



## Developing Public Policy and Public Interest Agenda via Newspaper Cartoons: A Case of China

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### Abstract

This paper compared themes in cartoon news published in three major East Asian newspapers, intending to determine the major political themes in the region. The cartoon texts were excerpted from the newspapers of Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Seven hundred and eight cartoons were nominated for analysis by using a purposive sampling technique. A functional grammar-based content analysis method involving semiotic analysis procedures was adopted to classify the themes contained in the cartoon representations. The main public-interest themes were found to be: democratic governance, economy, corruption, foreign policy, living standard, and security. Results indicated that the majority of Mainland China cartoons (21.9%) focused on foreign policy issues. For Hong Kong (25.5%) and Taiwan (31%), the focus issues are primarily related to democratic governance. This paper contributes to studies, specifically to provide some guidance in formulating public policy and with a testing method to investigate public-interest agenda-setting through newspaper cartoons.

**Disciplinary:** News, Media & Communication Studies, Public Policy, Social Engineering, Economics & Management, Political Science, International Relation.

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## 1 Introduction

In the history of print media, newspaper cartoons are considered the most powerful source of information and the most suitable way to engage the readers in different perspectives. These cartoons provide a concise and very brief message regarding all issues of society. Currently, print media is also in the focus of many readers and it is also a source of information with different styles. Newspapers consist of different text and whose messages are verbal and have graphic

messages which the public get is very enthusiastically. Different organizations, especially the governments take these cartoons seriously and sometimes use the message of these cartoons to formulate public policy. In this study, the researchers applied a unique method to collect the data from cartoons published in the People's Republic of China, including, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Newspaper cartoons consist of a sketch, graph, or image which have a political or social message itself and attract the attention of the public. Cartoons provide news, comment, critic or an opinion for a current political or a social issue (Steuter et al., 2008). In a written article, there is a space to write and explain an issue briefly but in cartoons, the cartoonist gives a message in a very short space and time and addresses the issue directly. Through cartoons, the cartoonist conveys the message in a very simple way and eases the message for the general public. While the news in text and columns have a complex and abbreviated language that cannot be understood by the general public. Newspaper cartoons have proved that this way of communication is very influential and it is considered a way for judgment of public issues directly. Sometimes newspaper cartoons play a role to provoke the public view and discuss controversial issues because the cartoonist drafts them to address the most burning issues of society (Mora, 2021).

## 2 Literature Review

Newspaper cartoons are in different forms; sometimes these cartoons convey a serious message and sometimes address a general public view with different styles (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981). In each case, the newspaper cartoons are rich in a message having both verbal and nonverbal communication styles (Koetzle & Brunel, 1996). These cartoons are published in the editorial section of the newspaper and largely address the issues of the public concerned (Diamond, 2002). In literature, the study about newspaper cartoons is not expanded and some scholars argued that this type of research is still ongoing and the attention of researchers toward this issue is very little (Edwards, 1997). The cartoon itself is taking as an example of any issue which is animated and sometimes no-realistic and presenting a thematic answer to an issue. The cartoons are evolved over time and developed to convey serious messages. The person for whom draft a cartoon is the main source of information who get the information from society and draft it in a graphical form for the general public (Edwards, 1997). The cartoons published in the newspaper are very useful for getting quick information for any issue of the society (Langeveld, 1982).

The idea of newspaper cartoons was started at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cartoonists started to develop cartoons accordingly and added some new modern ways to attract public opinion through animated and by including the humorous form of messages. Cartoon science developed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and converted into animated films and some other most modern forms of communication.

In previous studies, the focus was given to the nature and functions of the cartoons published in newspapers. Some studies investigated the communicative meaning of the newspaper cartoons while some other took these cartoons for fun and entertainment. In some cases, the

newspaper printed cartoons taken as very serious allegations and also taken legal actions against the cartoonist and the newspaper, like in the case of Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr, where the cartoons' publisher and the author both face legal issues (Benoit et al., 2001).

Morrison (1969) concluded newspaper cartoons as the impact of images in public opinion through exclusive topographies images while Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) considered it as a verbal form of message convey for the public interest. Wigston (2002) discovered that the newspaper cartoons are for a struggle of any public interested burning issue like the movement of the AIDS issue in South Africa. Bivins (1984) took the newspaper cartoons and the pillar of the communication through which all types of messages can be delivered which is not possible in a print media text. Bormann et al. (1978) used newspaper cartoons as content knowledge and did not focus on the other graphic message of the cartoons. Some other researchers like Baldry and Thibault (2006) took newspaper a public image, they concluded that the public image of any society can be drawn through newspaper cartoons and the general public behaviors can also be taken from newspaper cartoons. Handl (1990) found that the Australian newspaper cartoons are concise conclusions of the dominant issues of the public.

Historically in the 1880s, newspaper cartoons become a regular part of the news and appeared almost in all types of newspapers in the United States (Becker, 1959). Newspaper cartoons gradually become the main part of their discussions and conclusions and opinions were drawn from these images from time to time (Hess & Northrop, 1996). In the era of the development of newspaper cartoons, these were used to convey or to attract the public toward political messages when journalism was under state control (Cary, 1933). Later the diversions of the newspaper cartoons were seen from political to some other social issues and many countries used these cartoons for elections campaigns and attract people's attention (Dewey, 2007).

The study of cartoons and the messages drawn from cartoons published in newspapers is growing day by day. Cartoon research is spread down in all types of studies because the cartoonist focuses on all the issues of life. Historically the first cartoonist Benjamin Franklin published the first cartoon with the title of Join or Die and later many cartoonists followed the style and the method of this cartoonist (Burns, 2007). Although there are many methods to study a cartoon, the researchers used thematic and content analysis to study a cartoon published in a newspaper cartoon. Steuter et al. (2008) defined and investigated the cartoons in a way that how cartoons play a role in society and how they serve humanity. Ghilzai (2020) considered the newspaper cartoons as a way to get the attention of the public by political leaders and business personalities.

Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) found that newspaper cartoons consist of four themes: political, cultural, charismatic, and situational. Benoit and colleagues (2001), with 2000 cartoons, conducted for the Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr affair, found that the cartoons are for inquires of issues and impeachment purposes. The newspaper cartoons are serving as a tool of debatable opinions and for getting more influential ideas and responses from the public (Kuipers, 2011).

On another side, some researchers have taken newspaper cartoons and time-wasting ideas where there the ideas a replicated and opinions are repeated. Edward (2005), disclosed that

newspaper cartoons do not present the unerringly reflect of the general view (Gilmartin & Brunn, 1998). Besides these opinions, the newspaper cartoons served as a way of public awareness and sometimes a strong political campaign (Edwards and Ware, 2005). In short words, newspaper cartoons consider concise and focused images which reflect the social issues in a specific politico-geographic location (Han, 2006).

### 3 Theoretical Background

To study newspaper cartoons researchers selected the Perceptual Theory which focuses on how to explain the context of images in satire. In nature, satire is getting a behavior at mocking societal accountabilities. It is a method used to slate an issue and uncover the shortcomings in any issues or object. Researchers considered newspaper cartoons and initial political satire where the political personalities and or political parties were judged (Townsend et al., 2008). The perceptual theory of satire is one of the theories used to know the image and sketch science. This theory explained the nature of stairs and the way of public understanding toward stairs. The theory also explained the method that how the public is getting stairs and the message from different secures.

Based on the nature of the study the Agenda-Setting Theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) is selected for this study because researchers want to study the agenda points which are extracted from newspaper cartoons. Agenda setting theory is used as a bridge between public and newspaper cartoons to set and draw conclusions from the newspaper for the public. The paper also explains the function of media especially print media toward public policy formation. This theory also explains the way to draw the conclusions from newspaper cartoons and point out agenda points for public policy through storytelling and by image drawing (McCombs, 1972).

### 4 Methodology

This study was conducted to know the public policy issues via newspaper cartoons. The data was collected from three major newspapers of the People's Republic of China; Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The texts that appeared in cartoons were studied following the guidelines of Halliday's (1985). The unit of analysis was the text of the cartoons which was extracted and it is used for further cartoons study to know the public interested agenda points for formulating public policy. Cartoons' themes were drawn through the content analysis method. The sample comprised 708 cartoon texts extracted from the three newspapers. The cartoons were selected from January-October 2016. The Global Times sample comprised 183 cartoons, South China Morning Post 267 cartoons, and Taipei Times 258 cartoons. To understand, seven cartoons of each newspaper were exactly nominated and examined in this work. The research questions are

1. What are the main public-interest themes in cartoon news of Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan?
2. What are the most and least highlighted factors in cartoons news of Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan?
3. What public policy formulas are apparent for Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan based on public views in cartoon news?

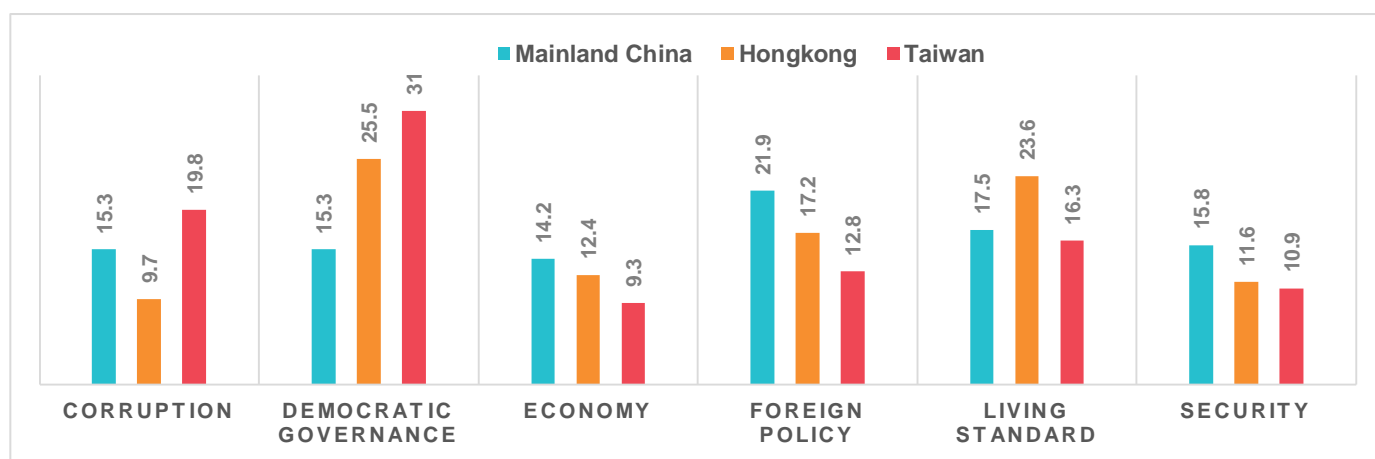
## 5 Analyses

The texts excerpted from the cartoons were analyzed by the qualitative method, and the outcome theme categories were corruption, democratic governance, economy, foreign policy, living standard, and security. Table 1 shows the thematic frequency distribution of concluding themes for the three major newspapers in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

**Table 1:** Thematics results of cartoon study.

Themes	China Mainland		Hong Kong		Taiwan		Total	Total %
	Global Times		South China Morning Post		Taipei Times			
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent		
Corruption	28	15.30%	26	9.70%	51	19.80%	105	14.80%
Democratic Governance	28	15.30%	<b>68</b>	<b>25.50%</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>31.00%</b>	176	24.90%
Economy	26	14.20%	33	12.40%	24	9.30%	83	11.70%
Foreign Policy	<b>40</b>	<b>21.90%</b>	46	17.20%	33	12.80%	119	16.80%
Living Standard	32	17.50%	63	23.60%	42	16.30%	137	19.40%
Security	29	15.80%	31	11.60%	28	10.90%	88	12.40%
Total	183	100	267	100	258	100	708	100

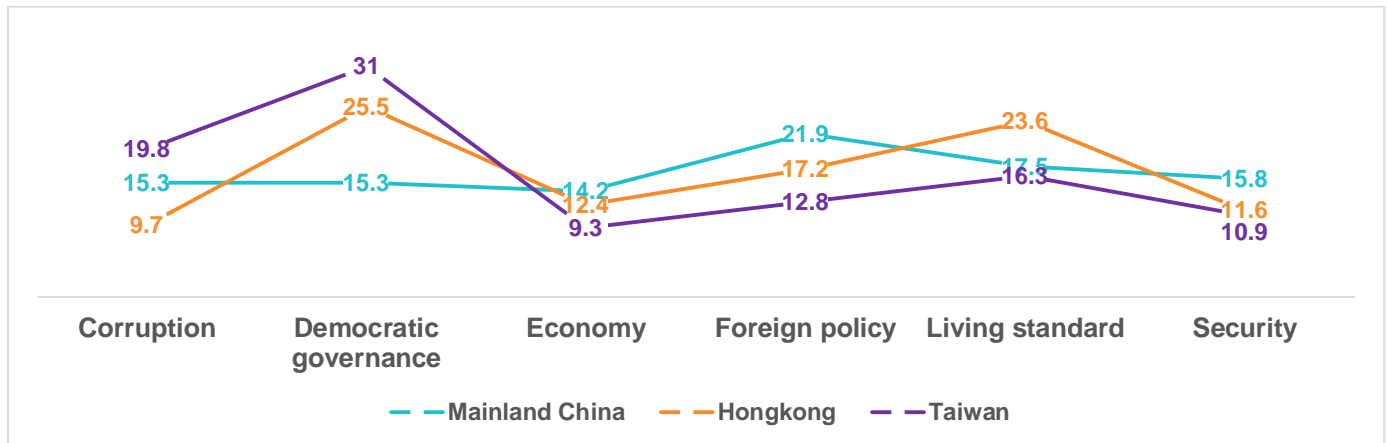
For further clarity, an analysis was conducted for Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan and composed in graphic form. Graph 1 shows the thematic representation of most and least presented issues in cartoons about Mainland China, where the majority of cartoons focused on foreign policy (21.9%) while the minority of cartoons focused on the economy (14.2%). Further, it represents the thematic issues of Hong Kong newspapers, in which the majority of cartoons concerned democratic governance (25.50%), while corruption was not a major issue (9.70%). The same analysis in Graph 1 presents the thematic issues of Taiwan. Democratic governance was the primary issue of the Taiwan newspaper (31%), and the economy was the least represented issue (9.30%).



**Graph 1:** Thematic representations for Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

A collective analysis of the thematic representations of Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan was also conducted. According to Graph 2, the newspaper cartoons focused more on corruption in Taiwan (19.80%) than in Mainland China (15.30%) and Hong Kong (9.70%). Likewise for democratic governance, Taiwan's newspapers highlighted it more (31%) compared to Hong Kong (25.50%) and Mainland China (15.30%). Regarding the economy, Mainland China's newspaper

was more concerned (14.20%) than Hong Kong's (12.40%) and Taiwan's (9.30%) newspapers. Regarding foreign policy, Mainland China's newspaper expressed greater interest (21.90%) than Hong Kong's (17.20%) and Taiwan's (12.80%). Cartoons published in newspapers in Hong Kong (23.60%) focused more on the issue of living standards than did Mainland China (17.50%) and Taiwan (16.30%). For security, China's newspaper was more concerned (15.80%) than Hong Kong's (16.60%) and Taiwan's (10.90%).



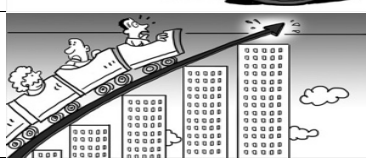





**Graph 2: Collective thematic analysis.**

To further illustrate, we also studied one representative cartoon for each theme for all three regions. We selected six cartoons from Global Times (Mainland China) for January-October 2016 to gain more in-depth detail on the six thematic issues. Cartoon#1 showed the corruption measures for the Mainland China authorities. This cartoon tried to convey a message for public authorities to adopt more appropriate ways to catch a thief. Cartoon#2 showed China's legalization of ridesharing services for vehicles, focusing on improved democratic governance for e-hailing for all, the cartoon suggesting the illegality of adopting such a policy. Cartoon#3 showed China's skyrocketing property values, which increased with respect to time. It also showed the timeframe for the economic situation for China's property management and customer perceptions, indicating very high increases in property prices. According to Cartoon#4, the THAAD (Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense) development was considered harmful for China and South Korean relations. It focuses on China's foreign policy, suggesting to authorities not to attempt to balance relations with the United States according to South Korea's THAAD (missile system) development. The cartoon also mentioned that the relations with the U.S. may not be in balance in light of the THAAD situation with South Korea. It also recommends maintaining relations such that one country should not be a substitute for another country. To explain the living standard of the Chinese people, especially Chinese students, Cartoon#5 depicts the library situation of a few years before, where students were trying to book an exclusive seat in a university library, once a dream of many students. It also depicted that the lifestyle of students has changed and there is no more need to book an exclusive seat in the library as there are many more facilities now available in universities. To depict the thematic situation about security policy for China, Cartoon#6 attempted to explain the "no first use" nuclear policy. The cartoons also convey the message to the security

policymakers of China to adopt the same policy as the U.S. concerning the “no first use” nuclear weapons policy.

**Table 1:** Cartoons for analysis for thematic issues for Mainland China (Courtesy of Global Times China).

Cartoon #	Cartoon	Theme	Publication
1		Corruption	2016/10/29
2		Democratic governance	2016/7/28
3		Economy	2016/9/26
4		Foreign policy	2016/7/28
5		Living standard	2016/10/8
6		Security	2016/8/18

Six cartoons were also selected to illustrate Hong Kong, from the South China Morning Post based on January-October 2016, to understand more in-depth details about the six thematic issues. Cartoon#7 depicted the corruption situation and the official policies about corruption in the region. The cartoon depicts an official asking new customer to prove that they are not involved in corruption. The customer wants to open new accounts in the organization while the officer demands that they certify that they have no interest in Panama (where the greatest financial fallout has lately been concentrated). To highlight the democratic situation in Hong Kong, Cartoon#8 described some policy guidelines for the government regarding endangered species. The cartoon also highlighted tourist problems and safety, which they face when traveling the areas where they may feel unsafe. To give a more in-depth understanding of the economic situation of Hong Kong, Cartoon#9 depicts the views and concerns of the public, regarding the inability to define the wealth gap and poverty line. Regarding ownership of the South China Sea, the Hong Kong newspaper cartoon tries to convey the message to the public that irrespective of an international court decision, the South China Sea is Hong Kong’s property. This cartoon also tries to highlight Hong

Kong’s strong foreign policy, in which it is dismissive of the threat from anyone to withdraw from the claim of ownership of the South China Sea, whether it is the U.S. or any other power. To exemplify the living standard topic in Hong Kong, Cartoon#11 describes the military drills and exercises and their impact on the environment. This cartoon aims to convey the message that the pollution in Hong Kong is due to military exercises and other military activities. Regarding the security situation in the region, Cartoon#12 threw light upon U.S. and South Korea relations based on indiscriminate nuclear attack situations. It sent a message to be alert to the potential disaster of a nuclear attack for each country.

**Table 2: Cartoons for analysis for thematic issues for Hong Kong (Courtesy of South China Morning Post)**



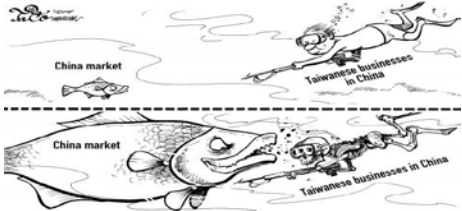



Cartoon #	Cartoon	Theme	Publication
7		Corruption	2016/5/22
8		Democratic governance	2016/8/28
9		Economy	2016/4/26
10		Foreign policy	2016/4/26
11		Living standard	2016/8/01
12		Security	2016/3/08

To illustrate the six thematic issues for published cartoons in the Taiwan newspaper, Taipei Times, we selected six illustrative cartoons for January-October, 2016. The highlighted issue relating to the corruption situation in Taiwan regarded party assets, depicted through Cartoon#13. This cartoon represented the hot issue of the region and demanded more in-depth actions against corruption and to end the corruption as it is in its early stages. For democratic governance and its remedies in the region, Cartoon#14 portrays the relations between Mainland China and Taiwan.



This cartoon makes clear attempts to delegitimize China’s sovereignty and point up the human rights issues of Taiwan and the influence of Mainland China in the region. Additionally, the text printed in the cartoon also illustrated the rejection of the claim by authorities to have some un-consensus relations with Mainland China and its judiciary.

**Table 3: Cartoons for analysis for thematic issues for Taiwan. (Courtesy of Taipei Times).**

Cartoon #	Cartoon	Theme	Publication
13		Corruption	2016/07/22
14		Democratic governance	2016/04/17
15		Economy	2016/04/12
16		Foreign policy	2016/09/20
17		Living standard	2016/10/14
18		Security	2016/04/12

For the economic situation in Taiwan and the business steps that Taiwan is taking with Mainland China, Cartoon#15 depicts two situations. In the first, when Taiwanese invest in the Mainland China market, the investors are strengthened and enriched, while in the second situation, after investing in Mainland China’s market the investors are weaker and poorer. This cartoon tries to convey a message to beware of investment in the Mainland China market. As to the foreign

policy and relations of Taiwan with Mainland China, Cartoon#16 describes the situation after the visit of U.S. officials in Taiwan. On one side of the cartoon, the U.S. envoys receive a message from the Taiwan administration asking for assurance not to make any unexpected actions against their will. On the other side, the cartoon highlighted the powerful diplomatic pressure in Taiwan from Mainland China, which is not happy about the visit of U.S. ambassadors to the region. To focus the attention of the government regarding the living standard of Taiwan people, Cartoon#17 describes the issues relating to government actions and recent pollution in the region. It also describes the government policies against pollution and its remedies which have a long history of failures. Finally, for security issues and an insurgency situation in Taiwan, Cartoon#18 describes Mainland China's security policy and interest in Taiwan. The cartoon clearly conveys the message that Mainland China's administration will never allow the Taiwanese administration to build national defense weaponry, whether missiles or any other form. This cartoon also highlighted the social issue of children playing with guns and its detrimental effect on society.

## 6 Findings

This study identifies the views in cartoon news that help construct a region's public-interest agenda. Through newspaper cartoons, the media remark on current national issues to influence public opinion and keep readers informed and abreast of current issues that affect their lives. Furthermore, the role of the media in agenda-setting is much more substantial in reorienting the people affecting related issues that are so important to the public interest which may not be so easy to describe. Public agenda-setting is also an easy way to demonstrate general attention among the citizenry towards more complicated issues that cannot easily be explicated in textual form.

The first research question related to the main themes of public opinion in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan newspaper cartoons for January-October 2016. Table 1 showed that the main themes which were extracted from the text of the newspapers were corruption, democratic governance, economy, foreign policy, living standard, politics, and security. This model can be used for more in-depth research on a specific issue to determine the public view of cartoon news.

The second research question inquired about the most and least common theme in newspaper cartoons in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan for the specified period. Table#1 showed the main themes published in sampled newspapers for January-October 2016. Foreign policy for Mainland China (21.9%) and democratic governance for Hong Kong (25.5%) and Taiwan (31.0%) were found to be the main themes published in cartoons during the selected period. The themes in Table 1 can be used as a model for further study to focus on any special issue to know the public view in cartoon news for any other geographic location of the world.

## 7 Conclusion

This paper has revealed the public view in cartoon news used to set a public-interest agenda in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. This paper contributes to the formulation of public policy by following the public views. Usually, newspapers, cartoons contribute to the understanding of media depictions of different issues, people, and events. This study also investigated public

interest issues. Studies of this kind can also be used for social and political reform, particularly in national policies for handling public issues. Additionally, cartoons are capable of communicating meaning across language and other barriers; thus future studies should also focus on the feasibility of newspaper cartoons towards understanding a particular focus issue internationally. Finally, the current study showed the primary public issues in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan found in newspaper cartoons. Foreign policy is the main issue for Mainland China and democratic governance is the key issue in Hong Kong and Taiwan. These three regions can use this information to help tune their public agendas.

## 8 Availability of Data and Material

Data can be made available by contacting the corresponding author.

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