the exclamatory statement and at the same time interrogates the previously heard statement “Islam violent?!” immediately followed by a contradictory text which sustains the action portrayed in the caricature “How dare you!!!”.

Unlike Figure 1 and Figure 2, where the vectors are directed towards the represented participant, Figure 3 is found to be the most threatening as both the scary stare and the widely opened mouth are directed towards the viewer, accompanied by the detailed background of armed rebellious people with similar open mouths, denoting their affiliation to the same ideology. The text accompanying the cartoon further intensifies the threat verbally by using the words, *die*, *death*, and *kill*, but again preceded by a contradictory yet assertive statement “ours is a peaceful religion”.



Fig. 3

Another common feature among this group is the prevalence of the black and white colours in the representation of this idea; what Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 199) termed as “black and white realism”. Figures 1 and 3, published in *Jyllands-Posten* in the years 2010 and 2012 and republished later on several websites, are satirical representations of the eccentric actions carried out by extremists as a reaction to the careless desecration, in 2005-2006, of the prophet of Islam by the same newspaper. Figure 2, published in *Chicago Sun-Times* in September 2006, focuses on the same theme.

In an attempt to refute the claim that moderates, who are hundreds of millions worldwide, are totally different, other caricatures stress the fact that moderates are by no means different from extremists or radicals, and that the distance between them is a slight one. Figures 4–7 highlight the slight space between moderates and extremists. The space between radicals and moderates, as portrayed in the four images, is an essential resource in the meaning-making process. Baldry and Thibault (2006, 6) assert that “Space is not a ‘neutral’ entity but is instead ideologically loaded. It is part of the culturally-determined way in which we perceive the world, the result of our collective cultural experience”. Islam and terrorism are symbolized in Figure 7 as being door-to-door, but given different identity through different numbers. The representative of the Chicago press can see no difference between the two and knocks with fury on the door labelled “Islam” to bestow it the same identity as that of its neighbour “terrorism”. In order to highlight this misapprehension by the West, Ahmed Rehab – executive director in *Chicago Sun-Times* – drew this caricature as a response to Higgings’ Figure 2, who directed his anger to Islam and Muslims instead of directing it to the radicals (cf. Rehab 2006).

The commonality portrayed by different cartoonists in their portrayal of extremists and moderates can be interpreted as structured. Norris (2004, 38) confirms that “Interactions differ greatly and, with them, gaze distribution differs. Usually, the more structured the interaction, the more structured the gaze will be”. Figures 4–6, focus on the violent raging feature of the radicals accompanied by their boastful exhibition of weapons and explosives and their threatening gaze directed towards the viewer. This is sharply contrasted with the peaceful looks (not necessarily directed to the viewer) and actions by the moderates, which are mainly confined to gesturing from a distance. However, the bubble talks and captions accompanying the images indicate that they both share similar perspectives and ways of thinking, but one is more daring than the other in carrying out the terrorist acts or showing fury. Figure 4, for instance, was drawn on the situation when a teenage Somali was harshly tortured and killed by his parents because he converted to Christianity. Based on the image and the accompanying shared bubble talk, the caricature producer highlights the fact that the same conclusion was reached by both, the moderate and the radical. Accordingly, through the integration of the different communicative modes (gaze, gesture, intertextuality

and language) the message transmitted by these caricatures is that they demand viewers not to be deceived by the moderates as they can even be given the same identity as that of the radicals, which is later asserted in Figure 7.

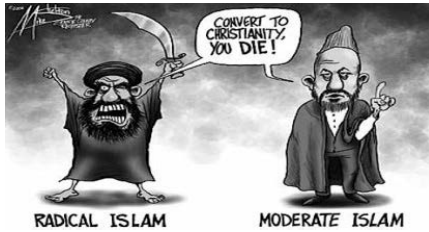


Fig. 5



Fig. 4



Fig. 6

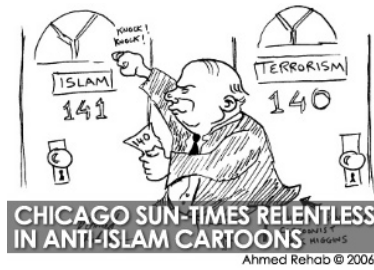


Fig. 7

Classification processes are evident in Figure 9, which presents an instance of Kress and Van Leeuwen’s “covert taxonomy”. In a collection of twelve frames of equal size, the producer presents a verbal realization of different terrorist acts

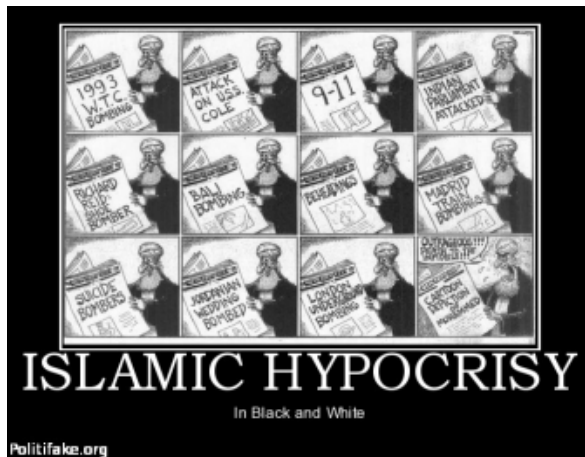


Fig. 9

in various locations worldwide accompanied by a repeated visual representation focusing on the indifferent reactions of the represented participant in eleven frames and contrasts them with his shocked and overwhelmed reaction to the notorious cartoon publications in the last frame.

The subordinate participants are evenly distributed next to each other both vertically and horizontally, and occupy the same frame size and together are given a frontal angle. The commentary text is separated from the image and placed below it covering the same length as the collection of images to provide a holistic evaluative phrase. “Islamic Hypocrisy” is the superordinate or the “carrier”, to which the believers are the “possessive attributes”. The “carrier” refers to the whole abstract Islamic concept and belief, and the attributes are the followers presented in the frames, pretending to have first-hand knowledge of the terrorist act from the newspaper coverage similar to the rest of the public. Lacking on the direct gaze between represented and interactive participants reduces, as Kress and Van Leeuwen assert, the degree of interaction and “invites impersonal, detached scrutiny”.

The ideational realization in the caricatures involving women’s Islamic attire is that there is uniformity and monotony in the way Muslim women are dressed. This is communicated in one of the sarcastic caricatures (Figure 22) portraying a paper doll who is supposedly provided with a variety of dresses to choose from, but ends up to be surrounded by the same repeated apparel, which results in the miserable look on the doll’s face. The process involved in this caricature is the symbolic process of the type “Symbolic Attributive”, where the producer bestows the participants with specific meaning and identity. The doll itself is the symbol of submissiveness, passivity and non-resistance. The Muslim woman, who is being symbolized by the doll, is similarly bestowed with these same qualities. This same cartoon was republished in *Bob from Brockley* blog spot accompanying the article “Satire or Smear? Islam-Themed Cartoons”. In this article, though the writer rejects bigotry underlying satirical cartoons, she still views the paper doll cartoon as a “legitimate satire on theocratic dress codes” (Sarah, 2013). This attire is equated to a dark prison in Figure 21, from which a direct call for help is emitted. Both caricatures are again demanding an action from the viewer,

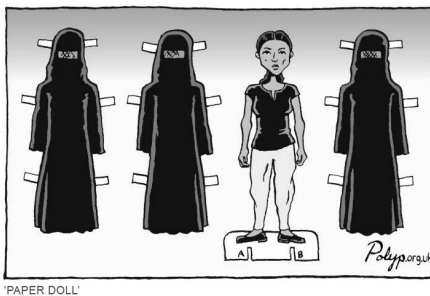


Fig. 22



Fig. 21

which could be as simple as sympathizing with the act of oppression inflicted upon female Muslims.

## 6.2. The interpersonal metafunction of images

The second group of caricature drawings criticizes the double standards of the West when it comes to cartoons dealing with Islamophobia, and distinguishes it from other forms of discrimination. As such, this group of caricatures provides a partial counterview to the first group of caricatures that are sarcastic about Islam and its practitioners. The ideational realization behind this group of caricature drawings is that Islamophobia is nothing more than a political production and fabrication. There are political aims behind the promotion and exaggeration of the extremists' ideas and actions. The interpersonal metafunction focuses on interaction taking place between presented participants. Unlike the first group, the viewer in this group is distanced. S/he is offered a presentation through which s/he can infer the producers' intended meaning.

### *Offering caricature*

Counter-reactions are communicated through the group of caricature drawings presenting an opposing view or commenting on the status quo from a different perspective. Figure 16, for instance, was published in the Egyptian newspaper *El Watan*, where thirteen cartoons were published with the banner "Fighting Cartoons with Cartoons," and was republished in *Business Insider* on 26 September, 2012. This collection of caricatures, mostly presented by non-Western cartoonists, is perceived as an indirect response to the first group of caricature drawings. An instance from this group is Figure 16 by the Ethiopian artist Nayer Talal, presenting Geert Wilders, leader of the PVV (Party of Freedom) known for his severe opposition and unconcealed hatred to Islam, who has consistently campaigned



Fig. 16



against the “Islamisation” of the West, as the one behind this fear of Islam. Being the ones in power, politicians’ opinions and views are often trusted and cherished by the public and as such, they spread their views through the media; the channel available to the majority of the public. The Dutch populist politician is presented in two adjacent frames.

In the left hand frame, he is joyfully holding a red deflated balloon showing it to the interactive viewers, like a magician who is about to perform a magical trick, and giving them a sceptical look and a wide smile. In the adjacent frame, he is observed blowing the balloon with the word *Islamophobia*, written in bold white caps. The choice of the red colour is indicative of the danger he is emitting through his promotion of anti-Islam. His looks in this image are focused on the balloon and on how big it gets, as he blows his hatred into it. The looks in this caricature drawing are indicative and expressive. They establish what Kress and Van Leeuwen termed “vectors” that connect interactive participants in the first frame and representative participants in the second (1996, 114). In the left frame, the looks addressing the interactive viewers are calling for full attention and concentration on what is to come. The looks in the second frame shift from the interactive participant to the represented participant (the balloon with the word *ISLAMOPHOBIA*). The producer as an interactive participant aims to communicate the message that it is this person and others holding similar views who are the real, though not the sole, agents behind this fear of Islam.

Other caricatures, as represented in Figure 15, by Carlos Latuff, an Arab Brazilian political cartoonist, portray how Western Islamophobia threatens world peace and harmony. It illustrates the power discrepancy between the promoters of Islamophobia and Muslims worldwide.

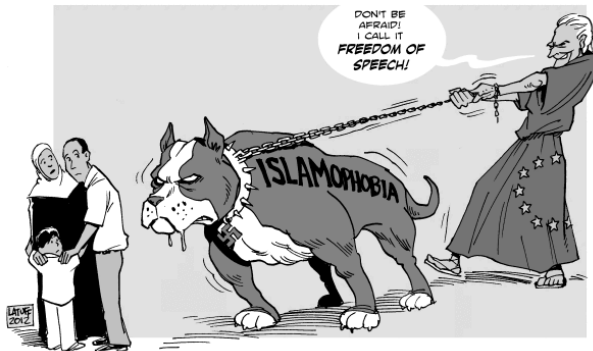


Fig. 15

The latter is exemplified by a small helpless family holding on to each other in fear of the Western attack on Islam. The Western fear of Islam is illustrated by the fierce red Rottweiler, with a Nazi pendant, centred in the picture frame and occupying more than its half. The artificial red colour of the dog is meant



to indicate danger and ferocity. The vector is directed from the dog and the representative of the European Union, both narrowing their eyes in an act of forewarning, towards the bewildered family who also direct a vector towards the dog and the representative. Unlike the figures analysed above where the represented participants direct their vectors to the viewers, this group of caricatures, have no contact with the viewers. To the right of the frame, is the embodiment of the European Union, metaphorically represented as an ancient Roman man keeping hold of his wild beast and ready to unleash it on whoever offends this entity. The European Union is shown in full power and control over the outcome of the fear of Islam, that is “Islamophobia”. 90% of the image frame is occupied by the embodiment of the West and its fear, and only 10% by the representatives of the Muslims, who are endangered by this fear, squeezed in the left corner of the image frame, and even getting out of it. Moreover, the noticeable difference in the size of the people within the image stresses the idea of power dominance and inequality, where the size of the person embodying the European Union doubles that of the three family members combined. The text contained in the dialogue balloon, contradicts what the image illustrates. It is ironically giving a “caring command”, as a way of reassuring the terrified family. The changed typography and the bold font accompanied by the sarcastic laughter communicate the message. The power dominance is evident in the focused use of the pronoun *I*, which is the only thing that matters regardless of how the others see it. While the others see it as Islamophobia, the Western world sees it as “Freedom of speech”.

### 6.3. The textual metafunction of images

The textual metafunction is realized by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 117) as image composition. It embodies the interpersonal and the ideational function through the connection of three major elements: “information value,” “salience” and “framing” into a coherent whole. It is mainly concerned with how elements within an image are organized, and how this organization provides value to some elements over others. While Halliday refers to the textual function as “the text forming potential” by the speaker, it is viewed in this paper as the potential of the caricature drawing to integrate different modes of presentation and organize a vast amount of information in a pre-planned way to communicate messages through the drawings, without which the previous two functions will not be actualized.

#### 6.3.1. Framing

The dominant presentation of the Western press as having double standards (Figures 12–14) relies mainly on framing in order to show contradiction which

leads the viewer to reach a common agreement, condemnation or resentment of the presented act. Baldry and Thibault (2006, 10) state that “the frame provides some implicit indication as to how the picture is to be viewed (...) [it] functions as an implicit meta comment” and is utilized to distinguish between the world inside the frame from that which is outside. Framing in the analysed data is also utilized to indicate a sequential structure similar to that of a narrative. Figures 12–14 clearly exemplify Kress and Van Leeuwen’s four processes: the analytic and narrative processes through content presentation, the classification process through framing and the symbolic process through icons. In addition to the above mentioned resources of space positioning, organization of represented participants, arm-movements, posture, gaze, written language, typography and colour, the analysis of the approaching data makes use of another multimodal resource, namely “intertextuality”. As “texts of all kinds are always related to other texts” (Baldry and Thibault 2006, 55), so are caricatures. The majority of the caricatures examined build upon or are connected to previous caricatures, shared beliefs or real life incidents.

Figure 13 by Daryl Cagle, an American editorial cartoonist, portrays the editor in chief of the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in three separate frames. It is intended to instruct the viewer that they should treat incidents separately. The arrangement of the frames is sequential. The viewer starts from the two frames above and can read them either way, right to left or vice versa, but will end with the lower frame. The editor in chief adopts the role of an instructor educating the interactive participants on what to view as racism and what not. The lower frame occupies the space taken by the two frames together. This is intended to intensify the message offered to the viewer that it is very acceptable, correct and legal to criticize Muhammad and his followers. The gaze in the upper two frames is directed to the represented participant, the paper on which he explains his views to the interactive participant and makes a big cross in red indicating the unacceptability of discriminating against blacks and equating Israeli practices to those of the Nazis. The seriousness, in the two frames above portrayed by the invisible eyes behind the glasses and the twisted lips accompanied by the viral lines above the head, contrasts with the cheerfulness and clear eyes in the frame below. The way he is presented holding the papers with the concepts of racism and anti-Semitism with one hand, and crossing out with the other indicates close concern, and irritation with the fact that the public could not distinguish between different forms of discrimination. This contrasts with the way he distances himself from Muhammad’s photos in the lower frame as a gesture to the viewers that this should be discriminated against. The vector, his gaze and his outstretched pointing arms, in the lower frame, direct the goal to what s/he should concentrate on. The numerous photos of Muhammad with the red “correct” mark are sharply contrasted with the above two separate instances of unacceptable forms of discrimination.

To reach an interpretation for this image, the viewer does not only rely on the integration of the visual and verbal, but also on intertextuality as a resource for meaning-making. Intertextuality is conveyed by means of an image within an image. The two frames above anticipate the viewers' acquaintance with the content of the image. In an attempt to intensify the message communicated by the image, the third frame provides an identification caption of what the inclusive image is about.

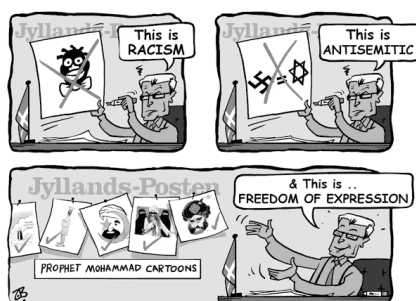


Fig. 13

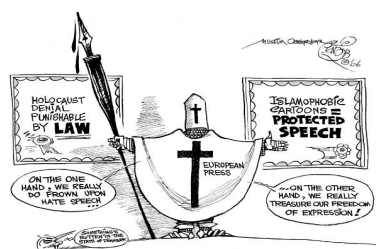


Fig. 14



Fig. 12

Figure 12 by Carlos Latuff was released as a response to the arrest of the prominent Egyptian American writer and activist Mona El Tahawy in New York after she sprayed paint on a controversial poster in the subway which equates Muslims to “savages”. According to *The Guardian* of 26<sup>th</sup> October 2012, the billboard was officially placed by Anti-Muslim American Freedom Defense initiative and was approved by the court as free speech that is protected under the first amendment. The billboard originally states “In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the civilized man”. Between two stars of David, it adds “Support Israel. Defeat Jihad”. The Statue of Liberty, iconic of America’s freedom of speech and belief, is presented as having a double standard. In the left frame, it endorses the statement on the billboard with a handshake and peaceful smile. In the right frame, it condemns and criminalizes the act of equating the Israeli nation with the term *racist*. Green (2015, 17) stresses this double standard in dealing with situations by stating that “racial discrimination and racist

exclusionary practices are typically deemed unconstitutional today in the United States, but (...) when Muslims are involved, racist practices and prejudices get a pass". It is even regarded by many anti-Muslims as "normal and necessary". He further adds that "The billboard is dangerous because it has the potential to entice violence against Muslims by branding them as enemies who are complicit in the killing of innocent people" (2015, 22).

Figure 14, by Khalil Bendib, a Muslim American Berkeley-based editorial cartoonist, exhibits this duality of standards by foregrounding a uniformed soldier from the crusade, symbolizing Europeans and as a representative of the European press, directing the viewers' attention to two posters in the background. The eyes are totally hidden in this cartoon and replaced by a cross on the face and a bigger one on the cloak. The vector is directed from the cross to the viewer. At the same time, the cross serves as a boundary separating the two perspectives instead of framing. The deliberate use of the crusade to symbolize Western press is to make the analogy that similarly to the soldiers who took up the cause of the Crusade, which was real enough to die for, the Western press will defend the principle of free speech at any cost, even if the price is another Crusade. Outstretched arms direct viewers' attention to the important message they are imparting. The use of bold font and caps to stress the words *law* and *protected speech* is intended to show that the crusade is justified. In an editorial accompanying the cartoon, Bendib (2006) asserts that "Publishing deliberately inflammatory caricatures aimed at all that is most tender and precious to the hearts of Muslims worldwide (...) unfortunately helps neither Europe's lofty democratic ideals nor Islam's nagging feelings of victimization and humiliation at the hands of Western Media".

### 6.3.2. Information value in caricature presentations

Given and new information, which are part of the structure of texts, are found to apply in caricature composition as well. Figures 12–14 provide a clear example of what is to be viewed as old information and what is new. Kress and Van Leeuwen assert that the given information "is presented as the commonsensical, self-evident", usually communicated in images by being placed on the left, whereas objects placed on the right of the image exemplify the new information. This structure, as they claim, "is ideological in the sense that it may not correspond to what is the case either for the producer or for the consumer of the image" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 23). This can also be exemplified by Figure 10, where no clear framing is evident.

The old information communicated by the image and placed on the left is that the Taliban are extremists and terrorists, who resort to violence: they are portrayed in the prototypical manner with their typical wide-open mouths, outstretched arms, wielding weapons and angry looks. The new information is communicated on



Fig. 10

the right, where a Western man is portrayed as imparting a secret and correcting a piece of information to his pal, and consequently to the viewers by stating in the dialogue balloon, that moderates are no different from radicals. Hence, there is a clear correspondence between the horizontal structure in the visual composition and the sequential structure of the written texts.

A caricature exhibiting two of the most inflammatory Danish cartoons about “Muhammad” (Figure 11), originally published in *Jyllands-Posten* 2005-2006 as two separate images, presents a clear embodiment of the three metafunctions in images and communicates more than can be expressed by words.



*This is what all the fuss is about!*

This is the most inflammatory Danish cartoon of Muhammad -- and the funniest. Freedom of speech is worth dying for -- and the cartoonists knew it when they drew these. So far one protestor has died (in a burning Danish embassy) and many injured. Over **THIS!**

Fig. 11

The cartoon is investigated on three levels. The first is that of the image, the second is the text within the image, and the third, the caption accompanying the two images. At the image level, “Muhammad” is portrayed as a vicious bomb-headed Tatar- looking person. The sharp looks of the eyes, the dense eyebrows and the smoke coming from the nose transforming to a moustache attached to a beard and then ascending to surround the bomb above the head are ways of portraying to the viewers and persuading them with the evilness of “Muhammad’s” character.

Stamped on the forehead of the bomb is the phrase which constitutes the first pillar of Islam: “There’s no God except Allah and Muhammad is his messenger”. Placing the phrase in this specific position is an indication of the inherent desire to blast the main pillar of this religion.

The adjacent frame in Fig 11, carries several implications, portraying “Muhammad” in Heaven receiving the supposed “Martyrs”, “suicide bombers”, ascending to Heaven in ragged apparel, and surrounded by fumes, as an indication that the suicide act has been carried out recently. Upon reaching Heaven, they are met by “Muhammad”, who turns them down by implying that their efforts were in vain as they ran out of the promised reward “VIRGINS”.

The text accompanying the drawing using caps lock for the words *STOP* and *VIRGINS* communicates several messages not only between the represented participants but also between the producer and the viewer of the image. At the first level, the message is that “Muhammad” is issuing a command to his followers to terminate their attacks as the promised reward they were longing for, no longer exists. This image is based on the background knowledge that “Martyrs go directly to heaven and that among the many rewards they will receive there is the “Hour El Ein” translated as *virgins*.

At the second level, the message is that the producer intends to inflict a comic effect upon the viewer through the shared implication that the followers were fooled by the fake promises and that their lives were sacrificed in vain. The producer additionally implies, through the use of the repeated word *stop* in upper case that the amount of atrocities carried out by “Muhammad’s” followers exceeded the expected limit.

The caption accompanying the drawing is written by someone different from the producer and at a different time frame; it is explanatory, evaluative and persuasive. By using the phrase *all the fuss*, the writer directly addresses the viewers, resorting to ethos, as a way of persuading them with his viewpoint. Additionally, the writer is establishing common grounds and friendly relationship with the viewers by attempting to clarify the trivial reason behind “the fuss”. Through the choice of this specific word, the writer assumes the viewers’ awareness of the background knowledge of the rage taking place in the Muslim world, the boycotting of the Danish products by Muslim consumers, and the burning of the Danish embassies by Muslim extremists.

Though the caption looks brief, yet it encompasses a variety of writing techniques. The first is evaluative: “most inflammatory” “the funniest” “worth dying for”, praising the heroic action carried out by the cartoonists, sacrificing their lives for the sake of “freedom”. In addition, stressing the fact that “the cartoonists knew it” implies that though they anticipated the outcome of the free expression of speech, yet they chose to follow the path. The caption writer then appeals to “logos” and “pathos” as persuasive techniques. He stated factual information accompanied by emotive vocabulary: “protector” implying peaceful opposition, “died”, “injured”, and he ended his caption with “over THIS”. Again the use of



all caps for the demonstrative deictic *this* carries several implications – trivial, not worth it – from a particular perspective, not considering others.

## 6.4 Contradiction and contrast in caricature

The discrepancy between how different cultures view a particular concept is demonstrated in another caricature drawing, by the editorial cartoonist Malcolm Evans. In this cartoon, he portrays two opposing perspectives on how a “male-dominated culture” is interpreted (Figure 23). Whenever a caricature portrays two representative participants from different cultures, the vector is usually interchangeable between the two participants and excludes the interactive participant (viewer). The image offers the information through the contemplations of the two perspectives. The distance between the two women, the way they are portrayed turning their backs to each other and the condescending looks they exchange are meant to show the gap and miscommunication that exist between them. Norris (2004, 25) states that when participants turn their bodies away from each other, it is a way of “displaying disengagement through posture”. However, communication can still be achieved through other modes. The space separating them functions as an invisible frame. The directionality of the participants, going different ways, symbolizes the continuous increase in the space between the two cultures. The producer imparts the message that the gap will persist and expand as long as they are kept apart and no attempts are made to reduce it. How each participant estimates the other is kept in the understanding of each culture and does not go beyond a bubble thought.



Fig. 23

Through the collection of caricature drawings criticizing Muslim women’s attire, the producers, as interactive participants, intend to warn Western women, as the other interactive participant, of the approaching danger which will transform their lifestyle drastically. This is communicated through several images rotating around this theme (Figures 17–25).

One of the most illustrative drawings stressing this meaning is that by the Russian cartoonist Igor Kolgarev, published on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2013, showing



a nun, surrounded by the stars symbolizing the European Union, who, while taking off her apparel with the cross in her private room, was taken by surprise by an Arab holding a black Muslim women's attire to wrap her up. Other interpretation could be that the Arab forced her to replace her attire by the Islamic attire as symbolic of forced conversion. The vicious look, the grudge hidden behind the smile on the man's face and the dagger on his side indicate that it will not be a peaceful conversion and the intended meaning is that of a threat; that if she does not abide, she will be forced. The composition of the caricature imparts the meaning that the nun placed on the left is the given information and the Arab with the garment on the right is the new information. It is given information that the European Union adopts the Christian faith. The new information presented by the caricature is that the Arabs will attempt to change this identity by imposing their own. The relationship between the represented participants is that of power dominance on the part of the Arab and fear and anticipation on the part of the West.



Fig. 24

Using a “Symbolic Suggestive” way of presentation, a collection of caricatures is presented holistically comparing the two cultures with disregard to details. As such, vectors are not shared between represented participants, but between represented and interactive ones. Figure 19 portrays a Western woman totally naked and a Muslim woman covered in black from head to toe. Dressed as such, the Muslim female is portrayed as a symbol of extremism and as a threat to the West. She is compared by some caricature drawings to the ghost of the new era (Figure 17), the premonition that will dominate the whole of Europe. This caricature drawing in Figure 19 is accompanied by the caption “cultural differences”, which also carries the implication that there is a complete contradiction between the two cultures. To highlight the difference between the stagnant and active cultures, another sarcastic caricature contemplates what Britney Spears, a famous singer, would look like and how she would behave if she converted to Islam (Figure 18).

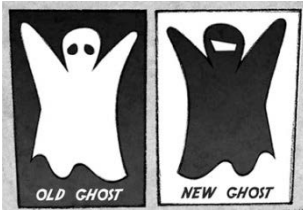


Fig. 17

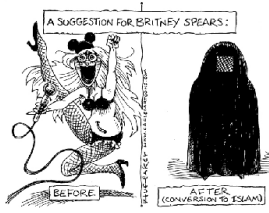


Fig. 18

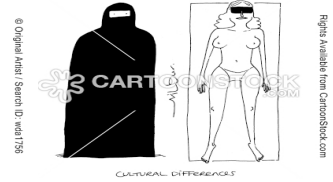


Fig. 19

The above caricatures are in accordance with Medhurst and Desousa's (1981, 207) contradiction technique, "Contradiction depends on a clash of forms, both visual and textual, within a frame. Unlike contrast, however, contradiction invites not attention but condemnation". They state that "Editorial caricature is, both literally and figuratively a black and white enterprise. To convey successfully the intended meaning to the reader, the artist must build into the frame one or more basic contrasts or tension" (1981, 205). Relying on the black and white colour in Figures 17–19, to distinguish between the two ideologies, and placing each woman in an isolated frame, is an instance of what Van Leeuwen termed "segregation", so as to communicate the message that "they belong to different orders" (2005, 13). He asserts that "the semiotic potential of framing is inflected on the basis of the interests and needs of a historical period, a given type of social institution, or a specific kind of participant in the social institution" (2005, 23). Hence, the interest of the producer, and the institution, to which s/he belongs, can be viewed as one encouraging and promoting this separation between cultures, instead of reconciliation through understanding and communicating.

As a response to the figures analysed above, the Egyptian cartoonist Ahmed Samir, on his webpage, presents a caricature (Figure 20) with four images of the same woman starting from her dressed in a bikini and going into three stages of covering her body till she reaches the final stage where she is in the supposedly full Islamic attire.



Fig. 20

No relationship between the represented participants is observed. However, a strong relation is directly established between the represented participants and

the interactive ones (the viewers). The word *Islam* is presented in all caps and broken up without regard to syllable boundary. The sluggish manner with which the word is meant to be pronounced reflects the slow and gradual transformation that takes place on women's Islamic attire, and the gradual diminishing of the pink body colour to be replaced by black. However, through their gaze and vector, the represented participants indicate to the viewers that Islam is not loading them in any way, contrary to the sarcastic statement accompanying the caricature, and that the more the woman is covered, the happier and more satisfied she becomes. This is portrayed in the gradual change of her facial expressions from a miserable one in the bikini image to full happiness in the pre-final stage. Inconsistently, other religious communities, such as Catholic nuns, do not face similar constrictions or scrutiny of what they can or cannot wear.



Fig. 25

## 7. Conclusion

Caricatures influence viewers differently, provided that they have certain interpretive skills along with orientation and background knowledge about the situation around which the caricature revolves. Linguists can play an important role in reducing tension and elaborating the socio-political positions through their skill in language and image analysis, thus, affecting the development of the social world. For the elucidation of the messages communicated by the selected caricatures, the paper adopted a multimodal approach. The analytical tool utilized in this paper is that of Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions and their realization through several processes by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) for image analysis. The ideational function accounts for how producers communicate their experience of real life events and states. The relationship that develops between representatives within the caricature drawing or between these representatives and their viewers designates the realization of the interpersonal metafunction. Finally, the compositional

arrangements of objects in the semiotic mode, through the utilization of information value, salience and their different framing, convey the textual metafunction.

Through their utilization of various modes, caricatures prove to have their own grammar, and are able to fulfil the three metafunctions as carried out by language. Multimodal tools provided a fine-grained analysis of the verbal-visual patterns which aided to uncover the inherent meaning. Caricatures as a genre are found to share a lot of characteristics with written texts. They exist as a coherent whole through which every part, mode and specific organizational patterns are utilized for the communication of meaning. They make use of intertextuality as a semiotic resource. Following a left-right horizontal sequence in their composition, caricatures are similar to texts in distinguishing between old and new information. Through the integration of various semiotic modes such as the frontal detailed portrayal of the represented participants with fully open eyes and mouth and with vector and gaze directed to the viewers, the intensity of the approaching threat anticipated from the extremists is communicated. The prevalence of the black and white colour is also indicative of how close to reality the threat is. Space, as another semiotic resource, is utilized to impart and stress the message that both the radicals and moderates share the same mentality and ideological beliefs. Accordingly, viewers should be equally cautious in dealing with moderates. Frames are utilized in caricatures either to show a causal sequence of events or to exaggerate contradictions so that the viewer would arrive at a condemnation or resentment of the status quo. Disengagement between cultures is communicated through detached postures or a broadened space or sharp framing. It is hoped that future research would explore how the Islamophobic caricatures are actually read by specific audiences. Another investigation can utilise multimodal CDA to investigate how the power of caricature producers aid in the (re)production of social realities.

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Appendix

Group 1

Caricature drawings attacking Islam and its practitioners

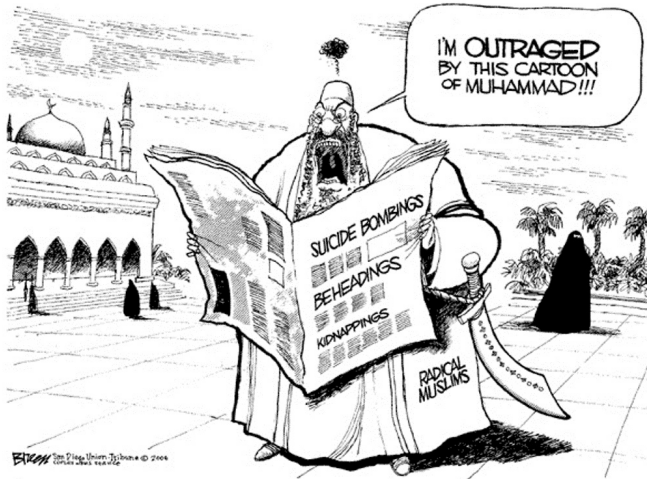


Fig. 1

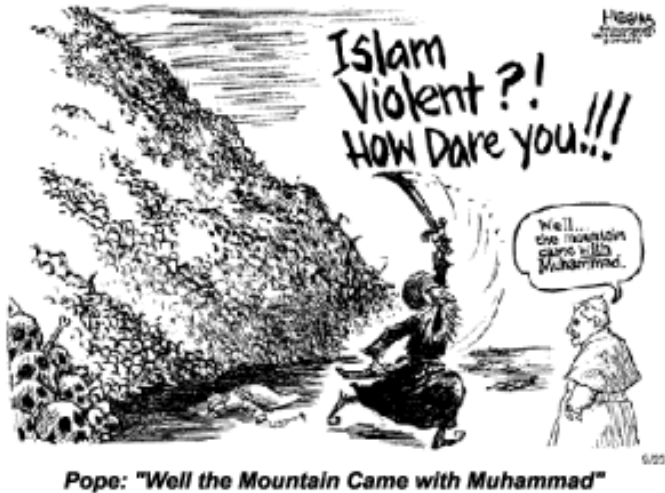


Fig. 2





Fig. 3



Fig. 4





Fig. 5

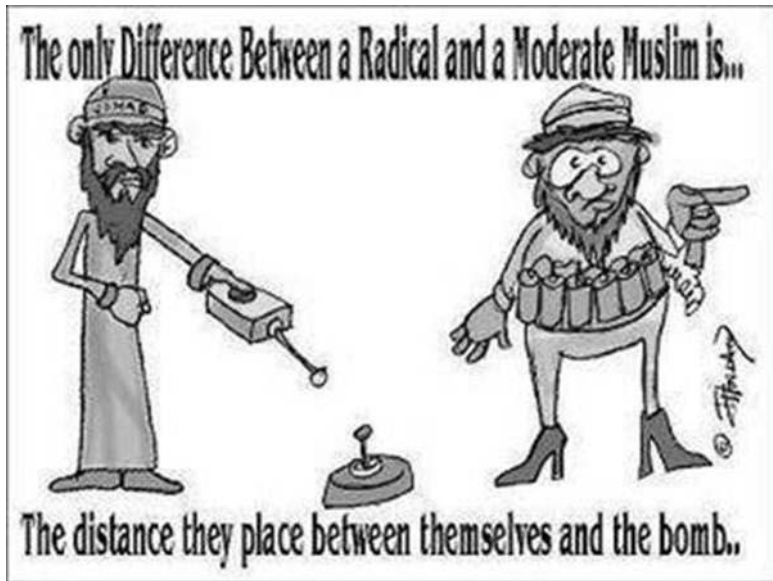


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

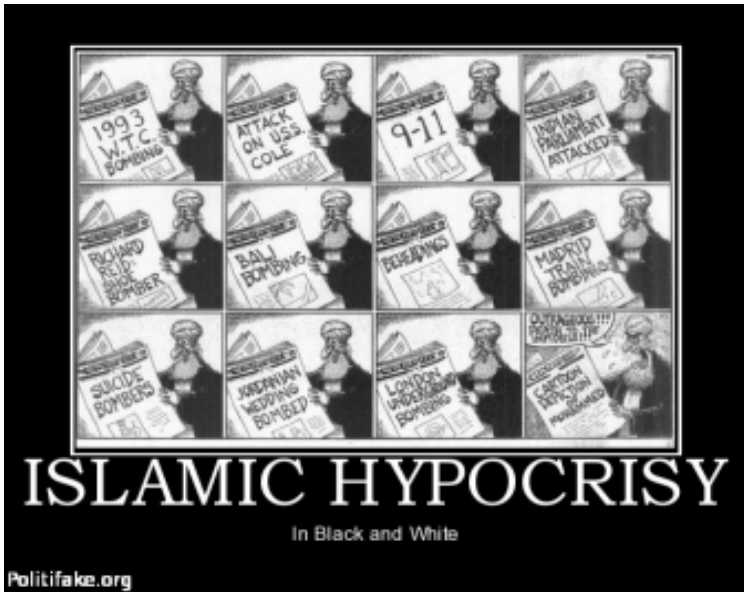


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



*This is what all the fuss is about!*

This is the most inflammatory Danish cartoon of Muhammad -- and the funniest. Freedom of speech is worth dying for -- and the cartoonists knew it when they drew these. So far one protestor has died (in a burning Danish embassy) and many injured. Over *THIS?*

Fig. 11

## Group 2 Caricature drawings against the Western press



Fig. 12

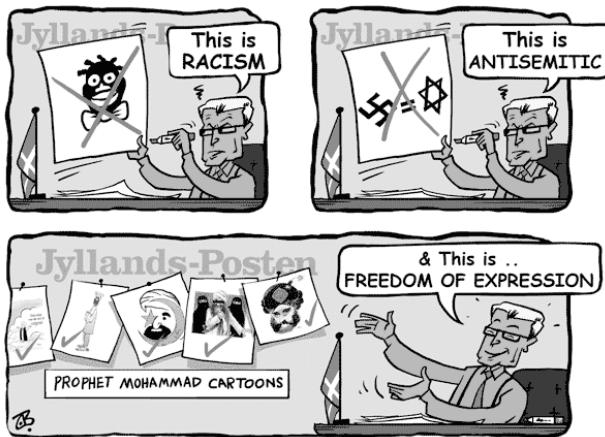


Fig. 13

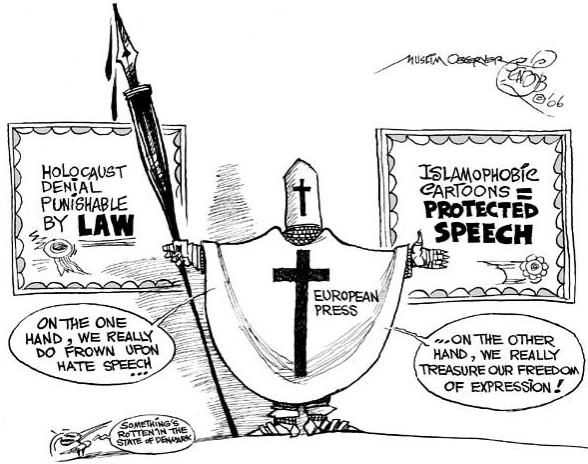


Fig. 14

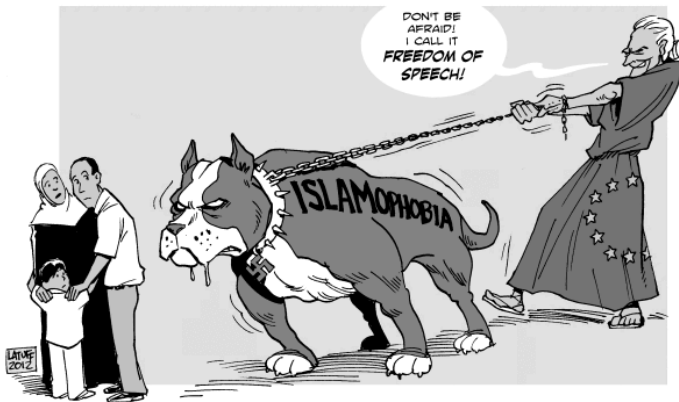


Fig. 15

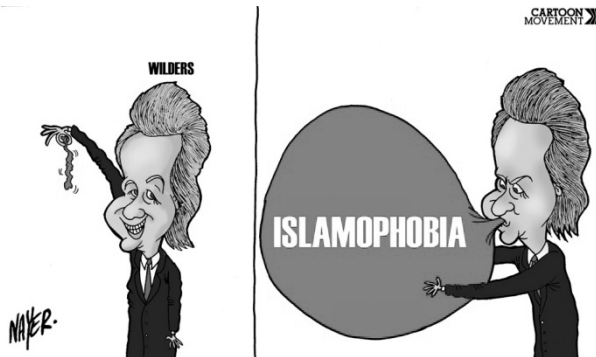


Fig. 16

**Group 3**

**Caricature drawings limiting Islam to restricted women's attire**

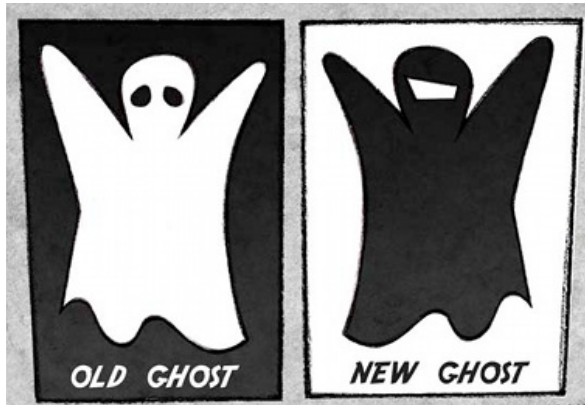


Fig. 17

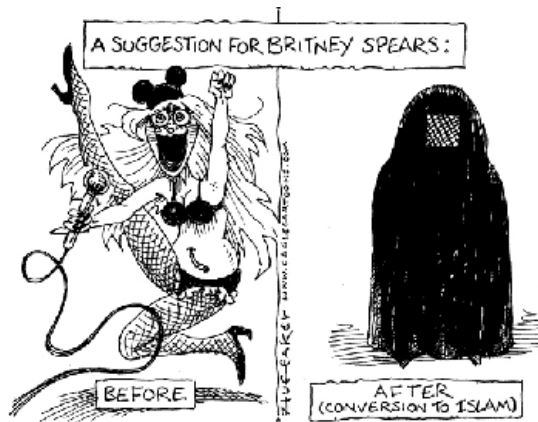


Fig. 18

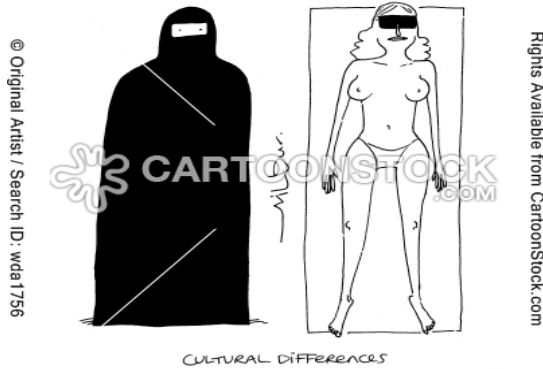


Fig. 19

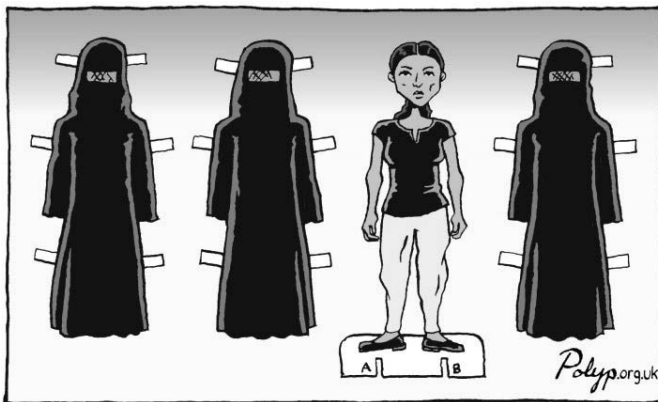




Fig. 20



Fig. 21



'PAPER DOLL'

Fig. 22

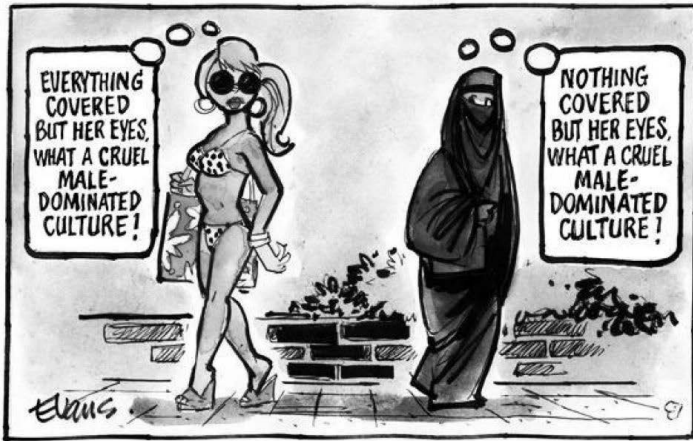


Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

## Sources of drawings

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#### Caricature drawings attacking Islam and its practitioners

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[http://www.angelfire.com/wi3/tomahpalace/images/Islamic\\_Cartoon9.gif](http://www.angelfire.com/wi3/tomahpalace/images/Islamic_Cartoon9.gif)
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<http://www.cairchicago.org/images/temp/higgins.gif>
- Fig. 3. Jyllands-Posten 11-3-2012  
<http://www.google.com.eg/search?q=jyllands-posten+muhammad+cartoons>  
<http://www.somalinet.com/forums/viewtopic.php?t=300870>
- Fig. 4. Cartoon Movement  
<http://www.commonsevaluation.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/The-Difference-Between-A-Radical-And-Moderate-Muslim.jpg>
- Fig. 5. Skeptic Money 14-5-2014  
<http://www.skepticmoney.com/moderate-muslims-defend-islam/>  
<http://i58.servimg.com/u/f58/15/84/95/15/cartoo10.jpg>
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<http://www.commonsevaluation.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/The-Difference-Between-A-Radical-And-Moderate-Muslim.jpg>
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<http://www.cairchicago.org/images/temp/feature113.jpg>
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<http://hereticdhammasangha.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/islamic-hypocrisy-islamic-hypocrisy-politics-1313345218.jpg>
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[http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/data/upimages/cartoon\\_moderate\\_taliban.jpg](http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/data/upimages/cartoon_moderate_taliban.jpg)
- Fig. 11. Jyllands-Posten 30-10-2005  
[http://www.ultragod.com/danish\\_muslim\\_cartoon.jpg](http://www.ultragod.com/danish_muslim_cartoon.jpg)

## Group 2

### Caricature drawings against the Western press

- Fig. 12. Carlos Latuff. Latuff Cartoons 9-2012  
<https://latuffcartoons.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/>  
<https://latuffcartoons.wordpress.com/tag/new-york>
- Fig. 13. Daryl Cagle's Professional Cartoonists Index 2-2006  
<http://www.cagle.com/news/muhammad>  
<http://quietkid.files.wordpress.com/2006/02/cartoon.png>
- Fig. 14. Khalil Bendib "Peace Earth and Justice news" 2-2006  
<http://www.bendib.com/newones/2006/february/small/2-5-Denmark-cartoons.jpg>
- Fig. 15. Lattuf Cartoons  
<https://latuffcartoons.files.wordpress.com>  
<https://hshidayat.wordpress.com>
- Fig. 16. Nayer Talal. Cartoon Movement 27-12- 2010  
<http://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/880>  
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## Group 3

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- Fig. 17. Giacomo Cardelli. Cartoon Movement 11-6-2013  
<http://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/870>  
<http://sites.rnw.nl/flash/new-slideshows/wilders-cartoons/images/05.jpg>
- Fig. 18. Iran Politics Club  
[http://iranpoliticsclub.net/cartoons/chador/pages/Britney%20Spears\\_gif.htm](http://iranpoliticsclub.net/cartoons/chador/pages/Britney%20Spears_gif.htm)
- Fig. 19. Cartoon Stock  
[http://lowres.cartoonstock.com/religion-culture-cultural\\_differences-culture\\_clashes-muslim-muslim\\_women-wda1756\\_low.jpg](http://lowres.cartoonstock.com/religion-culture-cultural_differences-culture_clashes-muslim-muslim_women-wda1756_low.jpg)
- Fig. 20. Ahmed Samir. Toon Pool 18-5-2013  
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- Fig. 21. Cartoon Stock  
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- Fig. 25. Jean Gouders. Cartoon Movement 14-04-2011  
[http://www.cartoonmovement.com/depot/cartoons/2011/04/14/oppression\\_tradition\\_\\_jean\\_gouders.jpeg](http://www.cartoonmovement.com/depot/cartoons/2011/04/14/oppression_tradition__jean_gouders.jpeg)