

Re-fashioning Old Orientalism: A study of Cartoons by *Cartoon Movement* on FIFA World Cup 2022 by using Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Misbah Ghufraan (corresponding author)

Department of English, University of Education, Lahore, Multan Campus
misbah.ghufraan@ue.edu.pk

Bushra Saeed

Department of English, University of Education, Lahore, Multan Campus
bushra.saeed@ue.edu.pk

Mehwish Shafi

Senior English language teacher in Punjab Higher Secondary Danish School(Girls),Dera Ghazi Khan, Campus
mahweshdahha@gmail.com

Abstract

The current paper focuses on how cartoons can be used as a vehicle to promote stereotypes about a certain group of people. Orientalism is not a thing of the past. Even in the current times, the concept of Orientalism is refashioned. The present study aims to explore the hidden ideology behind the cartoons shared on a Twitter account, Cartoon Movement which is an online platform that binds together the cartoonists of editorial worldwide. The cartoons have been selected by making use of a purposive sampling technique. For the purpose of analysis, the current research paper hinges on the multimodal discourse analysis. The results show that the people of Qatar; an Arab Middle Eastern country, are depicted in a formulaic manner. Certain traits have been attached with them to represent them in a certain light. Moreover, the results show that the cartoons attach certain stereotypical images to the Islamic identity of the people of Qatar. This image-building process can be summarized as an occidental view of the 'other'. The study proposes acceptance of other cultures, their norms and values instead of a Eurocentric worldview.

Key Words: FIFA World Cup 2022, Qatar, Islamophobia, Orientalism, Cartoons.

Introduction

Cartoons are defined by the Encyclopedia of Britannica (link is shared by the end of references) as a sketch or a drawing that is used for graphic art, painting or a design for tapestry. But it has also been utilized since 1840s as a pictorial parody that makes use of humor, satire and caricature as well. In today's world, cartoons are also used as commentary on politics, as a way to show editorial opinion in the newspapers or even as a social comedy. Onakpa (2014) observes that the purpose of cartoons is to cure the ills of a society. The purpose is not only to create fun but they also seek to bring some positive change in political patterns.

He observes that cartoons have turned out to become a prominent feature of magazines and newspapers. Cartoons are taken usually as if they only refer to trivial issues and their only intention is to create laughter, he detects. But it is further observed by him that cartoons are quite helpful regarding providing a shield against intolerance. In this way, according to him, cartoons play an important part in conveying serious messages in a less grim manner.

Suryawanshi (2020) observes that cartoons through different social media platforms have actually revolutionized communication. He thinks that according to the size of cartoons in a newspaper, they might be small but their effect is significant. Much information is conveyed through the cartoons and that also without using any words or at times by using a few words. He also thinks that harsh realities and the dark side of politics are being conveyed in a humorous manner. It is also observed that the stance of cartoons on a particular point of discussion is quite transparent and it is also quite possible that some cartoons might be controversial.

The current research study examines the cartoons shared in the context of the FIFA World Cup 2022 in Qatar. Cartoons are taken from a Twitter account; *Cartoon Movement*. It is an online platform that brings together expert editorial cartoonists worldwide to provide daily opinions on current events. The account handle is @cartoonmovement@newsie.social and it's operated from Amsterdam, the capital of the Northwestern European country, Netherlands.

Literature Review

Cartoons have been used for different purposes. They are used for the purpose of depicting the opinion of the public and on the other side, they are useful for the formation of the public opinion as well. As Hussain & Li (2016) cite Lamb (2004) who observes that cartoons play a significantly serious role. They say that cartoons are used for the purpose of satire targeting political leaders and their distasteful policies. In this regard, Edward and other scholars (2005) are of the view that cartoons are actually the depiction of the opinion of the public. It can be observed that cartoons are taken as the depiction of public opinion by different researchers. In contrast to the above view, other researchers like Gilmartin & Brunn (1998) have examined that the category of cartoons does not depict the general public view. It can be assumed then that cartoons direct our opinions to be formed in certain patterns. If cartoons do not reflect public opinion, then they can help form the opinion of people in certain patterns.

As the current research is about cartoons in the context of the Qatar FIFA World Cup, we can look at the cartoons from the perspective of Orientalism as well. Much work has been produced after Edward Said (1978) who introduced the idea of orientalism. An ontological and epistemological contrast between "the Orient" and "the Occident" is the foundation of a form of thought which is known as "Orientalism." This distinction between the two is used in general for the purpose of elaborating theories and other socio-political issues. According to Said (ibid), Orientalism is a historically and materially defined idea. In this regard, roughly, late eighteenth century can be taken as a point of the beginning of Orientalism. If we try to understand Orientalism in fewer words, we can say that Orientalism in reality is a Western way to dominate and having control of the Orient. Because it was due to Orientalism that the Orient did not (still does not) remain a free agent of thought and action. Orientalism stems from close experiences among France, Great Britain and the Orient particularly from the start of the nineteenth century till the end of the Second World War. Since the end of World War II, it is America that has dominated the Orient.

The Orient is not a reality of nature just like the Occident itself is not a fact of nature. We can say just like West, the idea of the Orient is a thing of history, it has a tradition of vocabulary, certain imagery and thought. ÇOLAK (2021) cites Said (1979:21) who quotes Marx's *18th Brumaire of Luis Bonaparte*, as they are not able to represent themselves, they need to be represented, and this idea cannot be taken merely as a coincidence. The meaning of this idea which is the heart of Orientalism is linked with West's conscious construction of the Orient.

Statement of the Problem

The study aims to inspect what kind of identity is being portrayed by the people of Qatar in the selected cartoons. The current paper also proposes to analyze whether the selected cartoons are presented in a neutral manner or not. The cartoons related to FIFA World Cup 2022 have not been analyzed from the perspective of orientalism. Though a lot of research studies have been conducted regarding the FIFA World Cup 2022 but the perspective that is proposed in the current paper, is less explored.

Research Questions

The following questions are being asked in the present research:

- What kind of relationship is being portrayed of the represented and interactive participants in the images?
- What kind of identity of the people of Qatar has been portrayed in the cartoons?
- Could the portrayal of the represented participants in the images have been different?

Research Methodology

The current paper makes use of multimodal discourse analysis (hereafter MDA) for the purpose of analyzing the cartoons shared online on Twitter in the context of the FIFA World Cup 2022. Luca (2020) observes that the term multimodality first was used by M. A. K. Halliday with reference to different modes of analysis that can be applied to objects that are studied from the perspective of semiotics. Multimodality has its roots in the Prague School which focuses on Linguistics but it slowly shifted to art interpretation. Apart from this, these strategies were later applied to paintings and pictures for the purpose of analyzing their costumes to get an idea of a person's status, religion age and also of their actions and gestures, according to van Leeuwen (2015: 448).

Halliday (1978, 1994) developed Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), for the purpose of the study of language as a social semiotic. It has been extended to be used for meaning-making by different semiotic systems in various multimodal discourses. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) observe, that SFL's three metafunctions can be applied to semiotic modes and they cannot be specified only to language. In this way, MDA also makes use of three metafunctions which are referred to as representational, interactive and compositional.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) have given the idea of Visual Grammar. It in fact is a framework that is used for the analysis of visual images. In the visual Grammar, Halliday's three metafunctions were renamed as representational, interactive and lastly, compositional. They describe representational meanings that can be understood by two different forms of structures of representation. These representational structures can be referred to as conceptual and narrative. In narrative representation, different participants actually are connected through vectors whereas conceptual representations present participants in their generalized stable essence. The type of social relation that exists between the producer and the receiver and also with the objects that are being presented is studied in interactive meaning. This is understood by the kind of contact, attitude and also through social distance. The role of *gaze* is important in this kind of representation as it offers two kinds of images: *offer* and *demand*. *Demand* refers to the demand of the participants from the viewer and *offer* refers to the idea of conveying meaning impartially. The last, compositional metafunction, combines the first two metafunctions into a meaningful whole. It refers to information value, salience and the art of framing. It refers to information values, what is foregrounded and backgrounded, salience refers to the idea just being described, and relative sizes and framing devices play a significant role.

Jewitt (2009) has explored the term "multimodality" and it refers to the area in which semiotic activity takes place, which can be referred to as an area for inquiry, a description of an area and of resources that, somehow, contribute to *meaning*. The meanings are created through the interaction of a number of modes like the use of language in spoken and written format, images (whether still or dynamic) and the use of color and the page layout all contribute to the process of meaning-making, according to Penz & Fill (2022). Kress (2013) also observes that in the approach of multimodality, language makes only one of many available resources that are used for the purpose of making meaning. In the multimodal approach, all the modes are taken as a

single field and then jointly they are taken as a cultural resource for the purpose of meaning-making by the associates of a social group at a specific time. All the modes in this way, then, are treated equally for their potential capacity to contribute meaning to a semiotic object, a text.

Kress (ibid) explores that both multimodality and social semiotics raise questions not only about *meaning* but also about meaning-making. Both also question the *agency* of the *makers* of meaning, the composition of *identity* in a given sign- and in the process of meaning-making. They also probe the question of how ‘knowledge’ is formed, shaped and then established separately in different modes and also by whom. Multimodality, apart from this, also questions the availability of recourses in a society in the process of meaning-making, and as a result, therefore, how ‘knowledge’ appears to be different following different modes. As in a multimodal situation, there is a possibility of a number of *choices* and *selection* multiplying. Modes actually are the direct result of societal shaping and have traces of *selection* from multiple choices. Questions can be raised like why are some of the materials selected and not the other? And why are some aspects, the materials prominent and not others? These are the hints that work has been done in response to social focus and interest. It is also observed by Hansen (2018), Hansen & Machin (2015), Kress & van Leeuwen (1996,2001) and also by Stibbe (2015: 34) that a number of elements provide a range from which communicators make selections and, in this way, meanings are constructed in a particular way. According to Andersen, Boeriis, Maagerø & Tonnessen (2015) for Kress signs are *made* and anything can be crafted as a sign.

Data Analysis and Discussion

The cartoons that are selected for the current study are analyzed by classifying them into different following categories:

1. Violation of Human rights

The first category is related to the human rights. There were a number of cartoon images related to this category. Out of many, two have been selected for this category. Figure one is the emblem of the FIFA World Cup 2022. This emblem actually is multifaceted and symbolic in its nature. It represents the infinity symbol as well and figure 8 is represented through it. Figure 8 refers to 8 stadiums in which matches of the FIFA World Cup were to be played and the infinity symbol is a reference to human connections that will continue to flourish even after the tournament. This information has been taken from the FIFA World Cup fan guide and the link to its pdf has been shared by the end of the references. In Figure 1, the emblem is presented as having blood stains, moreover, it is presented as a male Qatari, wearing a ghutra which is a part of the dress for males. Moreover, there is a blood-stained hand that is squeezing a person who actually is representing migrant workers in Qatar.

On the other side in Figure 2, a footballer is shown whereas instead of football there is a skull. The skull was another prominent symbol that got prominence in the cartoons related to the FIFA World Cup 2022. The second figure can be analyzed this way the FIFA World Cup in Qatar was made possible only due to the untiring efforts of migrant workers who sacrificed their lives for materializing this World Cup. This World Cup has been criticized for the violation of the human rights of migrant workers particularly. The situation of migrant workers has been referred to as slave labor. A particular number of deaths of migrant workers has also been circulating since Qatar won the right to host this mega event ten years ago.

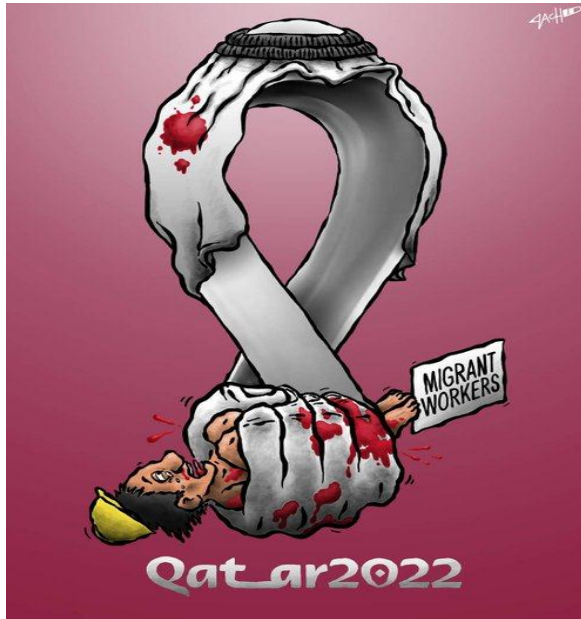


Figure 1

Figure 2

From the perspective of MDA, narrative representational metafunction is used. Both images involve vectors. Instead of objects or elements, Kress and Leeuwen (2006), propose to use the term ‘participants’ for the people/things involved in the images. When participants in the image(s) are linked by vector then they are representative of either *doing* something to or for one another. In Figure number 1, the emblem which represents a male-oriented society of Qatar, is doing something to another participant, who is representative of migrant workers. In the same manner, in Figure 2, one participant is doing something to another participant which is a skull, a symbol for migrant workers. In both images, the emblem is a symbol and the Qatari man, are playing the role of ‘actor’ because from them the vector is departing. On the other side, the migrant workers in Figure 1 and skull in Figure 2 are the ‘goal’ towards whom the vector is actually directed. So, it is making a *transactional* process if we verbally paraphrase the transactional process then we can use a transitive verb. We can paraphrase figures 1 and 2 as Qatar is squeezing migrant workers and a man is kicking a skull.

Interactional metafunction talks about the relations of different kinds between the represented participants (people, things, places that are depicted in images) and interactive participants (producer and viewer). In both figure 1 and 2, the relations between the represented participants is that of superordinate and subordinate. There is the depiction of power relation in both images as far as the relation between the represented participants is concerned. If we analyze, the relationship between the represented and interactive participants then we can see that the producers of the images are not approving the kind of power relation between the participants. The relation is that of disapproval and that is what is defining the last kind of relation, the relation between the interactive participants. The relation between the producer and viewers, it is conveying the message of the plight of those who are at the suffering end of this power relation. In this way, a kind of alignment is being tried to be built between the interactive participants. The producers of the images are creating their distance from the objects being produced and that can be analyzed through their attitude. In the interactive meanings, we look at the element of

gaze as well. From the perspective of gaze, both the images are from the category of *offer*. *Offer* in gaze refers to the indirect address to the audience and also that the information that is being presented is impartial and neutral. Apart from this the camera angle in Figure 1, ghutra wearer is foregrounded which is for the purpose of highlighting the power element of Qatar society over the migrant workers. In Figure 2 camera angle is low which gives the idea of the superiority of the participant, who is representing Qatari people, over migrant workers.

Most of the cartoons have been made by people from European countries and the relation that exists between the producers and the represented participants, can be labeled as that of oriental and occidental. As Edward Said observed a certain set of traits are attached to people of the East. In both figures 1 and 2, Qatari people are presented as barbaric, dishonest, male-oriented and violators of human rights. In Figure 2, the male presented is bearded, which is an element of respect in any Muslim society but the man is depicted in a somewhat derogatory way. Man is shown in thobe and ghutra, which is the national dress code for males in Qatar and some other Arab countries. The expressions on the face of the man are stern and he seems to be emotionless as he is playing with a skull; with the lives of migrant workers.

There is a 48-page long Amnesty report, Reality Check 2021: A Year to the 2022 World Cup. It is about the state of migrant workers and their rights in Qatar. The report (link to the report is shared at the end of references) highlights the discrepancy between the promises of reforms in the labor system and the protection of the rights of workers and reality. In this regard, the Government Communications Office State of Qatar has released press releases (links are shared by the end of references) in response to the Amnesty report they have talked of the mortality ratio of workers, access to a free first-class healthcare system and labor reforms. It further says that the State of Qatar feels that the statement of Amnesty does not reflect the truth regarding the reformation of the labor system. It says that allegations are out of context because there is no benchmark of labor conditions in Qatar against the conditions of labor in other countries. In a statement by the Communication Office of Qatar Government shared by Reuters (link is shared), it says:

"Amnesty fails to document a single story from among the 242,870 workers who have successfully changed jobs since barriers were removed in September 2020, or from the more than 400,000 workers who have directly benefitted from the new minimum wage through salary increases and other financial incentives," the statement said.

On the other side, from the compositional metafunction perspective, what is foregrounded is quite clear. The cruelty, violation of human rights and emotionlessness of male Qataris are being highlighted. In Figure 1, the background of the frame is red color which actually refers to the blood of workers. In figure 2, the background refers to the day and night time which possibly is referring to the calamity of migrant workers which continued day and night.

2. A case of corruption and discrimination at different levels



Figure 3



Figure 4

Figure 3 is of a washing machine. It actually refers to the collaborative effort of FIFA and Qatar to present a squeaky-clean kind of World Cup in front of the world. According to this image the FIFA World Cup 2022 has demanded the blood of LGBT social movements, migrant workers, female rights and corruption. Only after the sacrifice of all these, the big tournament was staged. In the same manner figure 4, is related to the idea of FIFA's banning of wearing rainbow armbands and in case of wearing the armband, captains of the teams who would have worn the band would have been penalized with a yellow card. One Love campaign and rainbow symbol actually are a symbol of supporting the LGBT movement.

In this image, there are references to the instructions by management about the decent dressing of Qatari females during the tournament in the stadiums. FIFA banned rainbow armbands for supporting the LGBT movement. It is due to the religious values of Qatar that prohibit the showing of flesh and homosexuality. As every country and every religion has its own values and cultural norms, in the same manner, Qatar has its own culture and values.

Figure 3 is presented as impersonal as the participants (objects) are shown in the picture and it is a kind of static picture. This is a conceptual picture. Whereas Figure 4 is personal and belongs to the narrative category of representational metafunction. There are, in Figure 4, two participants and one can be labelled as actors, or referees in the figure 4, whereas a faceless participant who is a player, can be labelled as the goal because a vector is generated from the referee towards the payer. It makes it a transactional process and it can be rephrased as; a referee is showing a yellow card to a player. If we look at the interactive meanings, then a number of relations are to be looked at. First of all, we need to look at the relation between the represented participants. The represented participants in Figure 3 in fact are ideas in the form of objects. They all seem to have equal kind of status because in the context of the FIFA World Cup, according to a particular perspective, all these ideas have been exploited. Whereas in Figure 4, the relation between the participants is that of a power relation. From the perspective of the relation between the represented and interactive participants, the producer of Figure 3 seems to be vocal about certain ideas that were being ignored during this tournament. According to this point of view, it is said that human rights have been exploited, expression of freedom from the perspective of females, the One Love Campaign got banned and corruption charges are levelled against FIFA management. In figure 4 as well the producer seems to be the advocate of the One Love

Campaign. Though some of these ideas are a case of cultural differences and some of these charges were denied by relevant authorities but they are presented as if they are a case of universal truth. Apart from this, the last kind of relation is the relation between the interactive participants. This relationship is between the real people, the producer and the viewers. According to this relation, the producers of Figures 3 and 4 are trying to convince the viewers for their own perspective about the management of the current FIFA World Cup of 2022. The producers are clearly supporters of the One Love Campaign and human rights with reference to the violation of migrant workers and females. There have been corruption charges as well on the organizers of World Cup 2022 that bribes have been given to them to get votes when hosting rights of the World Cup were given some 12 years ago.

The compositional metafunction in Figure 3 highlights the violations of different types whereas in the middle washing machine is being placed which highlights the idea of a squeaky-clean kind of World Cup in a satirical manner. The red color can be seen inside the washing machine which is coming outside it as well, it represents blood which actually denotes the sacrifice of different things discussed above. On the other side, figure 4 uses the arm of a faceless participant for foregrounding and the supporters in the stadium are in the background. Full-length view is given of the referee who is shown as showing a yellow card to the other participant. In this way main focus is actually on the One Love armband and on the yellow card which covers the overall meaning of the image.

3. Association of Terrorism



Figure 5

Figure 5 presents three Qatari men and one foreigner as the dress code and skin color of the foreigner is different. The foreigner seems to be one of the football players as football can also be seen. Moreover, rainbow armband can also be seen on the arm of the foreigner which was planned by European players for the purpose of supporting One Love Campaign but later it was prohibited by FIFA management. Nearby, there is a glass of liquor which also was banned in Qatar. And because these things were banned and the foreign player's getting indulged in them that is the reason that he is being shown as being thrashed presumably by the officials of Qatar.

If we look at the representational meanings, we can analyze that image is narrative in nature. As it can be seen that the participants are connected through some vector. They are presented as doing something to or doing something for one another. The image clearly shows that participants are involved in doing something to each other. Here the participants can be

categorized as actor and goal, as it is a transactional process which can be translated by using a transitive verb. We can say for the purpose of describing this picture that a man is thrashing another man. This *transactional* process then becomes *reactional* process and then we will refer to the participants as reactors and phenomena instead of actors and goal. Reactor is who is looking and is capable of expressing something. Phenomena can be formed either by other participant who is involved in the process, who is being looked at by reactor or by overall visual proposition which can be referred to as transactional structure. In this figure, the player with the armband is the reactor, as he is expression certain reaction through eyes and phenomena in the image is alcohol. Expressions of shock are being expressed by the reactor.

The interactive meanings are related to the social relations between represented and interactive participants. The first kind of relation is between or among the represented participants. This kind of relation in the figure 5 is presented as of inequality, among the represented participants. The figure clearly shows some participants from whom is emanating the power, those who are thrashing a participant. Whereas second kind of relations is between interactive and represented participants. Here we can analyze the relation which is being depicted of the producer of this image and the represented participants. It can be analyzed that the way Qatari people are associated with negative traits, the producer of the image is aligning more with the 'reactor' in this image, or 'goal' of the image. The third kind of relation is among interactive participants. Interactive people are the real people, those who produce the images and those who make sense of these images, the viewers. Here through the image, the producer is constructing this idea that freedom should be given to people so that they may do whatever that want to. Here the reference of banning alcohol and One Love Campaign is being criticized.

The association of the negative traits with the locals (Qatari people), the producer actually detaches him/herself from the ideology of the image and aligns more with the foreigner. Moreover, the gaze element is that of *offer*. It is addressing viewers in an indirect manner. These kinds of images 'offer' the viewers with some kind of information. The image is presented as representation of reality in a neutral manner. Lastly, the compositional meanings tell that the participants are in the center of the image making them foregrounded and besides them are two poles one on each side. In the background, people in stadium are shown to be sitting and the use of color green is a reference to the field of the stadium.

4. Money-oriented World Cup

The next category is the recurrent reference to corruption charges against FIFA World Cup 2022. Much has been talked against the organizers of the FIFA World Cup that money was being paid to secure votes for getting hosting rights of the said tournament.



Figure 6

The representational metafunction is narrative in nature. The participants are connected through vector. This image presents participants doing something to each other. There are participants playing the role of ‘actors’ from whom the vector departs. As there is plurality of actors in the same manner there is multiplicity of goals. This *transactional* process can be described by a transitive verb. This idea can be paraphrased as that the Qatari official(s) is giving money to FIFA World Cup organizer(s), FIFA World Cup organizer(s) is giving money to the player(s). Interactive meanings are related to the relation between the represented and interactive participants. The represented participants represent the power relation based on money game. It refers to the corruption behind the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022. The relation between the interactive and represented participants is that of alienation as the producer of the image is criticizing the corruption behind the organizing the World Cup. The last kind of relationship is between the interactive participants. It can be interpreted as the producer is providing the information to the audience/viewers. Because the element of gaze is also there which utilizes ‘offer’ aspect of gaze. It means that the producer is sharing the information is a neutral kind of information.

At the compositional meaning level, it can be seen that green color is foregrounded and it refers to two important and interrelated ideas. It is used to refer to dollars and playgrounds which is a reference to football. Other than this, we can see the relative size of the participants which refers to the role of different participants behind the organization of World Cup 2022.

5. ideological Alignments through political images



Figure 7

Figure 7 is a reference to ideological alignment of Qatar with Iran. On the left side is the image of Irani leader in black and on the right side is La’eeb which was the official Mascot of FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022. It represents Qatar through its dress code. It is described by Cartoon Movement page (for reference link is also shared by the end of references list) that Qatar has agreed with Iran to silence the voice of the opposition (with reference to the protests in Iran due to Mahsa Amini incident).

The representational metafunction of this image is narrative in nature. The participants are connected through vector as they are doing something to each other. One of the participants is

playing the role of actor whereas the other is goal. The *transactional* process can be paraphrased as Irani leader is giving money to Qatari official(s).

Interactive meanings offer us to analyze the relation between the represented participants on one side. It can be seen that the represented participants are enjoying friendly kind of relation with each other as can be interpreted from their smiles and facial expressions. On the other side relation between the represented and interactive participants is that of disapproval. It can be seen that the producer has highlighted the relation between the represented participants due to money. So, basically the producer is disapproving this particular money deal. The last kind of relation is between the interactive participants. It can be interpreted as producer is giving neutral piece of information to the viewers by using 'offer' option from gaze.

At the compositional level, we can see the placement of participant on the margins whereas in the middle of the image is the symbol of football and money which is a reference to the central role which money has played to have a deal between Iran and Qatar.

Conclusion

From the detailed analysis and above discussion, it can be concluded that the producers of the images, that have been included in the present study, have portrayed a particular kind of relationship between the presented and interactive participants. In the selected images mostly, the represented participants are shown to have unequal kind of relationship wherever the relation between Qatari and others involved entities is depicted except figure 7. Figure 7 is the only image which highlights a friendly relation between the represented participants. On the other side, the relation between the represented and interactive participants, from the perspective of producers of the images, is that of non-alignment. The producers of these images have distanced themselves by depicted certain negative traits in the context of Qatar and Qatari people.

If the identity of Qatari people which is being portrayed in the selected images is talked about, this can be looked at from the perspective of Orientalism. It can be seen that a particular stereotypical image is being attached with the Qatari people. The image of being barbaric, dishonest, corrupt, heterosexual obstinacy, and male centrality is being portrayed. Apart from this the weapons are also associated with the Qatari men in figure 5. In the recent years after the incident of 9/11 the image of terrorism is being associated with Muslims. Whereas the producers do not align themselves with the Qatari people, reserving another kind of identity for themselves. In this way two groups are being formed of 'us' and 'them'.

If the question is asked that whether the portrayal of the represented participants in the images could have been different, then it can be answered that images have been made to produce certain meanings. Out of many resources certain were selected only to create certain meaning. The whole of it is a meaning-making process and it is only a matter of selection of resources to create certain meaning.

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