

Abstract

This study examines online political cartoons as linguistic and visual tools that shape public perceptions of the Nigerian 2023 Presidential Elections. The inherent complexities of cartoons are not always fully grasped by readers; thus, underscoring the need for closer examination. The study adopts a qualitative approach, drawing primary data from six purposively selected cartoons in Nigerian online newspapers, namely *The Punch*, *Daily Trust*, *Business Day*, and *Vanguard*, between January 2022 and December 2023, to reflect the activities before, during, and after the elections. The rationale for the choice is primarily that they produce digitally accessible content that is current and topical. Due to constraints of space, six cartoons were selected based on text, images, colour, layout, and gesture, which encode the representational, compositional, and interactional resources. The selected data align with the study's objectives and the analytical framework of Kress and van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design. The findings show that the visual grammar of the cartoons reflects the socio-political atmosphere of the elections. Also, the interplay of text and image not only reinforces existing narratives but also creates new layers of discourse that circulate widely within Nigeria's mediated public sphere. The study concludes that cartoons deploy both language and visual materials that contribute to an understanding of the multimodal communication dynamics and the political discourse in the Nigerian political sphere. The study recommends cartoons as instructive tools to foster responsible participation in the electioneering process.

Keywords: Grammar of Visual Design, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Political Cartoons, Political Discourse, Visual Communication

Introduction

Language is a fundamental tool to human existence, serving as a medium for information dissemination, self-expression, and the manipulation of the surrounding environment. Equally true is the fact that language can be expressed through visual, verbal and gestural forms; any of which is the driving force through which social realities are shaped. Ample evidence demonstrates that human interaction is fundamentally mediated through both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication. Akmajian et al. (2003, p. 364) posit that "Language is the most pervasive characteristic of human social interaction, so pervasive that we hardly find it remarkable, is that we talk." This assertion underscores the importance of communication in human interaction across all spheres of life.

The need to be heard remains a vital element of humans and this is done when we communicate our thoughts and ideas to others. The Presidential elections is an avenue which cartoonists leverage on to express their opinions by using channels such as cartoons and memes. Language helps humans to express their thoughts and make impact in their environment. Language has various fields such as Semantics, Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis, Multimodal Discourse Analysis with specific areas of focus. The word 'Multimodality' implies that there are other resources such as text, image, etc., which humans rely on to communicate. The implication is that communication is rarely achieved through language alone; meaning can be derived from the arrangement of multiple semiotic modes such as written and spoken language, images, colour, gesture, typography, and sound (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). Halliday's (1978) theory of language as a social semiotic serves a foundation for this notion as it notes that meaning is shaped by social context and realised through the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) Grammar of Visual Design by using Halliday's model demonstrate that images, like language, can represent experience which in multimodal texts, convey the different modes such that language provides the context, while images convey emotional appeal.

Nigeria gained its independence in 1960 and had series of military interruptions interspersed with instances of coups, corruption, ethnic and religious divisions. This occurrence justifies why cartoonists use their work to appraise and comment on the performance of government, particularly the 2023 Nigerian Presidential Elections which had new

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candidates. Many studies have investigated political cartoons from the viewpoint of multimodal discourse analysis. Scholars such as Alyebo & Zayol (2023) did a Pragmatic Analysis of Online Cartoons of the 2023 Presidential Election in Nigeria, Oluremi (2019) examined the Pragmeme of Political Humour in Selected Nigerian Cartoons, Chukwuokoro, Ononye & Ngene (2024) also did a Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Editorial Cartoons on Insecurity in Nigeria's 2023 General Elections, and Adeoti (2023) examined the Pragmeme of Political Humour in Selected Political Cartoons in Nigerian Newspapers. The interplay of text and image is an essential element in presidential elections, and this makes it appealing as an area of interest to readers and researchers.

According to Chukwuokoro, Ononye, & Ngene (2024), political cartoons employ complex multimodal resources such as framing, represented participants, salience, visual metaphors, and rhetorical imagery to assess political actors, highlight governance failures, and influence public discourse. Although political cartoons shaped public opinion during the 2023 Nigerian presidential election, they have not received as much scholarly attention compared to verbal rhetoric and media framing. In a socio-politically nuanced environment where ethnic, regional, and religious dimensions heavily colour political engagement, the absence of systematic multimodal analyses grounded in Kress and van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design leaves a critical explanatory gap. The effectiveness of cartoons in conveying complex ideas and their impact on voters is of principal interest to the researcher and it is hoped that the study will address the gap in the academic discourse by examining the potential impacts of political cartoons and how techniques such as humour, caricature, satire, symbolism, and sarcasm are utilized to influence political behaviour in the 2023 Nigerian presidential elections. This study applies a multimodal framework to unveil how political cartoons function as persuasive tools in electoral discourse, thus illuminating their broader implications for democratic processes in Nigeria.

A Conceptual Review of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

Goodman (1996) cites in Thuy (2017) observes that the definition of literacy has been modified due to the multimodal nature of communication. He notes that visual literacy denotes the ability to interpret, negotiate, and make meaning from information presented in the form of an image. He asserts that it is difficult to have only one mode of communication; therefore, there should be an underlying pattern or structure that people can rely on to interpret the meaning of visual texts. Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) is an emerging paradigm in discourse studies that extends the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, colours, scientific symbolism, gestures, action music, and sound (O'Halloran, 2011). Multimodal Discourse Analysis is the study of the intersection and interdependence of various modalities of communication within a given context (Snyder, 2009). Multimodal Discourse Analysis is also concerned with the design, production, and distribution of multimodal resources in social settings (van Leeuwen, 2008).

GVD relies on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and notes that there are three categories of meaning also known as meta-functions in language. Multimodal Discourse Analysis is very useful in the analysis of images, colour, gaze, symbols, etc., which makes it easy for researchers to understand the influence of mode on meaning within a given context.

Political Cartoons as Discourse

Political cartoons function as visual representations which use multimodal resources such as imagery, language, and symbolism to convey multiple meanings; hence, political cartoons play a significant role in shaping political ideologies. El Refaie (2009, p. 181) posits that political cartoons function as "a condensed and multimodal form of political communication" that uses humour and exaggeration to simplify and challenge political narratives. She equally emphasised that political cartoons can also be used as social media tools. They produce a distinct form of media with a unique history, particular styles, customs, and communication goals. Political cartoons shape public opinions by commenting on societal issues that sometimes have grave consequences because of the way information is transmitted to the public. Nsungu (2021) notes that in 2005, over 300 people were killed in the Northern part of Nigeria during a religious riot fuelled by a Danish editorial cartoon publication which satirised the Islamic religious leader, Muhammed. Such occurrences show the potency of cartoons as a formidable force that mirrors society. El Refaie (2009, p. 181) posits that political cartoons function as "a condensed and multimodal form of political communication" that uses humour and exaggeration to simplify and challenge political narratives.

Some cartoonists use attack visuals in political campaigns and advertisements to undermine opponents, shape public perception, and reinforce ideological divisions. Jamieson et al. (2000), maintain a stance against obscuring attacks and differentiate between negative advertisements and attacks. Most attack visuals employ semiotic resources, such

as images, text, and colour, to evoke distrust, ridicule, or moral outrage. The Nigerian 2023 presidential elections revealed the use of attack visuals in memes and cartoons to assess and comment on the health or integrity of the candidates and through the combination of humour and political bias contribute to the political discourse.

According to Jimoh (2010), political cartoons have been vital to the democratisation process in Nigeria, particularly during the military era. This research examines how attack visuals shape ideologies, identities, and power relations within the public sphere. Edwards & McDonald (2010) note that political cartoons are symbolic constructions of political and national identities that present a clear, or possibly slanted view, of politicians in the political scenes. thereby, serving as valuable agents for societal development. Medhurst & DeSousa (1981) argue that cartoons do not just reflect public opinion; they actively construct and influence it by selecting what to represent and how to represent it. The use of symbols, caricatures, and visual metaphors reveal underlying assumptions and power relations that contribute to the broader field of political discourse by framing issues in ways that shape dominant ideologies. Political discourse has expanded beyond traditional platforms to include online environments such as Twitter, YouTube, and other social media, where politicians and citizens engage in real-time political commentary. This development has not only increased accessibility and participation, it has also introduced challenges related to misinformation, echo chambers, and incivility (Papacharissi, 2015).

Empirical Review

A number of scholars have investigated the application of Multimodal Discourse Analysis in political discourse, memes, posters and cartoons. In a study conducted by Aworo-Okoroh (2017), selected campaign posters from a multimodal discourse analysis using Kress and Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design theory in the data analysis. The purposive sampling method was employed in sourcing data from campaign posters. The study reveals that visual elements are important in understanding the communicative value of the poster. The study concludes that the choice of the pictures, positions, and postures of the posters effectively communicate the intended meaning. Omole and Ogoala (2024) studied campaign posters of the Labour Party's presidential candidate in the 2023 general elections in Nigeria from a multimodal discourse perspective. They examined political campaign posters from Facebook and WhatsApp platforms. The study applied a social semiotic theory to analyse the visual images and linguistic items in the campaign posters. Findings indicate that campaign posters convey potent messages, which influenced the electorate's decision to vote for the LP presidential candidate during the 2023 election. This study resonates with the present study from a multimodal perspective but differs in the theoretical approach and data collection. The various studies reviewed have shown the connection between visual images, people's behaviour, and the way political cartoons provoke participation. The literature on the effectiveness and influence of political cartoons in online newspapers is limited; hence, the need for the current study.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the theory of Grammar of Visual Design (GVD) by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), an approach in Discourse Analysis, to analyse the textual and pictorial elements in the cartoons. The theory provides a framework that examines how images communicate meaning through the structured resources of the three meta-functions, namely: representational, interactive, and compositional. These meta-functions are applied in the analysis of each cartoon. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 2) observe that "visual and textual structures can be used to express meaning from common cultural sources" and affirm that visual structures work in the same way as language structure in the interpretations of experience and forms of social interactions.

Halliday's metafunctions are presented as compositional, interactional, and representational meaning in the GVD. The metafunctions provide the theoretical and analytical bases for multimodal discourse analysis. The Representational meaning is similar to the ideational function in Systemic Functional Linguistics. In representational meaning, semiotic modality can replicate concepts and their relationship with the external world. The Grammar of Visual Design has two subcategories namely, the narrative and conceptual representations. These resonate with Halliday's transitivity which consists of six processes that represent ideational content in verbal language. The Interactional meaning in visual grammar explores the relationships that exist among the image maker, the world it represents, and the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) hold that analysing a visual image requires the interactive participant and the represented participant, that is, it focuses on the relationship between the audience and the image or cartoon through contact between the actor and the audience. The Compositional meaning on the other hand has to do with the textual meaning in Systemic Functional Linguistics. In essence, composition meaning refers to how

an image integrates various resources to form a meaningful whole. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) proposed that compositional meaning contains information value, salience, and framing

Moya & Pinar (2008) observe that analysing the compositional features of a multimodal text requires examining the page layout to determine the extent to which the visual and verbal elements achieve coherence within the whole unit. Additionally, Kress and van Leeuwen maintain the notion that images carry social constructs with structural, political, and cultural implications, which is why it was adopted for this study. The theory was adopted because it is versatile, meets the objectives of the study, and allows for the analysis of political cartoons in the Nigerian 2023 presidential elections, which is the main focus of this study.

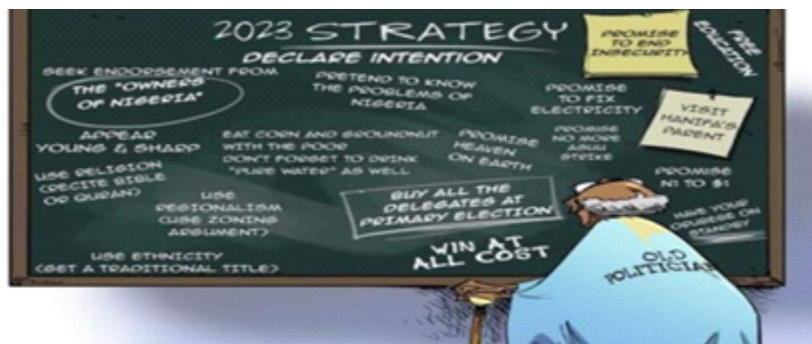
Research Methodology

The research is a qualitative study which employed descriptive means based on multimodal tools to analyse the political cartoons in the selected online newspapers. The data was sourced from online newspapers such as: Daily Trust, Business Day and Vanguard from January 2022 to December, 2023 to cover the period before and after the elections. The primary data was purposively selected because the visual and textual messages encoded in the cartoons align with the objectives of the study. The secondary sources of data comprised previous research works and journals.

Data Presentation and Analysis

A total of six cartoons were selected and each was assigned a number and the source of each cartoon was duly acknowledged. Each cartoon was analysed using the three metafunctions namely: the compositional, representational and interactional meaning of the Grammar of Visual Design by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Datum 1



Source: © Mustapha Buluma, 10 February 2022

Compositional Meta-function:

The title "2023 STRATEGY" at the top captures the entire content as an electoral planning scheme and the image from left to right, captures the movement from basic strategies (seeking endorsement) to specific stratagems such as, "WIN AT ALL COST" and "BUY ALL THE DELEGATES AT PRIMARY ELECTION" are centrally placed for emphasis. The board dominates the visual space, with the writing creating a strong contrast against the dark background. Additionally, it draws the viewers' attention to the message, the "OLD POLITICIAN" which is prominently inscribed on the man's cloak.

Interactional Meta-function: The different strategies that are grouped through spatial arrangement are displayed on the board while the use of boxes and circles around certain texts emphasise and separate the different ideas. The old politician is depicted as a teacher of political strategies. The national colours are represented by the green board and the writing in white chalk to signify the cartoon is on Nigeria. The politician's white hair reflects his age and experience, while the yellow notes show more strategies.

Representational Meta-function: This cartoon shows how politicians plan and strategize to convince the electorate during elections. One gets the impression that the cartoon is a teaching/learning session on political stratagem. The caption "2023 STRATEGY" at the top sets the tone of the entire content as an electoral planning scheme. The left to right placement captures the movement from basic strategies such as seeking endorsement to specific stratagems.

The labels, "WIN AT ALL COST" and "BUY ALL THE DELEGATES AT PRIMARY ELECTION" are salient elements in the cartoon.

Datum 2



Source: *Business Day*, October 28, 2022

Compositional Meta-function:

This particular cartoon comments on Nigeria's presidential politics as it shows two older men sitting across a table with a representation of the Nigerian flag between them. They are both reaching for a piece of paper labelled "2023 PRESIDENTIAL TICKET" which is object of their focus. The flag enjoys high salience from its central position on the table so, it draws the attention of viewers or readers to the object being exchanged by the two participants which judging from the torn ticket, connotes discord between the two participants.

Interactional Meta-function: The figures are positioned facing each other across the table, both leaning forward and reaching for the ticket. This creates a sense of tension and competition. The torn presidential ticket and their facial expressions with furrowed brows and intense gazes show determination to hold on to it by one person while the other seeks to possess it. Tinubu's upward gaze seems to be beseeching Buhari whose downward gaze gives him a superior gait. The green-white-green colour scheme is significant as it represents the Nigerian national flag which is strategically placed on the table to show that the discussion revolves around Nigeria. The contrasting colours of the participants' clothes emphasises the political divide.

Representational Meta-function: The man on the right is shown wearing a blue cap with white designs and a light blue outfit. The cartoon depicts a struggle or negotiation over the presidential candidacy for the 2023 Nigerian election. The torn card shows there was a struggle indicating that there is no agreement between the two participants. Their facial expressions show concentration and a desire to wrest control as can be implied from the ripped card.

Datum 3



Compositional Meta-function: The interaction between a politician and an electorate engaged in a marriage proposal is the focal point of this cartoon. The title "ELECTION MARRIAGE PROPOSAL", underpins the idea that voting is a significant commitment which should be taken seriously. The offering of a gift labelled "FAKE PROMISES" by the politician makes it obvious that it is a fake proposition. The lady's expression does not show if she will fall for his fake charms, since he has an assortment of gifts or if she will see through the fakery and reject the offer. The label "ELECTION MARRIAGE PROPOSAL", however, establishes that the proposal is already compromised by fake promises. The broken heart symbols hovering around the politician suggest that like fake love which ends in broken heart, this union is bound to end in broken promises. Ironically, the electorate does not betray any emotions, instead, she covers her mouth in a sarcastic snigger.

Interactional Metafunction: The cartoon portrays a politician whose gaze is fixed at the lady tagged “ELECTORATE”. His interest in her is motivated by her electoral value which translates to votes. Importantly, the politician's attention is seen as fake and insincere as the broken love symbols represent. The lady (electorate) is hesitant and undecided as she is unwilling to make any commitment to the politician. The broken red heart symbolizes insincere love, and like fake political promises, is not meant to be kept. Representational Meta-function: In order to garner votes, the politician makes false promises. The ring is used symbolically to represent the electoral process and like a marriage proposal which requires some degree of responsibility, the politician believes the bogus ring will facilitate electoral conquest as the wine bottle indicates.

Datum 4



Source: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/cartoon-apcs-consensus-candidate/>

Compositional Meta-function: The ongoing conversation between the “PRESIDENCY” and the “PARTY CHAIRMAN”, who occupies a strategic position shows his importance in the activities around him. The position emphasizes the chairman's authority, and the strong resistance to his decision through the strategic placement of elements and use of contrasting reactions. The Party Chairman's exaggerated facial expression elicits viewers' attention. The placing of the sign, "Consensus LAWAN" shows it is the dominant issue. Expressions such as "RUBBISH!", "NONSENSE!", etc., are prominent because of their bold presentation which convey displeasure and may be seen as a form of attack visual on the party chairman.

Interactional Meta-function: The party chairman is the only participant although other invisible participants are indicated by their reactions to the caption of the cartoon. The contentious reactions are all placed on one side meaning that they share a common ideology. The chairman's gaze directed at the “PRESIDENCY”, implies that is where the instruction emanates; consequently, his entire attention is riveted there. The preponderance of black is ominously deployed in the cartoon to make the various reactions prominent against the neutral background.

Representational Meta-function: The title "ADAMU'S COMMENT ON APC CONSENSUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SPLITS NWC" provides the context for the cartoon. Senator Abdullahi Adamu, the Party Chairman's response to the question "HOW FAR?" shows that the proposal is not popular. His response, “DEM NO GREE O” in pidgin English, expresses opposition as exemplified in the various reactions captured in the speech bubbles. Reactions such as "OVER MY DEAD BODY", "I KNEW IT!", “RUBBISH!” create a sense of disagreement to the proposal of Lawan as the consensus candidate. The exclamatory mark after each statement implies an emotional response to the choice of a consensus candidate. The cartoon effectively depicts political tension and dissension within a party structure. The use of multiple visual and textual elements, convey opposition to a controversial decision. Consequently, the cartoon symbolically reveals political discord and opposition of the political class and Nigerian citizens.

Datum 5



Source: Business Day, March 7, 2023

Compositional Meta-function: The central positioning of the family emphasises their importance as the "Wise Voters Group." The caption succinctly explains the fact that voters are getting wiser. The son's placard clearly states their votes will no longer be traded for rice or beans which is equally affirmed by the mom's placard. The speech bubble at the top represents the conceptual message, while the group standing on the platform represents the actual occurrence. The man in bright yellow clothing with the large megaphone, is prominently positioned to command the viewers' interest. The placard in the woman's hand is a salient element, and a manifestation of wise voters. In the same way, the child's protest sign, though smaller, stands out because of its message and position.

Interactional Meta-function: The banding of the family on the platform labelled "WISE VOTERS GROUP," serves to unite them as a single entity, with equal stakes in the outcome of their choices; it emphasizes their desire, vision, and mission which is to become wise voters who, ostensibly, will vote wisely. They are all shown standing together with the mother holding her son's hand, apparently to guide him; little wonder, the boy can contribute to the activism by holding his own placard, which clearly enunciates his own position. Each member of the family has some tinge of yellow colour in their clothing, showing an intentional act of presenting a united front.

Representational Meta-function: The man speaking through the megaphone represents an action process, conveying information for the benefit of those who need to know. The caption "AFTER DUE CONSULTATIONS WITH MY PVC AND FAMILY I HAVE DECIDED TO RUN AS VOTER OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA" mimics how politicians announce their intentions to run for office. The mother's sign of "NO VOTE FOR RICE & BREAD" and the son's stance of "POLITICIANS SMART, VOTERS NOW SMARTER" suggest a stance against vote-buying or short-term incentives. By satirically bestowing exaggerated importance on voters, the cartoon conveys a serious message about electoral responsibility and integrity, which encourages viewers to see themselves as principal actors in the political process with the capability and capacity of making informed decisions without inducement. Furthermore, the cartoon presents the idea of informed and active citizenship symbolically through the metaphor of a family united in the promotion of wise and informed voting.

Datum 6



Source: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2023/11/cartoon-judiciary-must-feel-am/>

Compositional Meta-function: The caption “ALL EYES ON JUDICIARY” at the top frame represents the existing situation, while the dialogue box at the bottom introduces the discourse.

The activities of the Supreme Court, which is the apex court in the country is the focus of this cartoon. The major concern of this cartoon is the way the politicians and stakeholders react to judgement, particularly that given in the 2023 presidential elections where opposing parties did not accept the result because it was contrary to their expectations. The caption, “ALL EYES ON JUDICIARY” is a salient element in the cartoon. Similarly, the judge who is the target of the warning, also attracts the viewer’s attention.

Representational Meta-function: The cartoon shows the public perception of the judiciary, particularly with regard to how opinions change based on rulings. The judge is shown with his arms reaching out as if to proclaim his innocence. The text, "THE COURT IS CORRUPT WHEN IT DOESN'T FAVOUR US, BUT WHEN THE JUDGEMENT IS IN OUR FAVOUR COURT BECOMES THE HOPE OF THE COMMON MAN!" highlights the hypocrisy in public opinion, which labels the same institution as corrupt or as a beacon of hope depending on whether the judgement aligns with their interests. The caption, "ALL EYES ON JUDICIARY" signals a warning to the judiciary to be wary of public scrutiny as the citizens are watching. The image exemplifies the concepts of justice, public opinion, and the capriciousness in judgment depending on its outcome.

Interactional Meta-function: The figure representing the judiciary is not focused on any particular person or object; this is meant to show that the judiciary is impartial and transparent in its judgements. However, the man in yellow holds him in a tight grip by the waist to demonstrate that he will not be allowed to escape if he does not deliver judgement in his favour. The black and white colours which depict the traditional black robes and white wigs associated with the judiciary also adds a sense of seriousness to the subject matter. The man’s bright yellow clothing contrasts with the black gown and so, draws the viewer’s attention. The cartoon criticises the selfish interpretation of justice by citizens and equally highlights the pressure people place on the judiciary in a bid to satisfy their conflicting interests.

Discussion

The application of Kress and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design in the data analysis reveals that cartoons do more than entertain; they deliberately deploy representational, interactional, and compositional meta-functions to encode ideological positions and influence public perception. Corresponding with the opinion of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the positioning of an element on the page may serve as a visual indicator of psychological or social significance, and placement at the upper section of the page can denote an elevated social standing or authority. The placement of images in the cartoons reflected the relationship between the images and the messages conveyed. Salience, which has to do with the prominence an image enjoys, was well utilized as vital topics were given more prominence to communicate the seriousness of the subject matter. The cartoonists used colour, an important component of compositional metafunction to guide the viewer's attention and underpin the narrative. The findings show that political cartoons serve as effective multimodal genre that combines text and visual elements to reveal hidden. The research reveals that visual and linguistic modes co-exist in such a way that the textual component of the cartoons provides the viewer with more information, which makes the meaning of other semiotic resources in the selected cartoons clearer and easier to understand.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Given the status of cartoon communication as a potent medium through which cartoonists articulate significant socio-political commentary, this study has effectively demonstrated that cartoons serve as powerful vehicles for conveying compelling political messages to their audiences. This study has established that political cartoons of the 2023 Nigerian presidential elections functioned as powerful semiotic resources through which cartoonists engaged in meaning-making, persuasion, and critique. The findings show that the visual grammar of the cartoons reflected the polarized socio-political atmosphere of the elections, where some images satirize socio-political issues. The interplay of text and image not only reinforced existing narratives but also created new layers of discourse that circulated widely within Nigeria’s mediated public sphere. Ultimately, the study affirms that multimodal analysis, particularly Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework, offers a robust lens for revealing how visual communication shapes democratic engagement in Nigeria. Multimodal discourse analysis provides a robust analytical framework beyond language-centred analysis which accounts for the complexity of contemporary communication, particularly in digital and media contexts where meaning is inherently multimodal. Consequently, the political cartoons of the

Nigerian 2023 elections should be seen not only as humorous commentary but as influential texts that reveal the dynamics of power, ideology, and citizen consciousness in Nigeria's evolving democratic culture.

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