

REPRESENTATIONS OF US ACTS OF EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY AS
ILLUSTRATED IN PAKISTANI-ENGLISH POLITICAL CARTOONS

by

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ABSTRACT

Representations of US Acts of Extra-Territoriality as Illustrated in Pakistani-English
Political Cartoons

by

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The geopolitical significance of Pakistan in the Global War on Terror has led to multiple instances of the US acting in an extra-territorial manner. Repeated territorial intrusion by the US strains US-Pakistan relations because extra-territoriality is viewed as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. This study analyzes Pakistani-English political cartoons to examine the ways the US extra-territoriality is represented. Approximately 2940 political cartoons are collected from four Pakistani-English newspapers: *Dawn*, *The Express Tribune*, *The Nation*, and *The News*. Wallerstein's world-system theory provides the theoretical backdrop to demonstrate the explicit (military) and implicit (economic, cultural, and political/diplomatic) means a hegemonic-core power can act extra-territorially towards a state in the periphery. A combination of content analysis and social semiotic analysis methodologies is used. Content analysis reveals a total of 323 US-related political cartoons that are classified into themes of economic, cultural, military,

and political/diplomatic depictions in political cartoons. A visual social semiotic analysis deconstructs the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality as expressed in the various themed political cartoons. The outcome of these two methodologies provides a holistic illustration of the ways US extra-territoriality in a sovereign but periphery state like Pakistan is viewed.

(75 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Representations of US Acts of Extra-Territoriality as Illustrated in Pakistani-English

Political Cartoons

Aina S. Niaz

The significance of Pakistan as an international state cannot be downplayed. Not only is Pakistan the first Islamic state to develop its nuclear power, but Pakistan has served as an important geostrategic state to the US on several occasions. The US-Pakistan geopolitical relationship was most vividly highlighted during the final years of the Cold War; and has reemerged again in the Global War on Terror. This thesis will examine Pakistani-English political cartoons to examine the way US extra-territoriality is represented visually. Approximately 2940 political cartoons are collected from four Pakistani-English newspapers: *Dawn*, *The Express Tribune*, *The Nation*, and *The News*. A combination of content analysis and social semiotic analysis methodologies was applied to examine the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality. Content analysis reveals a total of 323 US-related political cartoons, which are then classified into themes of economic, cultural, military, and political/diplomatic. A visual social semiotic analysis deconstructs the way extra-territoriality appears in the political cartoons. The outcome of these two methodologies provides a holistic illustration of the ways US extra-territoriality in a sovereign but periphery state like Pakistan is viewed.

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Aina S. Niaz

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INTRODUCTION

The landscape of international politics was dramatically altered on September 11, 2001 when terrorist attacks took place at the two most important signifiers of the United States' power—the Pentagon in Washington DC, and the Twin Towers in New York City. The 9/11 attacks significantly altered the US psyche of security. The terrorist attacks demonstrated not only a direct physical attack, but represented a challenge to US hegemony. Thus, it was no surprise when the US declared the Global War on Terror; and utilized much of its resources to obtain support from the international community.

The geopolitics of the Global War on Terror led to the development of several policies, including both homeland security and foreign policies. In the domestic sphere, there was an increased use of civilian surveillance and monitoring (Rodriguez, 2008). Moreover, as it was revealed that the perpetrators of the 9/11 were of Islamic faith, the Muslim community became heavily affected by several instances of racial discrimination and hate-crimes (Disha, Cavendish, & King, 2011). From the foreign policy end, many states joined the US to become involved in the Global War on Terror. While some countries experienced direct instances of extra-territoriality through security imperatives, several other states became involved through various political and military alliance (Boyle, 2008). Among the several states involved in the Global War on Terror, Pakistan emerged to be a significant ally to the US (Boyle, 2008; Fani, 2005).

Acting as a strategic ally in the Global War on Terror led to dramatic changes in Pakistani politics. This became evident when, upon forming alliance with the US, Pakistan experienced several US military interventions, ranging from ground operation

forces to attacks by unmanned aerial vehicles, commonly termed drones (O'Loughlin, Witmer, & Linke, 2010). The reactionary effect was the tremendous rise in domestic insurgencies and terrorist attacks in the cities and towns of Pakistan (Savun & Phillips, 2009). Escalating political violence caused Pakistan's economy to suffer, as increasing expenditure became directed towards military and security purposes (Nelson, 2009). Additionally, the Northern borderland areas of Pakistan became affected by an increased influx of refugees from the US-led operations in Afghanistan (Ikram, 2006). Furthermore, Pakistan experienced an increase in internally displaced people due to regional military operations and ongoing drone attacks (Butool, 2013).

The devastating implication of the Global War on Terror has led to various movements of resistance towards US presences and practices in Pakistan. The common assumption of sovereignty is the state-centric idea that each state has the power to control its territories up to its borders (Flint, 2004, p. 367). Extra-territoriality is then the "imposition of power and influence by one nation-state into the sovereign spaces of other nation-states" (Flint, 2004, p. 367). Despite Pakistan's resistance towards US extra-territoriality, Pakistan's geopolitical significance in the Global War on Terror has led the US to repeatedly ignore Pakistan's resistance. Consequently, extra-territoriality continues to strain US-Pakistan ties, as Pakistan views such actions a violation of its sovereignty.

More importantly, interpreting Pakistan's resistance to US extra-territoriality must be understood in light of Pakistan's geopolitical position internationally. Pakistan's sense of nationalism is inextricably territorial because of its history of colonialism, its succession from India as a separate state, and the loss of East Pakistan, now recognized as Bangladesh (Khan, 2005). Likewise, Pakistan's volatile relationship with its bordering

neighbors, India and Afghanistan, perpetuates a geographic insecurity that results in a national imperative to develop its military strength (Khan, 2005). Thus, Pakistan's geopolitical alliances depict a range of strategies that involves pursuing alliances with powerful states, like the US and China, to ameliorate its territorial insecurity (Khan, 2005).

However, Pakistan's historical experience with US, as well as its current position in the Global War on Terror, reinforces a view of an unequal partnership—the view of a mere client state for the US to pursue extra-territorial goals. Initially, Pakistan enjoyed a favorable political and military relationship with the US. During the earlier years of the Cold War, Pakistan was identified as an important geostrategic state to US-Soviet bipolarity. Consequently, in September 1954, Pakistan entered into a military pact with the US as “a founding member of the South East Treaty Organization (SEATO) and one year later joined the Baghdad Pact” (Smith, 2011, p. 200). However, Pakistan's relations with the US became very strained during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, which resulted in the US suspending arms shipments to both India and Pakistan.

The placement of a military embargo and withdrawal of aid during time of war was perhaps the first instance when US-Pakistan ties went sour. The general sentiment felt amongst most Pakistanis towards the US is succinctly summed up by Shakoor (2001):

Though the United States suspended military supplies to both Pakistan and India, it, however, was fully aware of the fact that unlike Pakistan, India had other sources to procure military hardware. (Shakoor, 2001, pp. 24-25)

The Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, and for that matter the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, elucidated a view of the US as a self-interested actor in its ties with Pakistan. As a result,

Pakistan began to foster a better geopolitical relationship with its bordering neighbor China (Smith, 2011).

Pakistan understood that its primary value amounts to its territorial position for the US; Pakistan's view of being a "geopolitical pawn" was strongly reinforced after the end of the Cold War. The international arena became substantially altered with the demise of Soviet Union. Because the Soviet Union posed no risk to US hegemony, Pakistan's geostrategic value in South Asia was deemed no longer relevant. One year after the end of the Cold War, the US reinstated economic and military sanction through the Pressler Amendment (Smith, 2011). Even greater sanction was placed on Pakistan by President Bill Clinton because of Pakistan's nuclear weapons tests in 1998 (Smith, 2011). The withdrawal of US aid after the end of Cold War, and later economic embargos imposed because of Pakistan's pursuit to develop its nuclear capabilities, led to deteriorating ties between US-Pakistan.

While the post-Cold War world order became altered favorably for the US, the repercussions of the war were left to Afghanistan and Pakistan to ameliorate. As a result of the post-Soviet War in Afghanistan, a large influx of Afghan refugees entered Pakistan. Pakistan was left to cater to the refugee needs with no US foreign assistance (Haqqani, 2013). The border area of Afghanistan-Pakistan became increasingly problematic as "the presence of a large number of trained militants on its soil undermined the writ of the Pakistani state" (Haqqani, 2013, p. 268). Leftover weaponry from the Cold War, intended for the 'mujahideen', or the Afghan freedom fighters as termed by the US, entered and spread into cities of Pakistan (Haqqani, 2013). The chaos in the borderland

region of Afghanistan and Pakistan also led to an increase of drug trafficking (Haqqani, 2013).

The brisk withdrawal by the US after the Cold War, especially the terms of foreign aid necessary to recuperate after the war, played an important role in fostering Islamist fundamentalism and the deteriorating socioeconomic situation in Pakistan. The bitter memories of post-Cold War era remain instilled in the Pakistani perception of its relationship with the US, which manifests in the mutual distrust between US-Pakistan alliances in the Global War on Terror. Through a critical geopolitics angle, adopting Wallerstein's world-system theory as the theoretical and contextual framework, this thesis examines the themes of extra-territoriality in Pakistani-English political cartoons.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A Critical Geopolitics Framework

As a field of inquiry, critical geopolitics developed largely through the scholarship of various critical theorists belonging to the post-structuralist and post-modernist movement. Hence, an important method that has driven critical geopolitics is the examination of discourse: Specifically the several layers of geopolitical discourse narrated to legitimize sociopolitical viewpoints or practices internationally. Such discourse was particularly evident during the colonial era of the late nineteenth century. This was a time when developing powers, like the United States and Japan, “emerged into global prominence” and the European Great Powers, specifically Britain and France “renewed their colonial activities” (Agnew, 2002, p. 52). The increasing inter-state rivalry amongst powerful states bred a geopolitical environment of “propagandizing the increasingly enfranchised masses into believing colonial expansionism was in everyone’s interest... [which] explicitly addressed and theorized the influence of geography on the social evolution of states and the conduct of foreign policy” (Ó Tuathail, 1996a, pp. 21-22). Accordingly, each state’s geopolitical goal was to be relatively superior on a global geopolitical stage, competing discursively as well as materially within an expanding and interconnected international landscape.

The field of critical geopolitics developed by continuing to deconstruct the various underlying assumptions and rhetorical devices embedded in discourse and practices in different historical-geographical contexts. Borrowing from post-structuralist and post-modernist scholarship, particularly Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, critical

geopolitics scrutinized the various geopolitical projections and practices (Atkinson & Dodds, 2002). It is important to note, however, that though both movements emerged during a post-colonial era, post-structuralism is specifically a literary critique of structuralism, whereas post-modernism is a broad critical response within the humanities (Patterson, 1989). More importantly, both movements provided the groundwork to alter the traditional view of discourse by highlighting the importance of context, the possibility of several interpretations embedded in discourses, and the various ideological and structural mechanisms set in place to favor specific discourses (Patterson, 1989). Nonetheless, prior to analyzing the post-structuralist and post-modernist framework, one must begin with the initial groundwork leading up to the two movements: structuralism.

Structuralism emerged through the linguistic framework developed by the Swiss Professor Ferdinand de Saussure. Broadly, structuralism emphasizes structure as the overarching framework to defining human reality. Saussure postulated language as the foundation to communicating human experiences. As such, language is the medium to discourse—providing the structure to the systematic use of signs in language. Saussure defines the linguistic setup through the use of *langue* and *parole*, where *langue* refers to the rules and grammar structuring language, and *parole* refers to the everyday varied speech acts and expressions of language made by individuals (De Saussure, 2011). Within this linguistic setup, the core building blocks of a language are signs. Each sign has the dual identity of a signified, the abstract concept, and a signifier, the material textual reference, to serve the function of communicating linguistically (De Saussure, 2011).

More importantly, particularly for understanding critical geopolitics, is Saussure's prioritization of the *langue* over *parole* and the signified over the signifier. Saussure viewed language as a closed linguistic system, where signs functioned to create the mental construction of the signified (Brown, 2005). Consequently, *langue* provides the structure to the language, whereas the signified evokes the mental construction. Together, the *langue* and signified contributed to the role of structuring language, with one providing the linguistic framework (*langue*) and the other eliciting the mental construction (signified). The effect of this view, however, as Brown (2005) notes, is that "instead of the world determining the order of our language, our language determines the order of the world" (p. 43). It is primarily through this idea that Derrida counters the structuralist semiotic framework by arguing for a deconstructionist approach.

In contrast to Saussure, Derrida prioritized the signifier because it serves as the material manifestation of language through the medium of the text. Moreover, in prioritizing the signified, Derrida argues that one assumes that the referent is something that can be understood unequivocally, which "privileges senses of 'reality' and 'certainty' in human understanding of things" (Brown, 2005, p. 40). This idea is reiterated in the oft-quoted (and typically misunderstood) statement by Derrida: "There is nothing outside of the text" (Brown, 2005, p. 95). This statement directs one to not only the importance of contextuality of texts, but also the removal of the certainty brought by the 'real thing', as implied by the signified. Consequently readers should be aware of the multiplicities of meanings in texts, since different people may view a text from different conceptual structures.

In critiquing Saussure's structuralist paradigm, Derrida substantially altered the singular interpretive process of texts to one that involves considering the context, the multiplicity of views, and interpretations potentially embedded within a text. Ó Tuathail, in his seminal work *Critical Geopolitics*, implements Derrida's technique of deconstruction to outline critical geopolitics as a study that unravels the various signs embedded in geopolitics. Ó Tuathail (1996a) describes the deconstructive approach as a necessity because "context, for Derrida, is a question of text that is not simply a written book or volume but a way of describing the inevitably signified or written nature of our social life" (Ó Tuathail, 1996a, p. 56). Hence, signs are not just "innocent sites of declarative facts and constative statement about the world" but rather a way to "mark the site of space/power/knowledge production system" (Ó Tuathail, 1996a, p. 52). Similar to Derrida problematizing the structuralist paradigm, Ó Tuathail (1996a) argues for the necessity of problematizing the signified understanding of geopolitical discourse to deconstruct "the pervasive geographical politics of foreign policy discourses, the ways in which the global political scene is geo-graphed by foreign policy regimes of truth" (p. 14).

Along with Derrida, the various critical writings by Michel Foucault also played an influential role to the development of critical geopolitics. Foucault viewed discourse as a continuum of discontinuities—ever-evolving 'discursive formations' defined as the "distributed ways of knowing and thinking that make up specific domains of knowledge and practice...[which] help to constitute positions and perspectives that inevitably change as discursive context change" (Murdoch, 2006, p. 31). Foucault sought to understand the social world through the disunities of discourse over time, with each reigning terrain of

discourse organized as ‘epistemes’ to reference the knowledge and practices socially configured of a particular era (Brown, 2005, p. 43). Within a framework of a continuous flow of discourse, the discontinuities (or disunities) are the displacements and transformative periods. Disunities are transformative because a single form of discourse becomes countered by a second emerging discourse—with the newer discourse challenging the former (Foucault, 1991, pp. 56-57).

As a result, discourse frames not only a critical geopolitics inquiry, but constitutes the primary way Foucault undertook his studies. Foucault’s (1977) work *Discipline and Punish* especially illuminates the way discipline links knowledge and power in the production of institutions governing social and spatial spheres. Discipline is defined not only as a means to control the body, but a descriptor for the several organized bodies of knowledge such as the study of medicine, law, and other academic enterprises. Hence, the defining feature of discipline itself encompasses the conceptuality of controlling the body as well as the ways in which knowledge is organized. Concomitantly, discipline produces what Foucault terms as the examination, or a ‘normalizing gaze’ creating a social threshold where deviation justifies marginalization or punishment (Ó Tuathail, 1994). Applying this to the critical geopolitics framework, Ó Tuathail (1994) illustrates the ways in which discipline becomes manifested in geopolitics:

Contemporary global politics is replete with formal [Foucault’s] examinations: countries are inspected for arms control violations, nuclear power procedures, human rights abuses, market reform procedures, and structural adjustment programs. Add to these the persistent examinations of foreign policy diplomats, market analyst, spies, international relief agencies, freelance journalists, and the international news media. From the wire dispatch, to the secret cable, the satellite feed, the World Bank report, the IMF prognosis, and the photo reconnaissance image, territories are under perpetual examination. (p. 537).

Thus, governmentality becomes a mechanism of knowledge and power intertwined and produced through discourse to influence not only social viewpoints but to outline the material structure of society. To further hone in on the concept of critical geopolitics from a Foucauldian perspective, particularly in reference to the ways discipline becomes pervasively normalized in society, Ó Tuathail (1996a) postulates the necessity of “engaging not only geopolitical texts but also the historical, geographical, technological, and sociological contexts within which these texts arise and gain social meaning and persuasive force” (Ó Tuathail, 1996a, p. 57). Thus, the writings by Derrida and Foucault provide an important foundational element to a critical geopolitics inquiry, emphasizing the importance of discourse and the context through which discourses emerge to frame viewpoints.

Applying the work by Derrida and Foucault paved the way for critical geopolitics to investigate the particular and nationalized viewpoints of specific geopoliticians through an examination of discourse. Given the breadth of geopolitics, critical geopolitics classifies geopolitics as a tripartite study entailing three categories: formal geopolitics, practical geopolitics, and popular geopolitics (Ó Tuathail, Dalby, & Routledge, 2006). More importantly, the three forms of geopolitics are often intertwined to supplement or reinforce a particular geopolitical objective concomitantly. Through these three bodies of geopolitics, critical geopolitics scrutinizes discourse to deconstruct how writings, speeches, or visual artifacts that, when publicly circulated, are not merely existent to inform, but serve as “a set of capabilities, an ensemble of rules by which readers/listeners and speakers/audiences are able to take what they hear and read and construct into an organized meaningful whole” (Ó Tuathail & Agnew, 1992, p. 193).

In sum, critical geopolitics aims to deconstruct the representations of dominant discourse to unravel the signs utilized rhetorically to control various social and spatial spheres. A critical geopolitics framework is especially relevant to deconstructing the US-Pakistan ties, given the way the geopolitical environment dramatically became altered since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in US—resulting in an over decade long Global War on Terror. The US stands as a global world power, with several means (economically, culturally, militarily and political/diplomatically) to influence, structure, and order the geopolitical world. On the other hand, Pakistan is a recently emerged and developing state, but an important and longstanding ally to the US on the Global War on Terror. Therefore, a critical geopolitics inquiry provides an avenue to not only deconstruct the geopolitical discourse surrounding US-Pakistan ties, but an opportunity to view a global event through the lens of a non-hegemonic Western state—providing an alternative narrative to the geopolitical discourse related to the US-Pakistani ties.

The Geopolitical Context: A World-System Approach

Wallerstein’s world-system theory, specifically the concept of a core-periphery framework, provides a global geopolitical context to scrutinize US-Pakistani ties. World-system theory examines the social world in totality to delineate that a capitalist world-economy is currently the only historical social system in existence. Wallerstein (1974) posits that historically only two other types of social system have existed: mini-systems and world-empires. Within this framework, sixteenth century Europe developed a social system known as capitalism, featuring an “economic predominance of market trade” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 391) Since then, the prevailing world-system has been one of a

capitalist world-economy, where capitalism is a “means of labor as a commodity...[and] this specialization occurs in specific and differing geographic regions of the world-economy” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 400).

This view of totality provides the theoretical groundwork to investigate the inequalities pervasive among different countries by outlining the structural elements of the capitalist world-economy: core and periphery processes. States where core processes dominate refer to economic activities with “high wages, advanced technology and a diversified production mix” (Flint & Taylor, 2011, p. 20). In contrast, periphery processes refer to economic trends such as “low wages, more rudimentary technology, and a simple production mix” (Flint & Taylor, 2011, p. 20). While the core states are economically and culturally powerful states, the idea of a periphery by itself “implies that these new areas did not join the world-economy as ‘equal partners’ with existing members but that they joined on unfavorable terms” (Flint & Taylor, 2011, p. 20).

The persistence of the capitalist world-economy is partially due to “the concentration of military strength in the hands of the dominant forces” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 404). More importantly, however, Wallerstein postulates that “a second mechanism is the pervasiveness of an ideological commitment to the system as a whole” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 404). The survival of the system necessitates a ‘cultural stratification’, whereby the solution “is to have a three kinds of states, with pressure for cultural homogenization within each of them—thus, besides the upper stratum of core-states and the lower stratum of peripheral states, there is a middle stratum of semi-peripheral ones” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 405). States in which there is a relative balance of core and periphery processes are known as the semi-periphery. The role of semi-

peripheral states is to provide political stability by decreasing the economic and political polarization of a core-periphery framework. In this role, semi-peripheral states are “both exploited and exploiter” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 405).

The capitalist world-economy sets the framework to describe the emergence of hegemonies. Wallerstein postulates that a hegemonic power emerges only when it is able to be successful within the three economic sectors: agro-industrial production, commerce, and finance (Wallerstein, 1983). Gaining the economic edge allows for a hegemonic power to emerge because the “ongoing rivalry between the so-called ‘great powers’ is so unbalanced that one power can largely impose its rules and its wishes in the economic, political, military, diplomatic, and even cultural arenas” (Wallerstein, 1983, p. 101). This empowers the hegemon to prescribe international structures favorable to preserving its global dominance (Wallerstein, 1983). The structures imposed by a hegemon are legitimized through ideological terrains to place the hegemon in an advantageous position relative to other states. This approach is a translation to the global scale of Gramsci’s cultural hegemony, where the purpose is to create “a new ideological terrain, [which] determines a reform of consciousness and of methods of knowledge . . . [and] introducing a new morality in conformity with a new conception of the world” (Gramsci & Forgacs, 2000, p. 192).

Hence, hegemonic powers secure global dominance partially through creating a culture dictating that the values of the core are aligned and favorable to the periphery. This idea of cultural hegemony, from a world system approach, is described as prime modernity. Taylor (1999) in his work *Modernities: A Geohistorical Interpretation* postulates that hegemonic powers are producers of a specific modernity, where modernity

is the cultural-ideological attempt to organize knowledge such that other states become involved in the process of social change. Flint and Falah (2004) describe this as a hegemon's integrative power, whereby the hegemon carries other states into its geopolitical projects through representations of its own "desirable" modern lifestyle. The example of US hegemony is the lure of the suburban lifestyle, depicting the comforts of modern every-day reality of a secure living with abundance in consumption of goods. Trajectories of prime modernity are disseminated through popular culture, such as Hollywood movies, which globalizes visual depictions of the suburban success (Flint & Falah, 2004). Consequently, this leads an increasing power for the hegemon, who is able to then define "others' future in its own present . . . [and consequently] accrues a remarkable cultural power to define modernity and thus restructure the world in its own image" (Chase-Dunn et al., 1994, p. 363).

By gaining economic and cultural prowess, a hegemonic power concomitantly develops militarily and politically—acquiring the geopolitical ability to flex its influence on material outcomes. One such form of power is the construction and control of territory, through the related concept of territoriality.. Territoriality, as defined by Sacks (1983), is "the attempt to affect, influence, or control actions and interactions (or people, things, and relationships) by asserting and attempting to enforce control over a geographic area" (Sacks, 1983, p. 55). While the capitalist world-economy is arranged as a politics of ostensibly sovereign nation-states, a hegemonic power maintains its position by acting in an extra-territorial manner; meaning it seeks to impose its goals and presence in the sovereign spaces of other states.

The US is the current hegemonic-core power, whereas Pakistan is a state in the periphery still recovering from the aftermath of the Cold War—and has again emerged as a frontline state in the Global War on Terror. The US-Pakistan relationship is unequal, as expected and depicted within the core-periphery framework. A world-system approach describes a hegemonic-core power as dominant within four domains: economic, cultural, military, and political/diplomatic domains (Wallerstein, 1974, 1983). Hence, the four features will serve as categories to depict the US implicit and explicit spatial practices of extra-territoriality in Pakistan’s sovereign spaces as part of the Global War on Terror. Pakistani-English political cartoons will be analyzed to explore the ways in which the particular core-periphery relationship between the US and Pakistan is represented.

Critiques of Critical Geopolitics

Among the several critiques of critical geopolitics, a primary concern relates to an issue of methodology. Since the major groundwork of critical geopolitics advanced through a post-structuralist and post-modernist framework, a key critique is the ambiguity in the conceptualization of discourse. Although Müller (2008) acknowledges the importance of discourse in the construction of geopolitical worldviews, he simultaneously postulates the necessity of narrowing discourse to “a lowest common denominator that is shared across all the different usages” (Müller, 2008, p. 323). To remedy this problem, Müller (2008) suggests probing the idea of discourse back to a post-structuralist epistemological framework, to then “reconceptualize discourse in view of recent critiques so that it affords a broader view of the social beyond the focus on texts and images, without giving up the critical notion that it is so closely tied to?” (Müller, 2008, p. 323).

The necessity to refine the concept of discourse is reiterated because of the increasing shift towards studies on performativity in critical geopolitics. Performativity departs from the view of popular geopolitics which places a key focus on “the elite vision of media moguls, movie directors, and lower-level yet still relatively empowered media functionaries like writers and reporters” (Dittmer & Gray, 2010, p. 1664). Instead, performativity concentrates on the everyday practices of the multitude—absent of a primarily elite vision to move “beyond constructivism [of discourse] . . . to capture the ‘onflow’ . . . of everyday life” (Thrift, 2008, p. 5). This shift can especially be noted in feminist geopolitics, where the “mundane acts of power that structure identities, interpolate citizen-subjects and therefore create and recreate political communities and agency” (Dowler & Sharp, 2001, p. 166). Thus, the emerging approaches towards performativity reinforce the concern of articulating a concept of discourse that encompasses features of discursive and performativity.

Another criticism of critical geopolitics includes the need to deviate from a ‘hegemonic fixation’, and towards an inquiry that provides an alternative perspective of geopolitics. Arguably, this idea can be termed as an ‘anti-geopolitical eye’—the way in which ‘the gaze’ of hegemonic constructions is shifted to examine the alternative narrative by different sources:

...an eye that disturbs and disrupts the hegemonic foreign policy gaze, a way of seeing that, while hardly unproblematic itself, persistently transgresses, unravels and exceeds the frameworks scripting... in Western geopolitical discourse. (Ó Tuathail, 1996b, p. 173)

This view can be demonstrated in subaltern geopolitics studies. As defined by Sharp (2011a), subaltern geopolitics concentrates on the geopolitics of below, analyzing discourse to understand “the possibility that political identities can be established through

geographical representations that are neither fully “inside” nor “outside”... a model of political subjectivity to challenge that perpetuated by dominant western geopolitics that does not rely on otherness” (p. 272). This is demonstrated in Sharp’s (2011b) work, where she examines newspapers published in Tanzania to explore a non-Western discourse on geopolitics of the Global War on Terror.

Another methodological concern is the interpretation of the audience reception. This concern is highlighted in Dodds’ (2006) analysis of James Bond film reviews on Internet Movie Database (IMDb); and requires one “to think through in more detail how new media cultures, fandom and audience research can feed through into a more sophisticated understanding of how people (whether fans or not) view and interpret films” (Dodds, 2006, p. 127). Accordingly, critical geopolitics is concerned with the ways the audience deconstructs discursive artifacts to interpret the discourse relayed—or the ways in which audiences “create their own systems of meanings” of the several geopolitical representations (Dittmer & Gray, 2010, p. 1669). This necessitates one to view media artifacts not in isolation, but in conjunction with methodologies that inquires direct viewers feedback on the larger geopolitical discourse.

(RE)-ADDRESSING THE CRITIQUES OF CRITICAL GEOPOLITICS

Conceptual Clarity of Discourse

Analyzing discourse is a common approach to studies in critical geopolitics. However, a key critique in critical geopolitics concerns the need to conceptualize discourse such that it applies universally to various studies (Müller, 2008, p. 329). The necessity of a broad conceptualization of discourse is reiterated because of the growing literature on performativity. To address this concern, this paper adopts the conceptual understanding of discourse as postulated by Müller (2008), which refers to discourse as linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomenon—a conceptualization discourse that manifests both in language and practice. Müller’s (2008) conceptualization of discourse is robust because it accounts for the interrelation between the linguistic element of representational (textual, auidial, or visual) artifacts and the material reality of everyday practices in performativity.

In borrowing from Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) theory on discourse, Müller (2008) ameliorates the dichotomous understanding of discourse: “What makes Laclau and Mouffe’s concept of discourse unique is its all-encompassing character in relationship to the social... the whole social space is engaged in the process of creating meaning and, therefore, is of discursive and the non-discursive” (Müller, 2008, p. 329). Hence, discourse is defined as simultaneous and interrelated processes of both representation (linguistic) and performativity (extra-linguistic). Acknowledging the nexus between representational and performativity enables a critical geopolitics inquiry to explore the several ways geopolitical processes are foregrounded both on an ideological

as well as constructive process in shaping the world. In this case, political cartoons are evaluated with respect to the US-Pakistan geohistorical relationship; specifically events reflecting the US-Pakistan partnership in the Global War on Terror.

Pakistan's Alternative Discourse

As well as specifying an understanding of discourse, this thesis is concerned with studying political cartoons published in Pakistani-English newspapers. In doing so, this thesis examines an alternative discourse of popular geopolitics by a non-hegemonic, but internationally relevant, state. By utilizing political cartoons published in Pakistani-English newspaper this study provides a visual perspective to analyze Pakistani media outlets. It also specifies the scope of the Pakistani audience—mainly the Pakistani people that can read the English language. Moreover, equally important is acknowledging the geopolitical nature of Pakistani-English newspapers. Because of the newspapers production in English, the newspaper inherently calls for a broader readership internationally. The four Pakistani-English newspapers examined in this paper all have e-paper access online free of charge as well as accessible archives of previous issues. Hence, this paper contributes to the literature in critical geopolitics by providing an alternative representational discourse from a non-hegemonic and non-Western society.

Deconstructing Visual Rhetoric in Political Cartoons

Along with examining an alternative discourse by a peripheral state, this thesis is concerned with deconstructing the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality in Pakistani-

English political cartoons. Specifically, this thesis uses a social semiotic approach to studying how producers construct a visual rhetoric to influence viewers' perceptions. It is important to note, however, that a key critique in critical geopolitics relates to the audience reception of discourse. Audiences create their own systems of meaning when it comes to interpreting any single discourse; which includes interpreting discourse as intended or not by the producer (Dittmer & Gray, 2010; Dodds, 2006). Accordingly, a critical geopolitics analysis should attempt to examine not only the representation or practice that inspires discourse, but also account for the varied system of meanings produced by the audience.

This thesis does not examine the ways in which the audience perceives an image. It does, however, provide an opportunity to deconstruct the ways producers utilize visual techniques to influence audiences' reception of an image. By contextualizing the geohistorical US-Pakistani ties, a social semiotic analysis scrutinizes the ways visual representations create meaning. Moreover, cartoonists can employ additional visual techniques such as the use of caricaturing to symbolically represent or exaggerate a specific object in an image (Abraham, 2009). Thus, this thesis attempts to interpret the meaning as constructed by the producers of the political cartoon by accounting for the social context of Pakistani-English newspaper; and by using a social semiotic approach to deconstruct the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality in political cartoons.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Background

The data used for this research are political cartoons published by four mainstream English language Pakistani newspapers: *Dawn*, *The Express Tribune*, *The Nation*, and *The News*. All the political cartoons were collected by accessing each newspaper's online website. Specifically, the newspapers *Dawn* and *The News* have separate cartoon archives from which the political cartoons were collected; and political cartoons for *Express Tribune* and *The Nation* were collected by directly accessing e-paper archives for each day. Additionally, *Dawn* and *The News* typically published two political cartoons per edition, whereas *The Express Tribune* and *The Nation* published one cartoon per edition. All political cartoons were published under the heading of Editorial/Opinion section, and each newspaper has a primary cartoonist that regularly publishes his/her cartoon, with exception to *Dawn*, which has two cartoonists. Moreover, it is important to note that in some cases, political cartoons were either not published or were not uploaded correctly. In such circumstances, no cartoon for that date was collected. A total of 2940 political cartoons were manually collected and analyzed beginning from May 2013 through the end of December 2014.

The examination of political cartoons is important for several reasons. Political cartoons are a visual construction of an opinion piece (Abraham, 2009). They visually communicate important messages through the use of humor. More importantly, the lightheartedness and openness in the visual illustration of cartooning diminishes the repercussion of censorship as opposed to textual works that have more specificity in

meaning (Falah, Flint, & Mamadouh, 2006). Simultaneously, cartoons provide a unique opportunity to amplify details in an image to make a point through the simplified technique of caricaturing (McCloud, 1993). Moreover, as Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) emphasize, political cartoons are often symbolically constructed to contribute to the political discourse. As a result, political cartoons are able to strategically utilize humorous visual depictions to “distill complex social issues into a single frame that captures the essence of an issue” (Abraham, 2009, p. 119).

The specified Pakistani-English newspapers were selected primarily because of each newspaper’s unique political slant. *The News* is affiliated with the largest media outlet in Pakistan, with a political slant towards being moderately conservative (Mousavipour, 2014; Ricchiardi, 2012). *Dawn* is also affiliated with a large media group, and enjoys the greatest readership among all the Pakistani English newspapers; and a political leaning towards a secular liberal outlook (Mousavipour, 2014; Ricchiardi, 2012). Conversely, although *The Nation* is also another Pakistani-English mainstream newspaper, its political leanings are very conservative, and known for “embracing the nationalist ideological discourse on which the country was being built” (Muppidi & Pradhan, 2012, p. 334). Lastly, in contrast to all the Pakistani-English newspaper, *The Express* has very strong liberal slant, and defines itself as Pakistan’s first internationally affiliated newspaper (Mousavipour, 2014).

Although each Pakistani-English newspaper has a varied political leaning, it is important to note that the media of Pakistan has historically been censored for various sociopolitical reasons by the reigning government. This was especially the case in the period of martial law, initially imposed in 1977 by self-appointed President of Pakistan

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (Niazi, 1994). Censorship is still an issue today, post-martial law. Freedom of the Press (2014a) scores for Pakistan determined the press status as “Not Free” for both the year of 2013 and 2014—receiving a score of 64 on a scale of 0-100, with higher scores indicating worsening status for both years. As a result, in noting the longstanding history of Pakistani press censorship, political cartoons become an even more important medium to examine the political discourse in Pakistan.

The specified time period of May 2013 through December 2014 was selected for two reasons. First, the press censorship since the time of Zia ul-Haq significantly diminished (Akhtar, 2000; Niazi, 1994). Second, and perhaps most importantly, the elections of May 2013 marked the first time in Pakistan’s history to have an uninterrupted transfer of power from one elected government to another without military intervention. The transition led to an overall improvement in Pakistan’s Freedom House (2014b) score, with voting determined as relatively free and fair. Consequently, the improving context of political freedom led to the decision to begin data collection in May 2013. Collection of data concluded in December 2014 to enable completion of the study.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a method used to explore the content in qualitative data, such as visual images. One major benefit to utilizing a content analysis approach is that it allows one to analyze qualitative data (such as images that are often subjective and open to interpretation) in a rigorous systematic format. This allows one to examine a large amount of qualitative data systematically to examine the patterns that may emerge. Moreover, the frequency of a pattern can also point to the significance of an issue in the

broader context of a relationship, or “a way of understanding the symbolic qualities of texts . . . to the wider cultural context of which they are a part” (Rose, 2012, p. 55). As a result, content analysis is used to classify the 2940 political cartoons into particular themes. Table 1 describes the ways the cartoons were codified to examine their representation of U.S.-Pakistan relations regarding the tension between extra-territoriality and sovereignty. And, Table 2 provides examples of the ways a theme may emerge in a political cartoon of a specified category. It is hypothesized that the themes in Pakistani-English political cartoons will illustrate the interplay between Pakistani sovereignty and US extra-territoriality, particularly in reference to the Global War on Terror.

Table 1

Textual and Visual Codes

Example of for Content Analysis	
Textual Codes	Visual Codes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drones <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Targeted Killing” • US Military Affiliates/Spies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Raymond Davis • U.S.A.; U.S.; America; American. • American Representative or Politicians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Obama, Kerry, Bush, etc. • U.S. Corporation and Companies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Starbucks, McDonalds, etc. • IMF • World Bank or WB • NATO • “War on Terror” • C.I.A. • Uncle Sam • Dollar • NSA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Images of Drones • Images of US Military or Spies • Images of American Flag or Symbols <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Combined symbol of stars and stripes; hues of colors and stripes • Illustration of American Representatives or Politician <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Obama, Kerry, Bush, etc. • “\$” sign • Pictorial representation of Uncle Sam. • Geographical depiction of U.S.A. • American Eagle • Images of US Cultural Reference <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Exp: Depictions of Hollywood/ Animated Characters; US-TV Reference; Images of Cowboys; or Depiction of US cities

Table 2

Thematic Categorization of Political Cartoons

Example of Themes of Extra-Territoriality in Political Cartoons	
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any sort of monetary contribution that influences US-Pakistan ties. Examples include distribution of foreign aid, loans, or other monetary incentives, where the US has considerable influence. • Examples include institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), or World Trade Organization (WTO).
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural attribute such as any processes of globalization illustrated in cartoons. • Popular culture through media such as presences of Hollywood. • Specific reference to American culture such as depiction of US cities or images of American Cowboys • Representation of American socio-cultural presence through various corporations or American symbols.
Military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political relations as depicted by US-Pakistani military representatives. • Depiction of key American security organizations or members affiliated with those organizations such as CIA or NSA. • Signs of military involvement such as use of drones or NATO weaponry supply, or involvement of American armed forces/troops. • Images of weapon in context to the US
Political/Diplomatic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depictions of meetings and public speeches made by US or Pakistani political members related to US-Pak ties. • Representations of American soft power (not intersected with other themes) in Pakistan. • US political representatives—or references to addresses American representatives • Reference to political US-Pak policies goals (not intersected with other themes).
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This category represents political cartoons that depict the United States but do not depict a US-Pakistan relationship. Because the newspapers in this study are international in their coverage, some political cartoons highlight internationally relevant news unrelated to US-Pakistani ties.

Some of the textual or visual signifiers coded in the content analysis are shown in Table 1. Such codes, whether textual or visual, are identified as important parts of the political cartoons and interpreted as a reflection of one of the four themes of spatiality identified by the theoretical framework. The spatial ingredients in this analysis are the themes representing the manifestations of US hegemonic extra-territoriality as defined by Wallerstein's approach: economic, cultural, military, and political/diplomatic. An additional "other" category is assigned to represent a US-themed political cartoon, though unrelated to US-Pakistani ties within the core-periphery framework. This approach enables a critical geopolitics approach to the various "spatial ingredient of political tropes to illustrate the power relations that lie behind the "naturalization" of political spaces." (Flint, 2005, p. 7). Each political cartoon that represents a US-Pakistan relationship is counted once. It is important to note the possibility of the intersections of multiple themes. For instance, one image may depict primarily an economic theme and simultaneously depict a secondary military theme. In that event, only the primary theme is determined and counted.

Social Semiotic Analysis

A social semiotic approach is applied to deconstruct the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality. Borrowing from the visual social semiotic paradigm developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), and methods of application by Jewitt and Oyama (2001), this thesis explores the themes of extra-territoriality related to US-Pakistan geopolitical ties. A visual social semiotic approach enables one to interpret the results from the content

analysis to deconstruct the various qualities and expressions of extra-territoriality embedded in the themes of the political cartoons.

The sample selections for the visual analysis are the US-related political cartoons found through the content analysis. Each theme will be analyzed to provide a holistic presentation of extra-territoriality. Among the several political cartoons, one political cartoon from each theme will be selected. The criterion for the selection is based on two key points. First, a political cartoon is selected on the basis of the repetitive representation of each theme, as found by the content analysis. Second, the political cartoon selected demonstrates a number of visual semiotic resources to provide insight on the discourse of extra-territoriality related to US-Pakistan ties.

As well, it is important to note that though a social semiotic analysis primarily deconstructs the elements of “what is in” the image, the meaning of a visual representation is interpreted contextually (Jewitt, 1998). As such, a visual social semiotic analysis requires one to confront the historical and contextual settings through which the political cartoons are produced. Visual representations, such as political cartoons, are viewed as a part of the broader discourse socially constructed to implement specific ideological views (Hodge & Kress, 1988). Hence, social semiotics is concerned with the ways in which ideological positions reflect the power structure of “knowledge that is constructed in such a way as to legitimate unequal social power relations” (Rose, 2012, p.70). This is an important aspect to the selection of this methodology, since the similarity of critical geopolitics and social semiotics framework provides an important foundational alignment to deconstructing the visual rhetoric in political cartoons.

A visual social semiotic analysis of political cartoons is executed by adopting the methods and techniques laid out by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) developed this framework by adopting Halliday's (1978) linguistic paradigm on the sociosemantic nature of discourse. In doing so, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) outlined the two important elements when examining visual representations:

... images 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 thing interactive participants do to or for each other through images). (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 119)

As such, a visual social semiotic analysis entails a three-part examination. The first examination concerns the representational meaning depicted through the actions of the representative participants in the political cartoons. The second examination concerns the interactive meaning, which evaluates the way the representative participants are designed to relate with the interactive participants (the viewers). The third examination concerns the compositional meaning, which scrutinizes the structuring of elements in an image to holistically examines the implication of the message and the broader discourse (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001).

Representational meaning is determined by first analyzing the representative participants in an image. This is detailed through identifying the people, places, or things highlighted in an image (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). In identifying the key representative participants, the next step requires studying the surrounding features such as the setting, the things depicted in the images, and the relationship created through the various visual

techniques. This enables one to identify the visual syntactic pattern. A visual syntactic pattern refers to the “function of relating visual participants to each other in meaningful ways” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 141). The two possible visual syntactic patterns are narrative structures and conceptual structures. Narrative structures connect participants through “an unfolding of actions, events, or processes of change” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 141). In contrast, conceptual patterns depict participants as “generalized, stable, or timeless ‘essences’ ... not represent[ing] them as doing something, but as being something, or meaning something, or belonging to some category” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 141). This provides insight to how visual resources, such as the multiple representations (or signifiers) in an image, are used to navigate discourse visually.

In contrast, interactive meaning refers to the process by which representative participants connect with the interactive participants (the viewers). Three factors play a role in establishing this relationship: distance, contact, and point of view. Contact refers to the connection made by the representative participant to interactive participants. For example, eye contact, or the gesture of pointing finger to the audience, refers to contact. Such actions are also referred to as “demand” pictures—images that demand attention to something (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). On the other hand, distance refers to the proximity between the representative participant and interactive participant. A close up of the representative participant creates an intimate relationship with the viewer; whereas, a further off view establishes a social or impersonal relationship (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). Lastly, the point of view refers to the framing of an image, established by illustrating representative participants in certain angles, to increase or decrease viewer association. For example, a

frontal and horizontal angle (shoulders facing forward) increases the audience association with the representative participants; in contrast, the vertical angle (such as a side view) is applied to decrease the audience association with the representative participants (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Finally, compositional meaning relates to the examination of the various elements of an image in totality. This entails primarily scrutinizing the placement of various elements as well as the visual syntactic pattern holistically. Compositional meaning is based on four important visual resources: information value, framing, salience, and modality (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Information value refers to the specific “placement of the elements of a composition” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 149). In contrast, framing specifically relates the “elements of a composition [that] can either be given separate identities, or represented as belonging together” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 149). As a result, framing provides the means to connection, disconnect, or relate the extent of the relationship between various objects or elements meaningfully (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). On the other hand, the use of salience in an image refers to the ways some elements are emphasized more than others. This could be through various visual techniques, such as size, color, or placement to highlight a particular element in an image. Alternatively, modality refers to the truth value that can be represented as reliable information close to reality, whether scientifically (through graphical representation) or naturalistically (viewed from the naked eye) (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Because political cartoon are opinion pieces, the visual modality is subjective; and therefore the visual modality will not be examined in this analysis. More importantly, the compositional

meaning provides the means to examine the structural elements in a cartoon to determine the general discourse relayed by the imagery.

A visual social semiotic analysis developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and outlined by Jewitt and Oyama (2001) provide a framework to deconstruct the visual rhetoric of an image. However, the strength of a social semiotic approach in deconstructing visual representation is the vast analytical tool developed from classical semiotics to present day studies of social semiotics to examine the “detailed accounts of the exact ways the meanings of an image are produced through that image” (Rose, 2012, p. 70). Consequently, this paper may implement studies and visual techniques to enhance the visual analysis through a social semiotic paradigm. Such studies may include, but are not limited to, Barthes’ and Heath’s (1988) denotative and connotative techniques, Bang’s (2000) studies of the ways compositional elements construct meaning, as well as the summary of visual techniques found in works by Berger (1989), Rose (2012), and Krages (2005) on visual analysis.

RESULTS

Content Analysis: Themes of Extra-Territoriality

Content analysis of 2940 political cartoons produced a total of 323 US-related cartoons, representing approximately 10% of the total cartoons collected. However, among the 323 US-related cartoons, only 273 cartoons depicted the four themes of extra-territoriality—approximately 9% of political cartoons. Table 3 provides the summary of results as well as the corresponding percentages of US-themed political cartoons; and Figure 1 provides a summary of all the themes by individual newspaper.

Table 3

Total Results of Themes by Newspapers, May 2013 – December 2014^a

Summary of Results May 2013 – December 2014							
	Economic	Cultural	Military	Political/ Diplomatic	Other	Total US- Theme Cartoons	Total Political Cartoons
Dawn	18 (5.57%)	4 (1.23%)	41 (12.6%)	29 (8.97%)	5 (1.54%)	97 (30.0%)	905
The Express Tribune	24 (7.43%)	7 (2.16%)	22 (6.81%)	18 (5.57%)	19 (5.88%)	90 (27.8%)	582
The Nation	6 (1.85%)	2 (.619%)	12 (3.71%)	13 (4.02%)	9 (2.78%)	42 (13.0%)	591
The News	39 (12.0%)	0 (0%)	27 (8.35%)	11 (3.4%)	17 (5.26%)	94 (29.1%)	862
Total US- Theme Cartoons by Newspaper	87 (26.9%)	13 (4.02%)	102 (31.5%)	71 (21.9%)	50 (15.4%)	323 (100%)	2940

^a The percentages in the table are calculated by dividing the count by the total number of US-Theme Cartoon.

Moreover, it is important to reiterate that *Dawn* and *The News* typically published two cartoons per newspaper. In contrast, *The Express Tribune* and *The Nation* published one cartoon per newspaper. However, *The Express Tribune* published the most US-related themed cartoons in spite of the fact it published one political cartoon per newspaper.

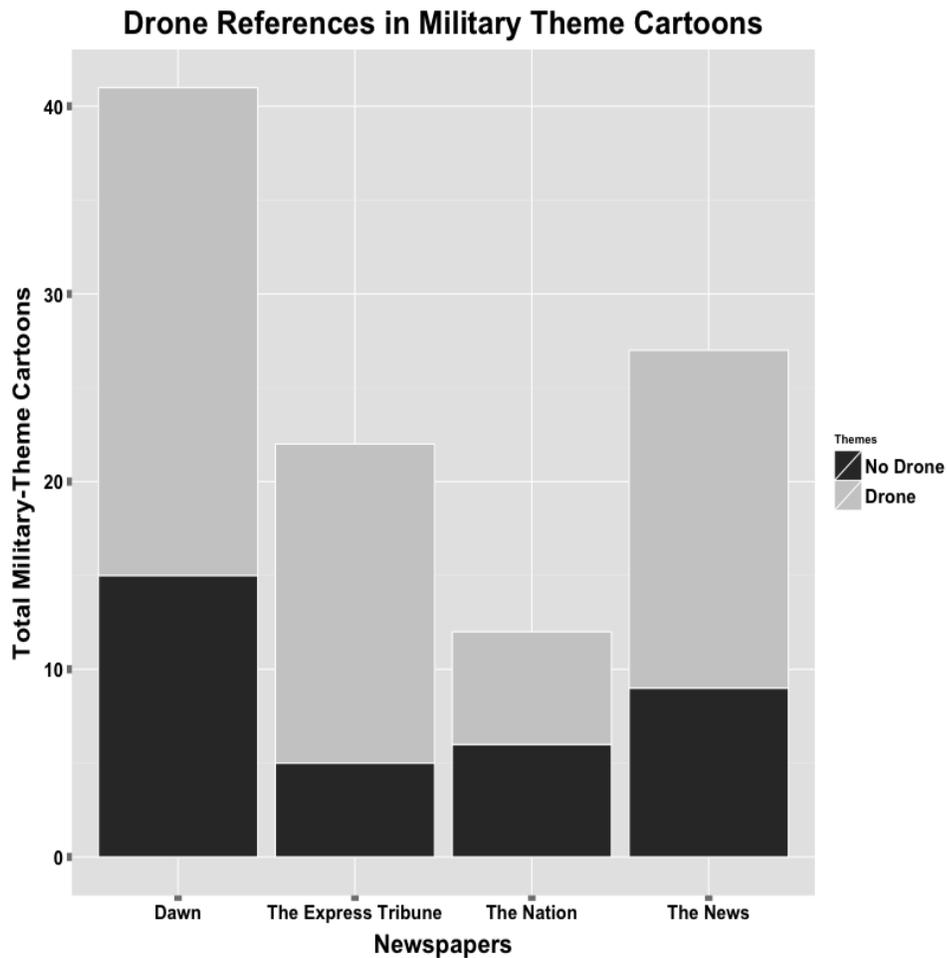


Figure 1: Reference of drones in military themed political cartoons.

Consequently, *The Express Tribune* contributed almost equally to *Dawn* and *The News* in the total make up of US-themed political cartoons. In contrast, *The Nation* contributed the least of the US-related political cartoon count.

Nonetheless, despite the differences in publication of political cartoons by newspapers, among the US-related cartoons analyzed, military representations composed the greatest count, depicted 31.5% of the time. Following the military theme, the second most counted theme is economic, composing a total of 26.9% of US-related political cartoons. The political/diplomatic theme closely followed, composing 21.9% of the US-related political cartoons. Unrelated to US-Pakistan ties, but portrayed more frequently than the cultural theme, the other category composed a total of 15.4% of US-related political cartoons. Lastly, very little coverage of the cultural theme was found, composing only 4.02% of the total US-related political cartoon count.

As well, since military representations appeared most frequently, the military themed political cartoons were re-examined in detail to examine drone depictions. This was because the issue of US extra-territoriality in the Global War on Terror has been especially highlighted by the ongoing use of drone warfare within the tribal areas of Pakistan. Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of the frequency of drones in the military theme cartoon, which revealed that reference to ongoing drone warfare in Pakistan composed the majority of military themed representations.

More interestingly, however, despite the frequent depiction of drones in military themed political cartoons, examining the coverage of all themes by newspaper displayed varied results. In examining Figure 2, which provides a summary of results by newspaper, one can note *Dawn* depicts a greater coverage of the military theme in its total US-related

cartoons, whereas *The News* places a greater emphasis on the economic theme. In contrast, *The Express Tribune* and *The Nation* have approximately an even representation of covering all themes. Interestingly, however, is the fact that all newspapers provide little to zero coverage of the US-related cultural theme in political cartoons.

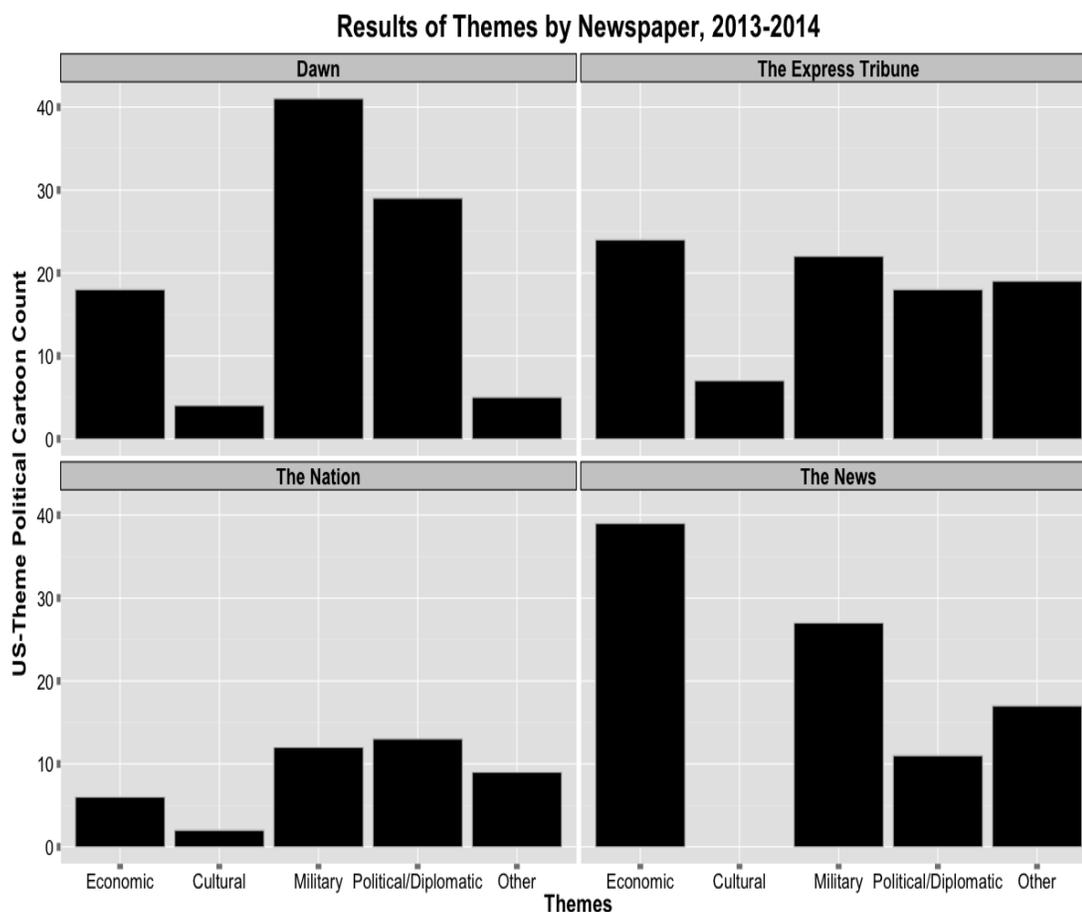


Figure 2: Results of themes by newspapers 2013-2014.

While Figure 2 provides a holistic summary of each theme reflected in US-related political cartoons by newspaper, Table 4 and Figure 3 provide an analysis on a yearly basis. Examining Table 4 reveals that the output of US-related political cartoons in 2013

is almost equivalent to the output of US-related political cartoons in 2014. In fact, all the newspaper examined in this study published more US-related cartoons in 2013 than in 2014—in spite of the fact that the collection of political cartoons for 2013 (May 2013 – December 2013) covered only 8 months, whereas every month was included in 2014 (January 2014 – December 2014). In other words, there is evidence that the US-Pakistan relationship was given greater scrutiny through political commentary in 2013 than in 2014.

Table 4

Results of Newspaper by Year

	2013 May 2013-Dec. 2013 (8months)		2014 Jan. 2014-Dec. 2014 (12months)	
	US-Theme	Total Cartoons	US-Theme	Total Cartoons
Dawn	53	277	44	628
The Express Tribune	48	232	42	350
The Nation	23	238	19	353
The News	54	339	40	523

Even though Table 4 reveals that most US-related political cartoons were published in 2013, Figure 3 provides a closer inspection of the output of the different theme by each year. Evaluating themes by year indicate that the military theme emerged with the most count for the 2013, whereas the economic theme had the highest count in 2014.

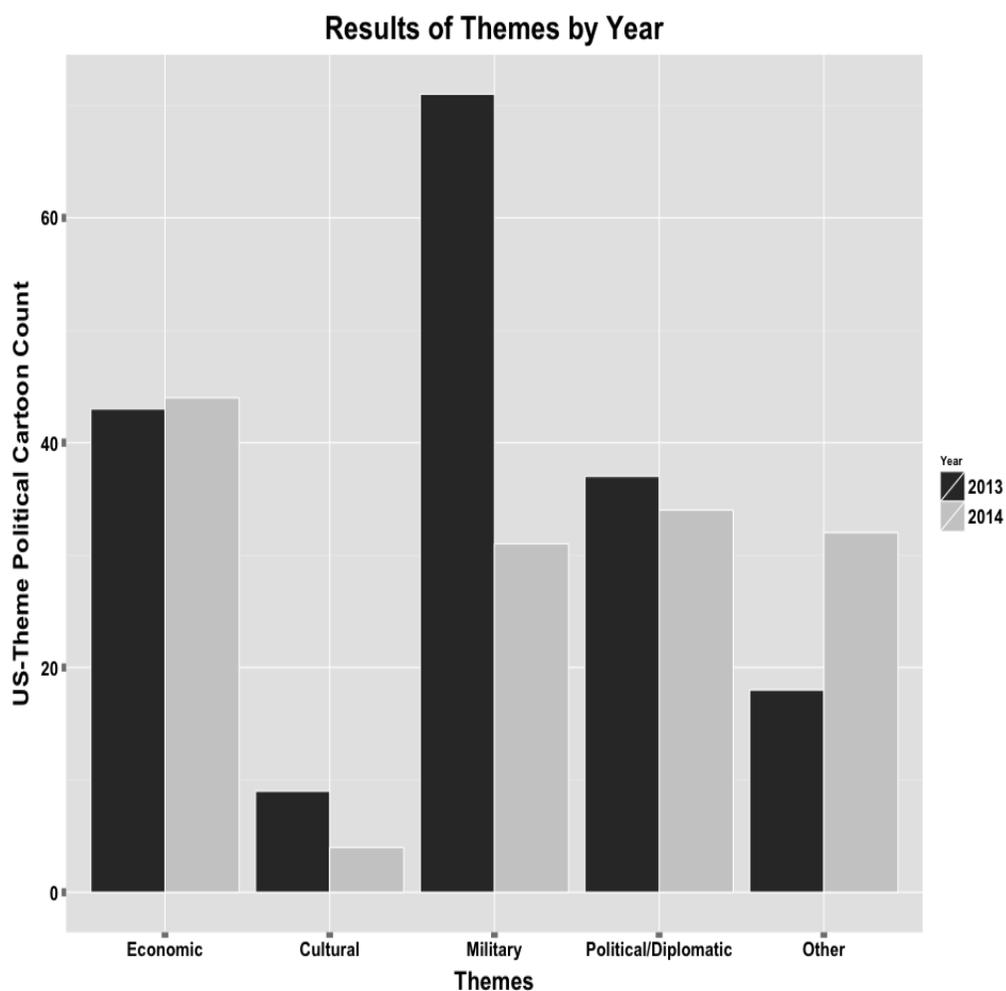


Figure 3: Summary of results of themes by year.

However, US-related political cartoons not depicting US-Pakistani ties also showed an increase in publication in 2014. Nonetheless, despite the changes in the military, economic, and other categories, the changes related to output of cultural and political/diplomatic themed cartoons remained about the same from 2013 to 2014. To inspect more in carefully, Figure 4 provides a detail analysis of themes by individual newspaper.

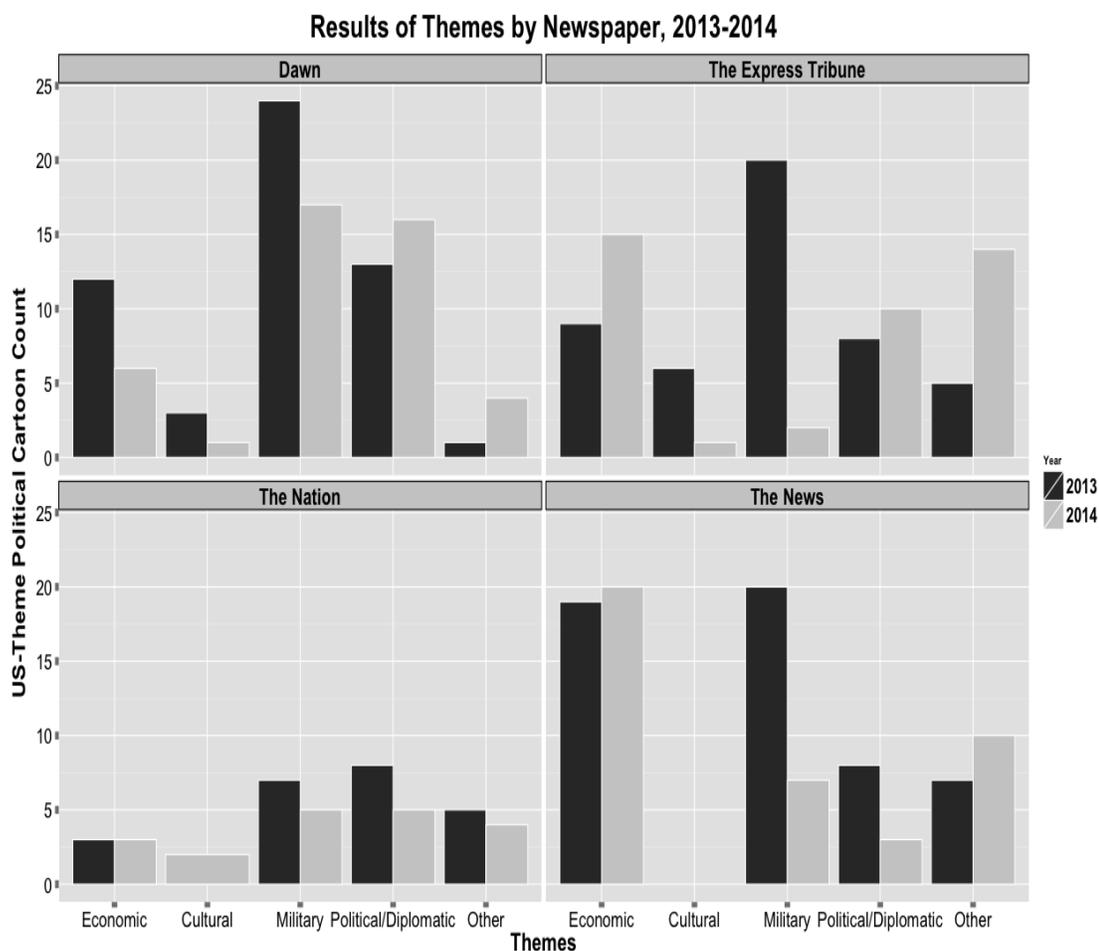


Figure 4: Summary of results by year of themes and newspaper.

Figure 4 details the output of US-related political cartoons by each newspaper to illustrate how different producers of political commentary, namely the newspaper agencies, represented extra-territoriality. Figure 4 reveals that there was a general emphasis on the military theme in 2013, but this changed in 2014. This was especially seen in *The Express Tribune*, where there was a dramatic drop in military themed cartoons from 2013 to 2014. Additionally, similar to Figure 2, *Dawn* has a consistent tendency to produce more US-related political cartoons related to the military theme for both years. In contrast, *The News* emphasizes the economic theme, consistently

producing the most count of US-related political cartoons for both years. This pattern was also seen in *The Nation* but not as significant as *The News*. Moreover, while other newspapers provide a small hint of the cultural theme in US-related political cartoons, *The News* produced no cultural themed cartoons.

While *Dawn* and *The News* depict a tendency to emphasize specific themes, *The Express Tribune* and *The Nation* show little tendency to highlight a particular theme over another. For instance, *The Express Tribune* output of US-related cartoons shows a greater emphasis upon the economic theme and other category for 2014. However, in 2013 *The Express Tribune* showed a greater emphasis on military and political/diplomatic themes. Alternatively, *The Nation* depicts a relatively stable tendency in its pattern of themes for both years. As a result, whereas *Dawn* and *The News* depict particular patterns of a specific theme, *The Express Tribune* and *The Nation* portray no pattern in emphasizing a specific theme.

In summary, content analysis of US-related political cartoon revealed that among the four themes of extra-territoriality, the theme depicting military relations has the most visibility amongst US-related political cartoons. This is an important finding because the use of military action outside of one's territorial boundaries is a direct act of extra-territorially. A specific analysis of drones for the military theme revealed that the textual or visual signifiers of drones were depicted a majority of the time. This illustrates a direct interplay between US extra-territoriality and Pakistan's resistance to protect its territorial boundaries.

More interestingly, however, is the economic theme with the second most total count. Upon closer inspection of theme for each year also revealed the economic theme

as the theme with the most count for 2014. From a world-system perspective of a capitalist world-economy, this provides a link that the US, as a hegemonic power, can utilize its economic position internationally to pursue foreign policy goals. Moreover, the fact that the military and economic theme both emerged as the two primary themes provides evidence that the economic relationship established between US-Pakistan may enables the US to justify extra-territorial objectives in Pakistan (i.e. in form of aid or loan). This view is further substantiated by the fact that the two most popular newspapers in Pakistan, *The News* and *Dawn*, also relate to the fact that US-Pakistan relationship is primarily described through an economic and military point of view.

Equally important, particularly from a Wallersteinian perspective, is the lack of cultural theme among the 323 US-related political cartoons. A key point in Wallerstein's world system theory is the idea that while economic success permits a state to emerge as a hegemonic power, its position is maintained through cultivating its cultural power—for example, the manifestations of prime modernity. However, despite US cultural powers within the international arena, very little cultural representation of the US were revealed scrutinizing US-Pakistan geopolitical ties. This finding is very interesting considering the fact that political/diplomatic had greater emphasis than cultural theme. The little coverage of cultural theme political cartoons may be attributed to broader decline of cultural popularity because US extra-territorial practices. For example, the start of the Global War on Terror has led to greater US extra-territorial activities, such as War in Afghanistan and Iraq, heavy use of drone attacks in Pakistan and Yemen, as well indirect military involvement states Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Israel.

The increase practice of extra-territoriality by the US may explain the decline of US cultural prowess. From a Wallersteinian perspective, a hegemonic cultural prowess would require less direct involvement. Instead, the cultural influence of a hegemonic power would result in states imitating the norms and practices of the hegemon. The fact that very little cultural themed political cartoons were revealed to define US-Pakistan; and instead greater military theme political cartoons defined US-Pakistan signifies the necessity of direct action to control extra-territoriality outcomes in Pakistan. Consequently, the results from a content analysis reveal patterns that illuminate specific form of extra-territoriality, illustrating the necessity of greater direct involvement as oppose less direct and expensive (cultural or political/diplomatic) means to pursue extra-territorial policies. In the case of US-Pakistan relationship, among the four themes that describe the various way the US can pursue extra-territoriality policies, extra-territoriality is depicted at an intersection between primarily military and economic means, with some emphasis on the political/diplomatic powers of US, but very little depictions of on cultural aspects of US.

Social Semiotic Analysis: The Visual Rhetoric of Extra-Territoriality

An important aspect to the US-Pakistan relationship is defined by their military partnership. Historically, US-Pakistan military ties were formerly depicted by Pakistan's membership in SEATO; and most vividly during the Soviet War in Afghanistan that led to the end of the Cold War. Contemporarily, US-Pakistan military ties remerge in the Global War on Terror. Among the several acts of extra-territoriality by the US, the controversial use of drone warfare exhibits the most obvious form of extra-territoriality. The concern of extra-territoriality is especially highlighted because of Pakistan's resistance against the increasing of drone attacks within its territorial boundaries. Figure 5 illuminates on Pakistan's resistance to the US use of drones within its territory.



Figure 5: A Dawn political cartoon by Feica July 30, 2013.

Figure 5 depicts Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as holding a sign that illustrates a drone crossed out to convey a 'no fly zone' of drones within Pakistan's sovereign spaces. Despite the Prime Minister's demand of no drones, a drone is depicted flying speedily underneath the sign, portraying little regard to Pakistan's demands. The visual syntactic pattern is a narrative structure, identified by an invisible vector line that connects the key representative participants by portraying a "a dynamic, 'doing' or 'happening' kind of relation" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 141). In this case, Figure 5 connects the two key representative participants by depicting the action of a drone flying underneath the sign that explicitly prohibits drones from entering. The cartoonist, Feica, has a common representation in his cartoons of a man as well as a second person in the margin staring at the event in the cartoon. The man and the child, as well as the crow, are drawn small comparative to the Prime Minister and the drone. The man, the child, and the crow, are illustrated on the left side of the margins as bystanders watching the US disregard to Pakistan's demands.

The representation of the man and the child, as well as the crow, creates an interactive meaning between the representative participants and interactive participants. Figure 5 illustrates the eyes of the man staring towards the drone—redirecting the audience attention to reinforce the narrative representation of the drone ignoring the Prime Ministers' demands. This verifies not only the drone as a key representative participant in the image, but sheds light on the interactive meaning intended by the cartoonist. Although Figure 5 illustrates very little contact of any individual with the audience directly, the cartoon provides a close up of the Prime Minister's face, enabling one to see the details of his facial expression and reaction towards the drone. While there

is no direct eye contact or gesture towards the audience, conveying that the cartoon does not demand a specific attitude from the viewers, the social distance between the Prime Minister and the viewers' establishes an intimate contact. This enables the audience to relate more with the Prime Minister to broadly portray the extra-territoriality of the US despite Pakistan's resistance. This concept is also reinforced by the point of view by the use of the frontal angle of the Prime Minister facing towards the viewers, increasing audience identification with him and the sign conveying no drones in Pakistan. This creates a visual rhetoric of Pakistan's resistance to US extra-territoriality; but simultaneously illustrates the rhetoric of US disregard to Pakistani demands.

Compositional meaning connects representational and interactive meaning holistically through examining the visual techniques that structure elements in an image. The information value in Figure 5 highlights the Prime Minister and the drone. This is substantiated by the fact that at the center of the picture illustrates a diagonally drawn thick shaded line to illustrate the remnants of the fuel released by the drone. The depiction of the fuel remnant at the center illuminates on the act of extra-territoriality that Pakistan is resisting. The US disregard for Pakistan's resistance is illustrated by the fuel remnant that is left connected to the tail end of the drone. This portrayal of the drone as an extra-territorial is reinforced by the rule of third, a photography technique that divides an image into nine parts (by equally placing two lines horizontally and two lines vertically) and the important compositional elements fall either along the lines or at the intersection (Krages, 2005). Dividing Figure 5 into nine equal parts places the crossed-out drone sign at the intersection of lines; and along the lines is the placement of the Prime Minister and the drone.

More interestingly, the framing of Figure 5 connects the Prime Minister and the drone. The connection is made by the sign that the Prime Minister is holding which looks identical to the actual drone, with the exception of the sign indicating a drone is crossed out. This connection is also established because the eyes of the drone looks at the sign held by the Prime Minister but continues to fly into the region anyway. The broader symbolic meaning can relate to the US as not only a self-interested actor in valuing Pakistan only for its territorial position, but also underlines the unequal partnership between US-Pakistan. The tension caused by US extra-territoriality is further highlighted by the salience of the Prime Minister and the drone. As Berger (1989) and Bang (2000) note, the proportion and the color of an object can indicate an important representation. Figure 5 depicts the prime minister proportionally larger than any other character in the image. In terms of color, the drone is featured as the most salient element of the cartoon because of its white color is contrasted with the black-grayish colored background.

A visual social semiotic analysis of Figure 5 reveals the visual rhetoric of resistance portrayed by Pakistan towards US-extra-territoriality. In this case, the drone symbolically represents the US act of entering into Pakistan's territory; and the Prime Minister's political position endows him with the authority to make territorial decisions related to Pakistan. The broader discourse portrays Pakistan's resistance to extra-territoriality; and the reaction of this demand is portrayed with blatant disregard by the US. More importantly, the visual discourse narrated by the sign crossing out the drone entry into Pakistan's territory illuminates the US-Pakistan partnership on the Global War on Terror. The disregard towards Pakistan's demands within its own territory reinforces

an unequal partnership; and reiterates the US-Pakistan experiences of the past since the onset of the Cold War.

In contrast to the military theme, the economic theme emerged with the second highest count in the total of US-Pakistan related political cartoons, and with the highest count for the year of 2014. Figure 6 provides a common representation of the US-Pakistan economic themed political cartoons: An illustration of the difficult IMF loan conditions to Pakistan. Although the IMF is an international institution, the US is its largest shareholder. As a result, the US obtains greater voting power in determining the distribution of an IMF loan (Vreeland, 2006). More importantly, case studies of IMF lending reveal US influence in granting larger IMF loans to countries with greater geopolitical significance to the US (Oatley & Yackee, 2004; Vreeland, 2006). As a historical beneficiary of the IMF loan assistance program, Pakistan has received IMF loans “since 1993 and before that in 1958-9, 1965-6, 1968-9, 1972-5, 1977-8, 1980-3, and 1988-91” (Vreeland, 2002, p. 72). More revealing, however, is the increased IMF loan packaged received by Pakistan, espousing the concern “that the large IMF loan that Pakistan received in December 2001 was a payoff for the cooperation with the US invasion of Afghanistan” (Vreeland, 2006, p. 41).

The US influence on the distributions of IMF loans illuminates the ways the US can utilize its position as an economic power to pursue extra-territorial policies in a periphery state. Examining the two main representative participants in Figure 6 enables one to identify the representational meaning. Figure 6 represents the US through the influence it has on imposing IMF loan conditions. In this case, an IMF loan is provided on the condition that taxes are increased in Pakistan.

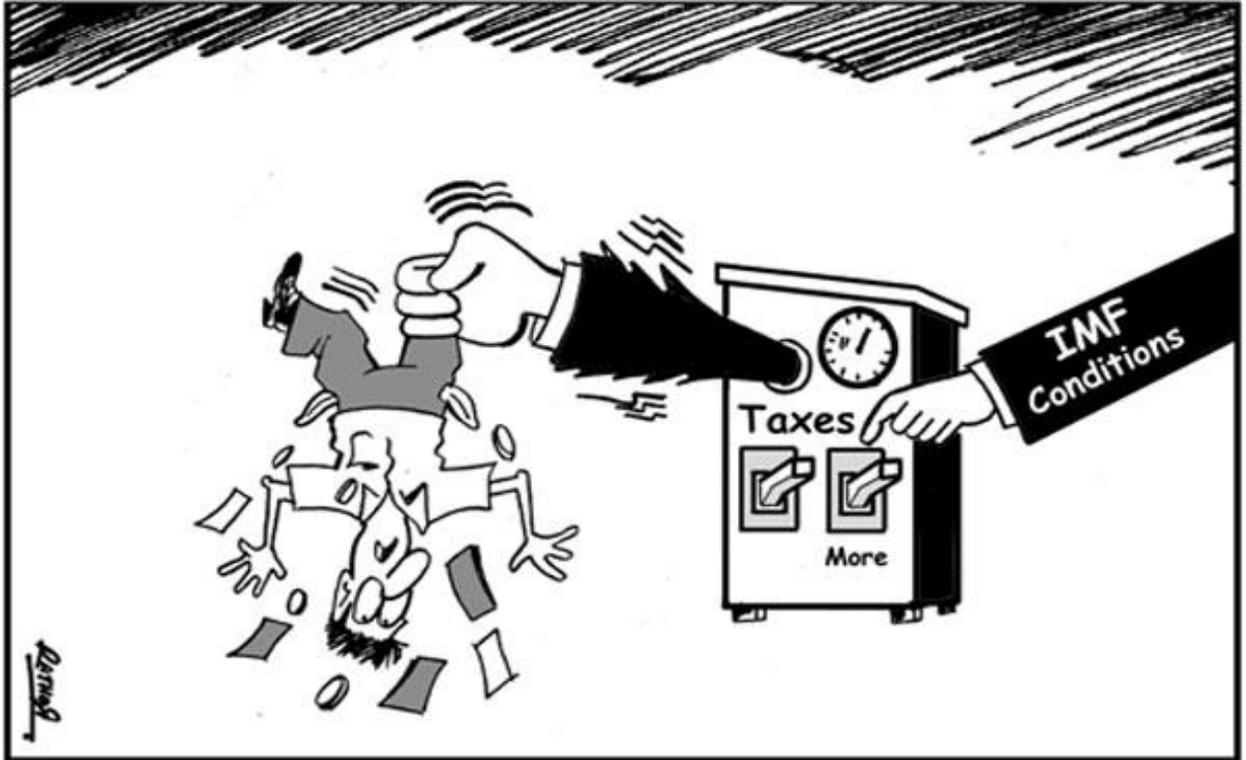


Figure 6: The News political cartoon by Rathore May 18, 2013.

Alternatively, Pakistan is represented through the depiction of an ordinary Pakistani citizen, who faces the repercussion of the IMF tax increase. The way this condition is illustrated is by a hand on the left side of Figure 6 that has ‘IMF Conditions’ written on its sleeve. The hand is illustrated as having control over increasing taxes by pressing down on the switch that states ‘more’ on a machine labeled ‘Taxes’. The visual syntactic pattern illustrates a narrative structure because the IMF hand is illustrated in the act of doing something to the Pakistani man. In this case, the IMF hand on the left is pressing a switch down to increase taxes, which results in another hand emerging from the tax machine to hold the Pakistani man upside down by one of his feet, shaking him forcefully withdraw any money from his pockets.

While the representational meaning illustrates the core-periphery framework existent between the US and Pakistan, the interactive meaning primarily concentrates on

the control of the US on Pakistan's people: This is especially noted by the greater audience association with the hand poking out of the IMF machine. For instance, Figure 6 illustrates no eye contact or gestures by the Pakistani man to the viewers. Although the Pakistani man's eyes are wide-open, he is looking at the hand holding him upside down. More importantly, the IMF hand poking out from the tax machine is illustrated closely to the audience, indicating a greater audience association: This view is reinforced by the eyes of the Pakistani man, who looks at the hand poking out from the tax machine. The Pakistani man's wide-open eyes staring at the IMF hand that is holding him directs the audience gaze towards the IMF hand again. This narrates not only broader symbolic meaning of extra-territoriality by controlling the body of the Pakistani man, but conveys the visual rhetoric of the US as a core power exploiting a periphery state. This rhetoric is further reinforced by the point of view, which is the only instance of greater audience association with the Pakistani man. The frontal horizontal position of the Pakistani man's body, with his face, shoulders, and overall figure, directed towards the audience, demonstrates his subordination to US economic force. Moreover, the point of view also creates an audience perception of the humiliation of the Pakistani man hanging not only upside down (as a baby would be held playfully by a parent) but to have his money coercively withdrawn from him.

The unequal core-periphery framework of US-Pakistan partnership is also reiterated by the compositional meaning. The informational value in Figure 6 depicts the IMF hand that is poking out from the tax machine at the center of the image. This creates a visual rhetoric of the US economic power, illustrated by portraying a mighty hand a Pakistani citizen upside down below. The other important elements in Figure 6 are

highlighted by the rule of third technique, in which the Pakistani man, the tax machine, and holding the Pakistani man upside down, all fall on intersection of the lines when dividing Figure 6 vertically and horizontally into thirds. The visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality is also reinforced through the framing. Figure 6 illustrates the way US-Pakistan ties are forcefully connected: The act of pressing the button down leads to the hand being released from the tax machine to hold the Pakistani man upside down to withdraw money from his pockets. The visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality is again also reinforced by the salience, in which the IMF hand that is poked out from the tax machine is notably bigger proportionally than any other visual element in Figure 6—indicating to the greater power also exerted by the IMF hand in controlling the citizens of a periphery state like Pakistan.

The visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality in Figure 6 reveals an important way a hegemonic power can maintain its position in the international arena is through the construction of economic/financial institutions that enable core states to influence the flow of international capital. In this case, Figure 6 illustrates the way US can influence extra-territorial outcomes through granting IMF loans. However, despite the distribution of loans, the US maintains the international structure of a core-periphery relationship through imposing constraining conditions on Pakistan, such as the imposition of high taxation. In granting loans that Pakistan cannot payback, and the placement of conditions that the Pakistani population cannot meet, Pakistan is placed in a position where it must continuously request IMF assistance and become more indebted. This circumstance not only illustrates the maintenance of a core-periphery framework, but also the means for

the US, as hegemonic power, to use its economic position to pursue extra-territorial goals in Pakistan.

Equally important, although representing approximately one-fifth of the total US-related political cartoons, the political/diplomatic theme reveals another aspect of US influence in pursuing extra-territorial policies. In this case, Figure 7 represents the US position as a hegemonic power to forge political/diplomatic relationship with Pakistan—in spite of Pakistan’s reluctance. The distrust stems from not only its current unequal partnership in the Global War on Terror, but Pakistan’s former relationship with the US during and after the Cold War era reinforce the idea of US pursuing territorial goals in Pakistan as a self-interested actor.



Figure 7: The Nation political cartoon by Maxim Nov. 24, 2013.

Figure 7 is a political cartoon reflecting the theme of the political/diplomatic relationship between US-Pakistan. The political/diplomatic theme is identified by the

boxed quotation depicted on the left, containing a statement made by former American Diplomat Henry Kissinger. The original quote by Kissinger was made in reference to the Vietnam War, in which he cautioned certain US actions to prevent the view that “word will go out to the nations of the world that it may be dangerous to be America’s enemy, but to be America’s friend is fatal” (Dallek, 2009, p. 79). The statement in Figure 7 states: “It is dangerous to be an enemy of US but to be a friend of US is worse.” Despite the denotative variation of the quote, the connotative meaning illuminates the visual rhetoric that being a friend of the US is worse than being an enemy. The quote refers to the US, while Pakistan is represented by two Pakistani men discussing US-Pakistan political/diplomatic ties in reference to the quote. The politician nearest to the quote depicts Pakistan’s National Security Advisor Sartaj Aziz. Sitting next to Aziz, is Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, the Interior Minister of Pakistan. Figure 7 displays Aziz asking Khan, in reference to the quotation by Kissinger: “What are we brother?” Khan responds to this question as “Fools” in bigger and bolder letters than any other text in Figure 7. The visual syntactic pattern is one of conceptual structure because Figure 7 illustrates very little action. Rather, the two Pakistani politicians are represented conversing with one another to symbolically relay the concept of Pakistan being foolish to join ties with the US—especially in light of the former bitter experience with the US in the post-Cold War era.

The interactive meaning, formed through the implementation of visual techniques, portrays little contact with the audience. Figure 7 depicts the two Pakistani politicians as staring at each other as they are conversing—but not addressing the viewers through eye contact or gestures. The lack of contact is also mirrored in terms of the distance between

the representative participants and interactive participants. The audience views the conversation between Aziz and Khan from a social distance, with no close up of their face. The point of view, however, does reinforce a Pakistani perception, since the frontal horizontal angle of the two Pakistani politicians is directed towards the audience—highlighting the one-on-one discourse in the cartoon. More importantly, despite the lack of emphasis on any specific interactive elements, it is important to note that Figure 7 utilizes more textual references than visual. As such, the contact formed with the audience is primarily a textual means to illuminate a specific discourse related to US-Pakistani ties. The boxed quotation in Figure 7 creates the visual rhetoric that pursuing political/diplomatic relations with the US are ones that only “fools” engage in—a direct answer provided by Pakistan’s Interior Minister. This leads the interactive participants to view Pakistan as foolish in forming an alliance with the US.

Similar to the representational meaning, the compositional meaning primarily emphasizes the textual references to portray the visual rhetoric. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and Bang (2000) note, the center placement can contribute to important informational value. Applying the rule of thirds technique reveals that the intersection of the lines falls on the two Pakistani politicians, the boxed quotation attributed to Kissinger, and the bubble response by Khan stating “Fools.” This highlights the point made earlier on the greater emphasis on the textual discourse portrayed in the political cartoons rather than the illustrative visual signifiers. Even when broadly viewed, the visual/illustrative signifiers act out the dialogue, increasing emphasis on the textual conversation. This view is also emphasized through the salience of the quotation, which is heavily outlined relative to the lightly drawn lines that depict the Pakistani politicians.

This indicates that the use of bolding text in Figure 7 is a means to emphasize greater attention compositionally to the Kissinger remark as well as to the bubble embedding the discourse between the two Pakistani politicians. More interestingly, the framing of Figure 7 illustrates a sense of complexity. The visual illustration of the boxed quotation and the depiction of the two Pakistani politicians illustrate a disconnection. However, the elaboration of the quotation discussed by the two politicians reveals a connection. Consequently, Figure 7 is framed to disconnect the visual representation from the textual representation—illuminating the complexity of US-Pakistan ties. It is also important to note that this complexity can be dated back to the Cold War.

The visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality is broadly portrayed in Figure 7 to illuminate the ways in which a core power can forge political/diplomatic relationship with an unwilling periphery. More interestingly, is the fact that Figure 7 textually conveys the foolishness on Pakistan's part in pursuing friendship with the US. However, despite Pakistan being aware of its foolishness, its relative peripheral position 'foolishly' results in Pakistan's alliance with the US. This is implicitly understood because not only has Pakistan's experience in the Cold War reinforced the foolishness in aiding the US, but the quotation also reaffirms the idea that it is worse to be a friend than the enemy. As a result, Figure 7 reinforces the visual rhetoric of the power a hegemon has in controlling the actions of peripheral states, which includes pursuing its own geopolitical goals at the expense of a peripheral state's interests.

In contrast to the former three themes of military, economic, and political/diplomatic, Figure 8 represents one of the few cultural themed political cartoons to scrutinizing not only US extra-territoriality, but also a Pakistani portrayal of its own

identity relative to the US. The lack of cultural content theme political cartoons portrays the lack of US cultural influence on Pakistan. Despite this, Figure 8 illustrates a cultural depiction of US-Pakistan ties by depicting a horse that has written on it 'Af-Pak'. Af-Pak translates to Afghanistan-Pakistan, with the rider of the horse depicted as President Obama in a cowboy outfit.

As such, the representational meaning is portrayed by two key figures: President Obama in cowboy attire; and Afghanistan and Pakistan depicted as the horse. The US represented as the rider of the horse narrates the visual rhetoric of a core power with the ability to control the position and movements of periphery states like Afghanistan and Pakistan. More importantly, Figure 8 illustrates the horse as the most wounded representative participant in the image, whereas President Obama is relatively unscathed. The horse is illustrated with bandages all over its body, ranging from its legs to the upper body, as well as its face. In contrast, President Obama depicts only one major cut, which is illustrated by a tear on the cowboy hat he is wearing. The visual syntactic pattern is a narrative structure. This is because President Obama is depicted as riding the Af-Pak horse – away from the bomb blast in Afghanistan – and towards Syria. The riding of the horse into Syria depicts an important broad visual rhetoric the US's tendency to intervene extra-territorially in other sovereign states—either directly through military action, or through indirect means such as a geopolitical alliance.

The interactive meaning, as demonstrated by the use of contact, illustrates little attempt to influence audience attitude. Instead, President's Obama eyes are focused on hiding his horse to Syria. However, the distance portrayed in Figure 8 depicts an intimate view of President Obama riding the Af-Pak horse.



Figure 8: The Express Tribune political cartoon by Sabir Nazar Sept. 10, 2013.

Although it does not provide a close-up of any specific representative participants, the overall image of President Obama and the Af-Pak horse is a close-up—as viewed from the naked eye (sometimes referred as naturalistic modality). The point of view of Figure 8 also reinforces greater audience association with President Obama because of his frontal body position facing towards the audience. Accordingly, the interactive meaning depicts the outcomes of US policy in Afghanistan, as well as the damaging results experienced by its geopolitical allies like Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The compositional meaning illuminates important elements in Figure 8 that contribute to the broader visual rhetoric. The informational value of Figure 8 emphasizes the US-Pakistan relationship by its placement of President Obama and the Af-Pak horse in the center of the image. This compositional placement is also reinforced by the rule of

third, where President Obama and the Af-Pak horse, the blast in Afghanistan, and the arrow with the written word “Syria” all fall along the intersection lines made by dividing the image into thirds. More importantly, the framing enables one to scrutinize the informational value, which illustrates a close, albeit unequal, connection between US-Pakistan ties. Because President Obama is depicted as sitting and holding the Af-Pak horse on a leash as it rushes towards Syria, the political cartoon portrays the power of the US upon peripheral states like Afghanistan and Pakistan. Interestingly, however, is the salience revealing greater emphasis on the US. As Berger (1989) and Bang (2000) note, the use of contrasting color can highlight a particular element in an image. Figure 8 depicts President Obama wearing a jet-black color cowboy outfit in a black and white political cartoon, accentuating his representation. The salience can also be revealed by the scale, which provides an idea of “how large or small something is just by seeing it” (Berger, 1989, p. 44). Although President Obama and the Af-Pak horse is the primary perspective provided to the viewer, the blast in Afghanistan is given the second most space in the image. The compositional placement of the blast in Afghanistan that results in President Obama’s evasion emphasizes the disastrous outcome of US policies in Afghanistan.

The depiction of President Obama riding an Af-Pak horse highlights the broader visual rhetoric of US power over peripheral states like Afghanistan and Pakistan. Figure 8 also demonstrates that the US, as hegemonic power, does not limit its extra-territoriality to Pakistan. More importantly, the visual rhetoric embedded in Figure 8 also illustrate the way US foreign policy goals can cause destruction (such as the blast in Afghanistan) but also simultaneously portrays that the US does not learn from its mistakes. This is because

the gaze of President Obama is looking towards the Syrian territory despite the bomb blast that just occurred in Afghanistan due to US intrusion. If the disaster in Afghanistan sets a precedent for US extra-territorial foreign policy, then the viewer can predict that a similar pattern may follow for Syria. Consequently Figure 8 provides a good cultural reference to not only the power of the US upon the state of Afghanistan and Pakistan, but the way it can forge political alliances to pursue extra-territorial goals in other states.

Overall, a visual social semiotic analysis of Pakistani-English political cartoons enables one to view the broad visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality related to the US-Pakistan geopolitical relationship. In examining the themes that define features of extra-territoriality, as outlined by Wallerstein's world system theory, one is able to view the different means through which extra-territoriality is uniquely pursued by a hegemonic-core power to a state in the periphery. For instance, a military themed political cartoon, as represented by Figure 5, illustrates the direct means the US can intervene in Pakistan's sovereign spaces, despite Pakistan's resistance. In the event of greater resistance by Pakistan, Figure 6 illustrates a second means by which the US can utilize its economic position, highlighting the existent feature of a core-periphery framework of US-Pakistani ties. Specifically, Figure 6 illuminates the ways the US can create economic circumstances in Pakistan that have the ability to either reward or castigate Pakistan through IMF conditions.

More interestingly, the political/diplomatic theme reveals the means by which a hegemonic-core power can establish diplomatic/political relationship with a periphery state, despite the "foolishness" involved on the periphery's state for entering into this relationship. Figure 7 illustrates a reflection of this point of view, depicting Pakistan

aware of its foolishness in partnering with the US on the Global War on Terror—but yet, having little choice to decline because of its subordinate position. The result of the foolishness is depicted in the alliance between US-Pakistan as illustrated in Figure 8, where the US returns relatively unscathed but Pakistan is portrayed as a horse that is badly injured. Consequently, a social semiotic approach to the visual rhetoric of extra-territoriality enables one to portray the interrelations between the various themes of extra-territoriality. In examining the different themes holistically, a social semiotic approach elucidates not only the results of the content analysis, but details the visual rhetoric of US-Pakistan ties contextually to justify the current tensions in the US-Pakistan partnership in the context of the Global War on Terror.

CONCLUSION

The geopolitical nature of political cartoons in Pakistani-English newspapers provides an important contribution to the critical geopolitics literature by analyzing discursive artifacts portraying an alternative narrative to the common Western-centric view. Content analysis and social semiotic analysis of the political cartoons revealed not only patterns of representation illustrating extra-territoriality, but also a broad visual representation of the unequal geopolitical partnership between US-Pakistan partnership.

A number of important findings were revealed through an analysis of the political cartoons. Content analysis revealed that among the four themes of extra-territoriality, the military theme emerged as the most significant, with a majority of military representations depicting drones. More interestingly, a social semiotic analysis also revealed several instances of political cartoons depicting a primary theme along with a secondary military theme (for example Figures 7 and Figure 8). As well, an interesting finding from a world-system perspective is the dominance of the economic theme in 2014. Since the IMF-Pakistan relationship over the years illustrates a pattern of greater loan packages when Pakistan acts as a strategic ally to the US, this indicates the possibility of the US using the IMF to pursue its foreign policy interests. While military and economic themes emerged as the most significant, it is important to note that the political/diplomatic theme also occasionally appeared. However, this was not the case for political cartoons with a cultural theme; perhaps suggesting that the politics of culture has little role in the influence of US-Pakistan relations.

Equally important to mention are the limitations and weaknesses of this study. A social semiotic analysis of political cartoons revealed several references to US-Pakistan

ties during the Cold War, suggesting that a longer time-frame of the analysis is necessary. This is because the Pakistani perspective portrayed in the political cartoons represents a continuous and bitter reflection of its past with the US. This was most vividly depicted in the political/diplomatic themed political cartoon in Figure 7. From a critical geopolitics perspective, which includes examining US-Pakistan ties contextually, this is an important factor to consider.

Another weakness of this study includes the rigid categorization of political cartoons into themes. A secondary weakness also relates to the lack of inter-coder reliability. More significant is the problem of inter-coder reliability, because coders must be versed with the history of US-Pakistan relationship. This factor reinforces the weakness stated earlier in being able to probe deeper into the contextual references of political cartoons outside of rigid thematic categorization. Additionally, a deeper analysis for both content analysis and social semiotic analysis is needed to detail the interrelations between one or more theme. Figure 7 and 8 reiterates this weakness, where the possibility of a secondary theme may overall portray a greater holistic emphasis of one theme over another. This would provide a better understanding of whether a greater military or economic role influences the power for US to pursue extra-territoriality. More interestingly, this will provide insights on the US-Pakistan core-periphery framework. Additionally, approximately one third of US-related political cartoons fell under an “other” category. To see whether the question of US extra-territoriality applies to states other than Pakistan it may be better to examine the “other” category of political cartoons. This will enable one to gain a broader view of the various geopolitical strategies pursued by the US.

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