

# A STUDY OF THE DEPICTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE UNION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN AMUL CARTOONS FROM 1996 TO 1998

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**Abstract :** Political cartoons are always enjoyed and observed by the public due to the humorous, sarcastic or serious tones and also most importantly their manner of portrayal of political issues and politicians. These cartoons also can influence or even alter the perception of the public regarding these issues and politicians due to their wide reach and their manner of portrayal. The Prime Minister and the Union Government of the country are some of the important political institutions in the country which often are the face of the country nationally and internationally and they are also some of the common institutions which are portrayed frequently in political cartoons. In addition to this, the manner of the portrayal of them in the political cartoons also plays a key role in how they are perceived and thought by the general public which is very important as they are considered as representatives of the country. Interestingly, they also have been portrayed often in Amul cartoons which are created and published by the Indian dairy products company, Amul which also frequently features the mascot of the advertising campaign of Amul, the Amul moppet from its beginning. Amul cartoons always enjoy wide popularity and audience in India due to their witty stands on national and international issues through puns and word plays etc. This study aims to analyze and observe the depiction and the change in the manner of the depiction of them in the Amul advertisements from 1996 to 1998 with the help of the Amul cartoons in the archives section of the Amul website and online newspaper articles.

**IndexTerms - Cartoons, Amul, Advertisements, Politics, Satire**

## I. INTRODUCTION

Political cartoons about political leaders, policymakers and political events which are frequently published in the newspapers, magazines and journals are always being enjoyed and analyzed by the common public for various reasons. Some of the reasons include the love and interest of the public to see how some political issues and the politicians being depicted in a humorous or sarcastic tone in these cartoons and also to see how the newspapers and magazines have depicted and have taken a stand on national and international affairs indirectly through their political cartoons. Sometimes due to the wide reach of the newspapers and magazines which publish these political cartoons, these cartoons are often under the aegis of the politicians and government as these cartoons often play a key role in the formation of public opinion and perception of them by depicting them in these cartoons.

Political cartoons generally can be defined as drawings made to convey editorial commentary on politics, politicians and current events. They are an opinion-oriented medium and can generally be found on the editorial pages of the newspapers and other publications, both in online or print form. Political cartoons tend to be based on current and newsworthy political issues and it requires the readers who read these cartoons possess some basic background knowledge about the issues that these cartoons depict on the mediums that the cartoons are published. They are also considered to be artistic vehicles characterized by both metaphorical and satirical language and they can also point out the problems and issues in a political situation. Political cartoons can also encourage the process of opinion formation, decision making as well entertaining perspectives about current issues and matters. (Knieper, n.d.).

Politicians and governments are some of the themes in the political cartoons and it has also been discovered that the reactions of the politicians to the portrayal of them in the political cartoons have not been uniform. The former prime minister of the United Kingdom, Winston Churchill who was one of the political figures who was frequently depicted in political cartoons during his political career had believed that being depicted in an editorial cartoon emphasized the importance of politicians and also politicians should be worried if they had not been depicted in cartoons. However, the reactions of other British politicians were different and most of them did not enjoy being visually ridiculed or depicted in political cartoons and they had admired and purchased political cartoons which had depicted them positively. Politicians tend to be very sensitive about their portrayal in political cartoons and they also became dissatisfied with the political cartoons which portrayed them due to the reasons of vanity. However, the former Prime Minister David Cameron was very keen about him being portrayed in political cartoons before he became the Prime Minister of the country and he became sensitive about his portrayal in political cartoons after he had become the prime minister of the country. The depiction of the politicians and the government in political cartoons has not been received well by the government of the country and there have also been controversies regarding the portrayal of popular figures and the symbols of the state in political cartoons all over the world. An Indian cartoonist and free speech activist, Aseem Trivedi had been arrested by the police officers in 2012 on the charges of sedition regarding some of the cartoons that he had created in support of India Against Corruption(IAC) Campaign and the campaign had depicted the symbols of the state sarcastically to explain the effects of the corruption on the

institutions of the country and a cartoon that had depicted Jawaharlal Nehru and B.R.Ambedkar, who were some of the famous political leaders in the country had become a controversy in 2012.

In this context of the controversies and problems about the depiction of the political leaders and a satirical depiction of the symbols of the state had led to the arrest of the cartoonists, a study of the depiction of the politicians and governments in political cartoons is required. This study aims to analyze and study the portrayals of the prime minister of India, one of the key political leaders of the country and the Union government in the Amul advertisements from the year 1996-1998.

### 1.1 Motive of the Study

The book "A Brief History of Cartoons" explains how the political cartoon is a combination of two elements such as the caricature and the allusion and the subject matter or the context of the political cartoons which is well known and recognized by everyone. The caricatures in the political cartoons are a satirical depiction of politicians and the allusions in the political cartoons will create context and political cartoons will exaggerate the features of the politicians and depict the inner personality, thus creating a satire of the politicians. One of the earliest political cartoons is the cartoon titled "Join or Die", which depicts a severed snake representing the colonies and is now acknowledged as the first political cartoon in the United States of America. The success of the political cartoons of the eighteenth century helped to sustain the medium of cartoons. These cartoons were more than just for humour and comedy; they took on an air of satire and seriousness and they had presented serious issues in an acceptable manner specifically designed to influence and affect popular opinion and cartoons have entered into the medium of the Internet in the twenty-first century as organizations like the PETA, Amnesty International and Brady campaign have started to design and create political cartoons on the Internet. Political cartoons have become a medium for political expressions and the subjects and issues that are portrayed in the political cartoons have changed along with time.

The history of political cartooning in India started during the period of British colonial rule. Some of the illustrated comic-satiric periodicals like *Punch*, *Fun* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* inspired the birth of political cartoons in India. Political cartooning had soon developed its independent style and become hugely popular among the readers of newspapers and magazines. Some of the first newspapers in India contained political cartoons in their pages. Some of the first periodicals such as *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Indian Gazette* to include political cartoons. The Delhi Sketch Book was the first journal of the comic-satiric genre in India and the first vernacular-language periodical which published cartoons was the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* from India. Political cartoons thus started to appear in the newspapers owned by India and the colonial administration was targeted by the journalists who created these cartoons (Goswami,2016).

The first cartoon in India that had made a political impact was published in *Sulav Samachar* in the 1870s. Cartoons that were published by this publication exposed and attacked the corrupt and racially abusive judiciary system which allowed Europeans to go scot-free for crimes that they had committed against poor Indians. Journals such as the Delhi Punch, the Punjabi Punch and the Urdu Punch had voiced opposition to many colonial tax policies, famine's continued presence across India and the ineffectiveness of the plague campaign of the colonial government's anti-plague campaign in an exaggerated and caricatured form.

The journal *Awadh Punch* was a very prominent journal that had criticized the shortcomings of the British colonial administration through its cartoons and the objectives of these cartoons had also brought out the faults and ills of the British politicians to the Indian readers comically and humorously. The Indian national movement was one of the most important themes in 20<sup>th</sup>-century cartoon and pictorial journalism in India. Indian cartoonists popularized the protests and struggles of the Indian National Congress and also criticized the colonial administration and also had spread Indian nationalism among the people in their cartoons.

One of the most prominent cartoons from Southern India, K. Shankara Pillay is considered the father of political cartooning in India. His cartoons were initially published in the *Free Press Journal* and the *Bombay Chronicle* and he had founded the publication, *Shankar's Weekly* in 1948 which was considered equivalent to the famous Punch Magazine of Britain. He is considered to have elevated the editorial cartoons in newspapers to the status of political analyst and political commentator in India.

Cartoons continued to be effective in the social and political media in post-Independence India and the themes of the cartoons remained the same. However, they had now started to target not only Indian politicians, film stars and other celebrities. The political cartoonists of the post-Independent India had started to create cartoons to emphasize democratic values, to raise developmental issues, and to stir socio-political morality and other issues which were about the common welfare of all the people in the country.

The advertising campaign of the Amul company was started in 1966 and the DaCunha communications agency of Mumbai was given the responsibility of designing and managing the campaign by the Amul company. As advertising on television and print media was very expensive and the advertisement decided to design the advertisements of the company for the outdoor hoardings. The mascot of the advertising campaign, the Amul moppet was created by Eustace Fernandes, the art director of the agency in 1966 and the phrase "Utterly Butterly" was coined by Nisha DaCunha, the wife of the founder of the agency in the same year.

DaCunha and Fernandes designed the first advertisement featuring the Amul moppet on billboards in 1966 and it was an image of the Amul moppet kneeling in prayer, with one eye closed and another eye on a pack of butter with the words, "Give us this day our daily bread with Amul Butter" and it received a positive response from the public. However, the agency soon realized that there was not much to say about food and so it decided to pitch the advertisement campaign of the company in such a way that would connect with the public easily and it released the first topical advertisement of the company in 1966 with the Amul moppet as a jockey holding a slice of bread during the horse race season. This advertisement also received a very positive response from the public.

As the topical advertisements of the company were becoming very popular, the company gave the agency the freedom to run the advertising campaign without the permission of the company as the company realized that the protocol and logistics of approving and releasing the advertisements took a lot of time. Mr Rahul DaCunha, the son of Mr Sylvester DaCunha, the founder of the agency, took over the management of the Amul advertising campaign in the early 1990s. The advertising campaign began to increase to focus on and comment on contemporary events in sports, politics and films with the elements of satire and humour. The advertising campaign also developed its unique style of vocabulary with the elements of pun and the colloquial flavour and it had also introduced a mixture of regional and formal vocabulary which was well-received by the public. The advertising campaign is specifically targeted to the regions which are impacted the most by the advertisements and the topics for the advertisements are chosen from the current news and issues from the newspapers.

## 1.2 Context of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative and descriptive study is to analyze the depictions of the Prime Minister and the Union Government of India from 1996 to 1998 and also the changes in the patterns of the portrayal of the Prime Minister and the Union Government in the Amul advertisements. This study also seeks to analyze if the portrayals of the Prime Minister and the Union Government of India in the Amul advertisements are under their role and importance in a democracy. The methodology of the framing theory and semiotic analysis would be used for this study.

The depictions of the Prime Minister and the Union Government of India are used for the analysis for this study as the Prime Minister is the Head of Government in a country and takes the decisions regarding the country in some important areas such as defense, communications and foreign affairs along with the Council of Ministers which forms an integral part of the government. The Prime Minister and the Union Government are very important political figures and institutions in the country and they also play a key role in the administration of the country. The Amul advertisements used for this study is obtained from the website of the company Amul which has a separate section for the advertisements that were published by the company from 1976 till date and the Amul advertisements which portrayed the Prime Minister and Union Government of India directly or indirectly from 1996 to 1998 will be used for this study.

This research study looks at and analyzes the advertisements that depict the prime ministers and the union government of India from the period of 1996-1998, directly and indirectly. This specific period of the country was chosen as this was a period in the political history of the country during which there was political instability in the country and there was a constant change of Union governments. Thus, it would be appropriate to study and analyze the cartoons which have portrayed the union governments and the prime ministers in the country to understand how the head of government of the country and the specific institution in the country was portrayed and how the portrayal of them had changed over this period. The union government and the prime minister of the country have been chosen for this study as the prime minister is considered to be one of the elected political representatives in the country who play a key role in planning and implementing schemes of the country and the individual is also considered to be the representative of the country when they travel abroad. The union government is also chosen for this study as it is one of the institutions in the country which play a key role in the development in the country. This study will also analyze the portrayal of the union government and the prime minister following their role and importance in a democracy.

Elections to the Parliament was called soon after and elections were held in a five-phase manner from September to October 1999. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) under the leadership of the BJP won 298 seats in the parliament and the new unity government under the leadership of the PM Vajpayee was sworn in October 1999. (Mathur,2019).

## 1.3 Review of Literature

### 1.3.1 Amul Advertisements

Mamidi (2018) discusses the importance of contextual knowledge in understanding the humour present in the cartoon-based Amul advertisements in India. She had analysed about 1250 Amul advertisements from Amul's website and the important elements present in them and then classified them based on different parameters such as the pragmatic function. The important elements of the Amul advertisements that were studied were the picture, main text and slogan. The study has also mentioned the categories under which the Amul advertisements can be classified such as the themes, illocutionary forces, codes used in the advertisements and also based on the punning elements. The technique of codeswitching, as a part of the language used in the advertisements and the concepts of wittiness such as novelty and surprise in marketing, was also discussed and how they are successful in the case of Amul advertisements. The conclusions drawn by the paper are that the incongruous elements in the advertisements are blended or resolved with the help of contextual knowledge and the humour generated makes the advertisements appealing and popular.

Karthik and Shubha (2014) analysed how the Amul advertisements play a role in political communication and analysed what the advertisements are trying to tell the audience on the various political issues the cartoons depict. The term political communication has been defined in the study as the means the spread of political information in a way that influences the citizens of the country and political messages have also been defined as the messages of cartoons give which is related to politics and the political system in any way. The study concludes that the political messages are put comically with the use of puns which the audience can easily associate with and the Amul cartoons are an archive of various current affairs over the years when people want to study them and it is a unique amalgamation of branding and political communication without making it obvious that the company's main objective to promote their brand.

Mahajan (2018) has discussed the reasons for the success of the Amul moppet and the advertising metamorphosis of the Amul moppet in her study. The terms advertising metamorphosis and mascot have been defined as an advertising campaign created by the creators for a specific reason and that in due course of time has taken a very different form and conceptualize the 'advertising metamorphosis' where the creators have created an advertising campaign for a specific reason and that in due course of time has taken a very different form and a form of communication used to persuade an audience to take an action concerning products, ideas or services.

Aarthyprya (2017) in her study about the use of the word smitheries in Amul advertisements, focuses on the use of literary devices such as literary tropes and figures in them. She also discusses the use of certain literary elements such as rhyme and word-play, homophones in some Amul cartoons which are based on certain events. She has also explained and discussed sociolinguistics and also a theory from the discipline called Searle's Speech Act theory which deals with how one makes sense of interactions and how presuppositions, which are the ideas that are taken for granted to communicate effectively in communication. She also has explained Grice's Cooperative Principle which investigates and explains how interlocutors were able to develop meanings from language that was often indirect and also how it is useful in advertisements for readers to decode riddles that are contained in the advertisements.

### 1.3.2 A Comprehensive Study of Political Cartoons

Sani et.al (2014) provide a review of provides a review of the previous research conducted in the genre of political cartoons from 2000 to 2010 and also has highlighted how this particular genre can contribute to social and political commentary and aims to inspire further research in this genre. The study has studied, analysed and discovered the different variables that previous studies have used to study the nature and function of political cartoons and also has explained the studies conducted under each particular variable. Some of the variables used in the past studies were communicative functions of political cartoons, construction of

ideologies, the influence of political cartoons on public opinions and frameworks for analysing political cartoons it was also discovered that semiotic analysis has been used frequently in the studies of political cartoons. The conclusions of this study are political cartoons rely heavily on the interplay of words and images and also specific language use such as satire as a tool to communicate social and political messages and through a creative combination of words, images and satire, political cartoons can entertain and inform the public on various issues.

DeSouza and Medhurst(1982) in their study about the American editorial cartoons during the US presidential campaign of 1980, had made two key arguments: cartoons invite us to think about the constituent parts of culture and their meaning for our lives and editorial cartoons provide a subtle framework within to view the American political process and its players and the real significance of the political cartoons to tap the collective consciousness of readers like religious rituals. The study had also spoken about the three approaches to the study of the effects and uses of cartoons: psychological, sociological and rhetorical. The study also had explained that the cartoonist taps the collective consciousness of readers and also the individual interpretation and the cultural values of those values through the cartoons and the cartoonist creates a frame from his unique percept to the shared experiences of the readers. The study also has pointed out how the political cartoons by performing certain functions such as agenda-setting and aggression reduction functions, the political cartoons provide the reader with an attractive illusion of understanding that can serve as a touchstone for subsequent thought or action.

Townsend et.al (2008) have discussed satire in general and also the general role of the political satirical cartoons, in their study of the tone and content of political, satirical cartoon images published in mainstream Australian newspapers in 2005-2006 during the introduction of the WorkChoices legislation. It also then discusses the field of industrial relations in Australia from 2005 to 2006 when the legislation was introduced to set the context of the study. The cartoons were coded according to their tone and content. The tone was coded by a four-category framework introduced by Press and they were descriptive cartoons that did little more than just describe an event or situation and were not overtly political, laughing satirical cartoons which suggested the political systems are flawed and there is a need for reform, savage indignation cartoons which advocated a revision of the current society without a revolution and destructive satirical cartoons which were revolutionary and do not accept the legitimacy of the existing political society. The study concluded that most of the cartoons were able to be classified into a single content and the others were deemed to have multiple central messages and they could be classified into two categories according to content: savage indignation and laughing satirical.

Bush (2013) in his study about the American editorial cartoons, have identified some of the rhetorical constructs in American editorial cartoons and also have examined the usage of the American editorial cartoons over more than 250 years that American cartoons have existed. It also analyses the format of the political cartoons and how it has evolved in the United States of America. It also has explained how the rhetoric of political cartoons is a complex system of symbols, pictures and words put together in a way that newspaper readers who understand the intended message of the cartoonist, will better understand the issue that the cartoonist addresses and also explained the elements of pictorial representation and the single-panel tradition in political cartoons through the examples of such cartoons.

Shaik et.al (2016) analysed the ways cartoons were used as communicative tools on the internet and print media to produce significant meaning and significant political themes, in their study of Pakistani political cartoons. They have also explained the history of political cartoons and the functions which the political cartoons serve such as entertainment, aggression reduction, agenda-setting and framing and specific political history and policy and also has analysed the impact of political cartoons on people in the backdrop of social, political, ethical and political milieu. It also has discussed the categories of political cartoons under which they can be classified such as opinions and jokes. The study has also discussed the themes of political cartoons such as political commonplaces, literary/cultural allusions, personal character traits and situational themes and it has also discussed Kupier's perceptual theory of satire and how readers make different interpretations out of the need out of the satire of the politicians as these interpretations vary from person to person. The study has also concluded that are political cartoons have become an important part of political activities because people enjoy imagining the whole story by just seeing a small representation.

### 1.3.3 Political Cartoons and the Society

In his study about the Malawi newspaper cartoons, Kondowe (2014) has analysed the verbal and nonverbal features of Malawi newspaper political cartoons in their portrayal of political leaders. Twenty cartoons that depicted former Malawian president Joyce Banda and her government were selected from "the Nation" newspaper from October 2012 to May 2013 were taken for the study and the theory of Grice's Conversational Implicature were used for the analysis of the cartoons. It had also had explained about the government under the leadership of President Joyce Banda regime and had also explained the theory of Grice's Conversational Implicatures network and its components in detail. The study concluded that the flouting of the maxim of manner is the most dominant technique chosen by the cartoonists through the use of hedging devices and they also humorously provide a platform for the readers to judge upon the readers can assess their president's context by taking into account the political context of the nation.

Lacity and Rudramuniyaiah (2009) in their study of the depiction of the issues of offshoring and outsourcing in the political cartoons in the USA and India, they had explained the theory of political cartooning and made two key arguments that political cartoons have a normative component and they persuade public attitudes, intentions, and behaviours. The study had adopted the methodology of content analysis based on Greenberg's framework on political cartoons and also the sampling of political cartoons from both of the countries. Then the coding of the cartoons was done based on the parameters such as narrative, domestication, binary struggle, normative transference and also the reasons and consequences of offshoring and outsourcing as implied in these cartoons and the results are discussed. The study concluded the cartoons from the USA portrayed these issues negatively while the Indian cartoons portrayed the aspect of job gain from outsourcing and offshoring and also that political cartoons are a valid way to learn about public perceptions. It had also suggested that the IS researchers use political cartoons to assess public opinion on other important IT issues besides offshoring and outsourcing.

Benoit et.al (2001) in their study about the political cartoons related to the impeachment and trial of the former president of the United States, Bill Clinton, had adopted the methodology of the symbolic convergence theory and specifically the critical methodology of this method, fantasy theme analysis in their study. It had also pointed out that the political cartoons have not been used as a means of tracking the rhetorical vision of the cartoons, in their examination of the previous research done on political cartoons. It had also explains how political cartoons are ambiguous and also about the symbolic convergence theory, rhetorical

vision and their elements in detail. The study had concluded by finding out how two competing rhetorical visions can be incorporated into a single rhetorical vision and also that a rhetorical vision can have different levels of abstraction. It had mentioned that the rhetorical vision of this issue was critical and how political cartoons can be important symbolic messages in public affairs. Kamra (2003) has discussed how Jinnah was portrayed in the editorial cartoons of the Indian newspapers which were more inclined to the Congress party during the period before Partition in the country. Mr Jinnah was portrayed as a snake charmer and was also compared to the German dictator Hitler in the editorial cartoons during this period and some cartoons were also placed him in the context of the novel "Frankenstein" by Mary Shelley and compared him to the scientist who had created the monster in the novel. Jinnah had been portrayed as such in the cartoons to portray him as the scientific but irrational person who opposes the traditional and agrarian leaders from the Congress party in India. This is to provide a reason for the Congress leaders to attribute the violence caused by Partition which they had condemned as backward.

#### 1.3.4 Political Cartoons and Semiotic Analysis

Sani et.al in their study about how political cartoons function as a means of change have discussed the linguistic elements used in the cartoon written texts were analysed to illustrate how Nigerian cartoonists specifically use language to construct satire as a means that could be used to initiate social and economic reforms in Nigeria and their study is based on the perpetual theory of satire. The study has also explained about the perpetual theory of satire accounts for the nature of satire as well as the ways people understand satire and how it is constructed and conveyed in a particular discourse. The transitivity and modality models were used to identify salient linguistic devices used for the construction of satire in Nigerian political cartoons and the literary devices used for the construction of satires in Nigerian newspaper cartoons provide insights into how language is specifically used as a vital medium of communication in social discourse, especially in the political cartoon genre in the Nigerian print media. It has also explained how language is creatively and ingeniously used to accomplish communicative tasks and political cartoons are also communicative artefacts.

In another study about political cartoons in newspapers in Nigeria, Sani et. al (2012) discussed about political cartoons are used as a vehicle of setting social agenda in Nigerian newspapers to reorient and shape the public opinion through recurrent depictions mirroring current socio-political issues and it has also shown that the cartoons are a very strong mode of communication through which the media set social agenda by attaching relevance to the importance of issues and events through recurrent coverage aimed at shaping the people's understanding of the issues in the society.

### 1.4 Research Methodology and Objectives

This study aims to analyse and observe the manner and the evolution of the portrayal of the Prime Ministers and the Union Governments of India from 1996-1998 in the Amul advertisements during the specified period. This paper will discuss the methodology and the design of the research, which would be followed to achieve the purpose of the research and the objectives of the study. The objectives of the research include:

- To analyze how the Amul advertisements have portrayed the Prime Minister and the Union Government of India from 1996-1998.
- To study and analyze the changes in the manner of the portrayal of the Prime Minister and the Union Government of India from 1996-1998.
- To understand if the portrayals of the Prime Minister and the Union Government in the Amul advertisements are under their role and importance in a democracy.

### 1.5 Theoretical Framework

#### 1.5.1 Semiotic Analysis

This research study uses the methodology of semiotic analysis for the study. Semiotics is the study of signs and processes, from cultural representations to languages, to warning signs, brands and emojis. Signs have two components; signifiers which are the physical signs and signified which refer to the personal interpretations of the physical signs. The method of semiotic analysis can be applied to any elements which can be seen as signifying something or everything which has meaning within a culture. The word "text" in semiotic analysis refers to any complex sign which contains other signs and this methodology also involves identifying signs within the texts and the codes within the signs which have meaning. A code in the semiotic analysis is defined as a system of common meaning to members of a culture or a sub-culture and it also contains both signs and rules that determine how and the context in which the signs are to be used.

The terms denotation and connotation describe the relationship between a signifier and a signified. The term denotation refers to the literal meaning of the signifier while the term connotation refers to the secondary meaning of the signifier. Denotation and connotation can also be considered as different levels of representation. Denotation is the first level of representation and also refers to what is seen of the object by the people. Connotation is the second level of meaning and it is the emotional associations that are associated with the signifier and also refer to the ideas and feelings that are invoked by the signifier.

#### 1.5.2 Framing Theory

The research study uses the framing theory to understand how the Amul cartoons have portrayed the current political climate and issues in their cartoons from the period from 1989-to 1999. Framing theory refers to how the various forms of media package and present information to the public.

It also explains how something is presented to the audience, also called frames influences the choices people make about how to process the information. Frames are defined as abstractions that work to organize or structure the meaning of the messages. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame that the media organizations place on the information that they convey. They are also thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience and the media to exercise a selective influence over how people view reality in this way.

Various framing techniques were proposed by Fairhurst and Sarr. These techniques include metaphor, stories, tradition, slogans, jargon, catch-phrases, artefacts, contrast and spin and they are used to create a framework in people's minds about some issues to

see and also to think about them in the manner which the media wants them to think. Thus, framing organizes and presents information with specific angles.

### 1.6 Data Analysis

Sixteen Amul cartoons that depicted the Union Government or the Prime Minister of India directly or indirectly from 1996-1998 and the Amul advertisements that have been used for the analysis in this study have been obtained from the section of the website of the company Amul which contains the archive of all of the advertisements that have been created and published by the company from 1976 till date. The advertisements were analyzed and studied using a two-step methodology of the framing theory and the theory of denotation and connotation. The frames or the context of these cartoons were first analyzed with the help of online newspaper articles to gain a better understanding of the cartoons and their context and then they were further analyzed for their denotative and connotative meanings for this study. As some of the advertisements were written in Hindi, the translation tool which translated Hindi into English which was available on the Internet was used to decipher their meaning and also to enable a better and more effective study of the cartoons.

#### 1.6.1 Amul Cartoons in 1996

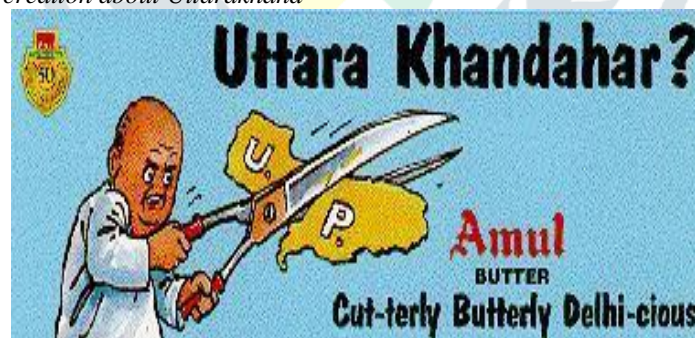
##### 1.6.1.1 Bill Gates' visit to India



**Fig 1.1: Prime Minister H.D. Deva Gowda welcoming Bill Gates during his visit to India**

The frame of this cartoon is that it was designed to appreciate the visit of Bill Gates to India by making a pun out of his name Bill Gates to India Gates and the Prime Minister welcoming him, who is holding a computer with a garland and the Amul moppet standing behind him with small flags of both the countries, to symbolically indicate the partnership between both of the countries. The denotative meaning: This cartoon welcomes Bill Gates to India and is looking forward to his visit to the country. The connotative meaning is that it also indirectly conveys a message that it is also a very large and delicious product by taking the phrase which is used in the software industry "Mega Bytes" which also refers to the storage capacity of the computers of the company and it thus relates to the visit by Gates to the company.

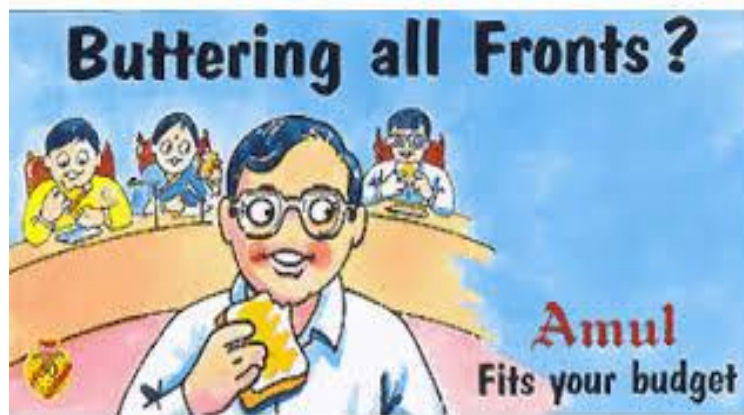
##### 1.6.1.2 Amul cartoon about the creation about Uttarakhand



**Fig 1.2 Amul cartoon depicting the then Union Government's decision to create a new state called Uttarakhand from the existing state of Uttara Pradesh.**

The frame of the cartoon is that it has been framed in such a way that it is questioning the creation of the state of Uttarakhand from Uttar Pradesh by the Union government by taking a pun out of the new state's name-Uttara Khandahar and questioning it. It also shows the then Prime Minister HD Deva Gowda, trying to split the state of Uttar Pradesh. The denotative meaning of the cartoon is that it questions the creation of the new state, Uttarakhand from Uttar Pradesh by the Union government whether it would turn out to be disastrous. (khandahar meaning ruins). The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that it also indirectly conveys a message that Amul butter is always very delicious even if is applied after cutting it into various parts. It also takes a pun at its slogan "Utterly Butterly Delicious" as "Cutterly Butterly Delhicious."

## 1.6.1.3 Amul cartoon about Chidambaram's first budget



**Fig 1.3 Amul cartoon about P. Chidambaram's first budget as the Union Finance Minister featuring him and also some common people with pieces of butter.**

The frame of the cartoon is that has been designed to question the budget introduced by the then Finance Minister Chidambaram's is designed to appeal to all the sections of the society by having the picture of Chidambaram in the center holding butter and the common people behind him eating. It also makes clever use of the word "buttering" to mean to apply butter to bread and also to appeal successfully to people in the phrase: "Buttering All Fronts?".

The denotative meaning of the cartoon is such that it questions the budget introduced by the Union Finance Minister attempts to please all the sections of the people in the society by including provisions for them. The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that it indirectly indicates that the Amul butter is also liked by the various sections of the society like the budget and is also very affordable by the people.

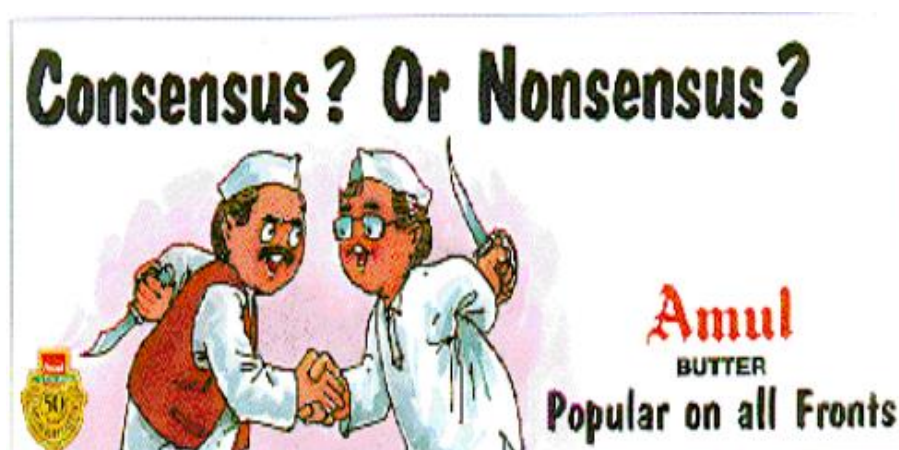
## 1.6.1.4 Amul cartoon about the Prime Minister Deva Gowda



**Fig 1.4 Amul cartoon about the then Prime Minister Deva Gowda ability to serve as the Prime Minister for a long time by featuring him winning a race with three politicians following behind him.**

The frame of the cartoon is that it has been designed in such a way that it questions the ability of the then PM Deva Gowda to last for a long time in the position of the prime minister by depicting him winning a race by three people running behind him and also through the slogan "Lambe race ka Gowda?". The denotative meaning of the cartoon is that it asks if Deva Gowda can serve for a long time as the Prime Minister of the country as he seems to face many obstacles to the Union government under his leadership. The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that. The cartoon also indirectly suggests that, unlike Deva Gowda who might or might not last for a long time as the Prime Minister of the country, Amul is one such product that can last for a long period.

## 1.6.1.5 Amul cartoon about the infighting in the Union Government



**Fig 1.5 Amul cartoon depicting the infighting within the Union Government by illustrating two ministers shaking hands with each other, although they also have a knife and a sword with them.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to question if there is real consensus among the various coalition partners in the then Union Government by having two men holding two knives behind their hands while appearing to be friendly with each other. It also takes a pun of the other word “consensus”- Nonsensus to question the consensus in the Union government. The denotative meaning of the cartoon is that it points to the infighting among the various constituent parties in the Union Government and questions if there is consensus among all of the alliance partners in the Union Government, in the midst of all of this infighting. The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that it indirectly suggests that, unlike these political parties which are part of the Union Government, Amul butter is a product that is both very popular and is also liked by people from the various sections in the society.

#### 1.6.1.6 Cartoon about AB Vajpayee becoming the Prime Minister

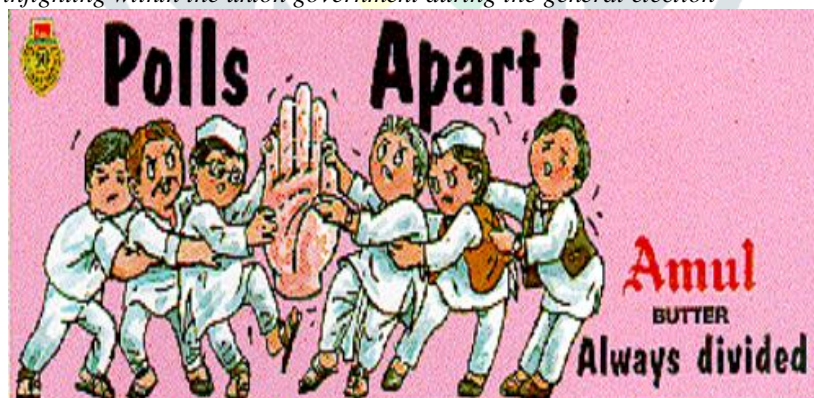


**Fig 1.6 Amul cartoon about appreciating Atal Behari Vajpayee when he became the Prime Minister of India in 1996.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to appreciate the leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, AB Vajpayee becoming the Prime Minister of the country by making a pun of his name- Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Atal Behari Raj Paye to mean that it is now the regime of AB Vajpayee. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it welcomes the fact that AB Vajpayee has become the Prime Minister of the country and also indicates that the period of the administration of the PM Vajpayee has begun, with him smiling.

The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also indirectly identifies itself with the new Prime Minister and the Union Government by making a pun of its slogan “Utterly Butterly Delicious” as “Atal-ly Butterly Delhi-cious” to indicate that it is also a very good product like the Amul butter.

#### 1.6.1.7 Cartoon about the infighting within the union government during the general election



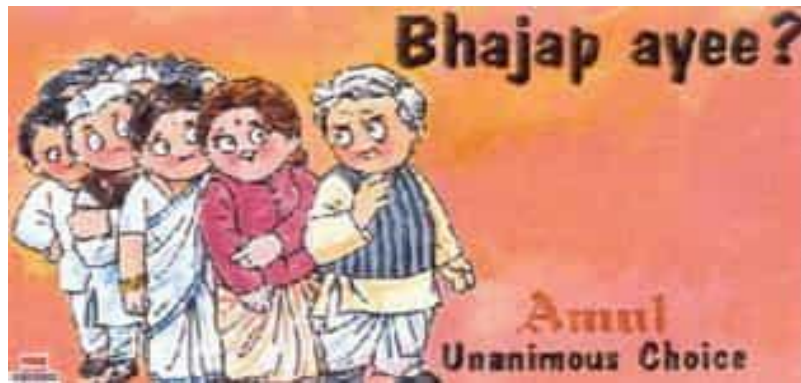
**Fig 1.7 Amul cartoon depicting infighting within the Union Government in 1996 during the general elections by featuring two groups of politicians fighting on two sides by pulling the hand which is also the symbol of the Indian National Congress, a national political party in India.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to show that there is infighting within the Congress government during the general elections, through two groups of politicians fighting with the symbol of the Congress party- the hand between them and also by including a phrase-Polls Apart which is a homophone of the word “Poles Apart”. The denotative meaning of the cartoon is that there is infighting within the Union government under the leadership of the Congress party during the general elections. The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that it also subtly indicates that unlike the infighting that takes place in the union government during the general elections and the Congress party has become divided, Amul butter is always divided regardless of any circumstances.

#### 1.6.2 Amul Cartoons in 1997

1.6.2.1 Amul cartoon depicting the instability of the then Union Government by portraying a pondering Vajpayee along with other politicians like Jayalalithaa and others behind him.





**Fig 1.1 Amul cartoon depicting the instability of the then Union Government by portraying a pondering Vajpayee along with other politicians like Jayalalithaa and others behind him.**

The frame of this cartoon is designed to question the uncertainty of a new Union government under the leadership of the BJP, after the fall of the Union government under the leadership of the United Front coalition by a picture of Vajpayee who is thinking seriously and some leaders such as Jayalalithaa standing behind him. It also has the phrase “Bhajap Ayee” in Hindi which means “the uncertainty of the BJP government”. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it indicates the uncertainty in the country if whether would the BJP form the next Union government in India, after the fall of the Union government under the leadership of the United Front. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also conveys an indirect message that unlike the uncertainty of the BJP forming the Union government, Amul butter is always very popular with the people and is always the unanimous choice with them.

#### 1.6.2.2 Cartoon about I.K. Gujral becoming Prime Minister



**Fig 1.2 Amul cartoon featuring the Amul moppet congratulating IK Gujral when he became the Prime Minister in 1997.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to congratulate IK Gujral when he was selected as the Prime Minister of India with the Amul moppet congratulating him who is wearing a garland along with a pun of his name- IK Gujral to signify that it was comfortable with him becoming the Prime Minister. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it expresses its approval for IK Gujral who has been elected as the Prime Minister of India. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also indirectly indicates that Amul butter is also the perfect candidate for people, like IK Gujral.

#### 1.6.2.3 Cartoon about when HD Deve Gowda had to resign as the Prime Minister



**Fig 1.3 Amul cartoon depicting the Amul moppet and some other people jeering HD Deve Gowda when he had to resign as the Prime Minister.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to justify the fact that HD Deve Gowda had to resign as the Prime Minister when the circumstances are such with the Amul moppet and some other people smiling and raising their hand jeering him while Deve Gowda is standing between them with a sad face. It also conveys this message through the slogan “When you Gowda go, you Gowda go” by making a pun of his surname Gowda to mean “go”. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it indicates that HD Deve Gowda had to resign as the Prime Minister and leave when the situation demanded him to resign from the position. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also indirectly indicates that Amul butter also offers a big portion of butter when being cut and is a “prime cut”, just like the political leader Deve Gowda who had to resign from the position of Prime Minister

#### 1.6.2.4 Cartoon about the first non-Congress government at the centre

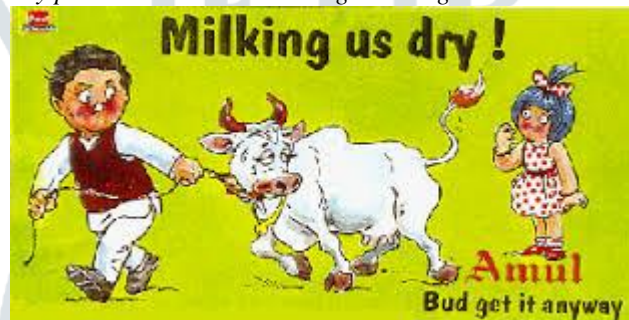


**Fig 1.4 Amul cartoon about the formation of the first non-Congress Union Government by depicting a sad politician from the party placing his hand on his head while a happy politician walks away with the walking sticks in his hand, indicating that the Congress would not be a part of the Union Government.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to make fun of the fact that there is a Union government which is under the leadership of the Congress party, with a politician sitting down and looking sad with his hands on his mouth, with a man taking away two walking sticks and leaving. The Amul moppet is wearing a Nehru cap and a kurta- the attire of a Congressman and is smiling at this. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that there is a Union Government for the first time which is not under the leadership of the Congress party or the Congress party is not part of the government. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also indirectly indicates that, unlike the Congress which is not forming the government as it has not been able to gain the votes of the majority of the people, Amul butter is always able to get the support of the majority of the people in the nation.

### 1.6.3 Amul cartoons in 1998

#### 1.6.3.1 Cartoon about the hike in dairy products announced during the Budget



**Fig 1.1 Amul cartoon depicting the then Finance Minister dragging away a weary cow while the Amul moppet is staring at this.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been framed to express the disapproval of the brand with the rise in dairy products after the Budget with the picture of the Union Finance Minister dragging a sad-looking cow with a rope, with the Amul moppet looking at this with a shocked face. It also has a slogan titled "Milking us dry". The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it states that the citizens now would have to pay more to buy dairy products as the prices of these items have increased after the announcement of the Budget. The connotative meaning of the cartoon is that it also indirectly conveys that the citizens must still try to get Amul butter, just like other dairy products even though the prices of them has increased. It conveys this message through an abbreviation of the word "Budget" to Bud and including it in the slogan "Bud get it anyway" to sound like "but get it anyway."

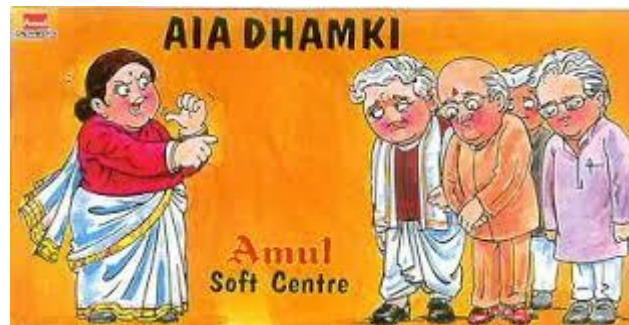
#### 1.6.3.2 Cartoon about the fiasco between the finance and petroleum ministry in 1998



**Fig 1.2 Cartoon depicting a scared the then Union Finance Minister holding a piece of paper while some of the people including the Amul moppet who are working at the petrol bunks confronting them while holding their hoses at him.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to express the disapproval of the confusion in petrol prices in the country. It does this through a picture of the Amul moppet dressed as a worker working in a petrol pump and other workers surrounding the finance minister and pointing their hoses at him and staring at him angrily. He is also looking scared and a slogan is also included in the cartoon: "Fuelish Move"-the word "Fuelish" is a pun of the word "Foolish". The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that it criticizes the confusion of the hike in petrol prices due to the actions of the finance and petroleum ministries as foolish. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also gives an indirect message that citizens should energize or fill up themselves by purchasing Amul butter, instead of petrol which prices had increased due to the confusion in the government.

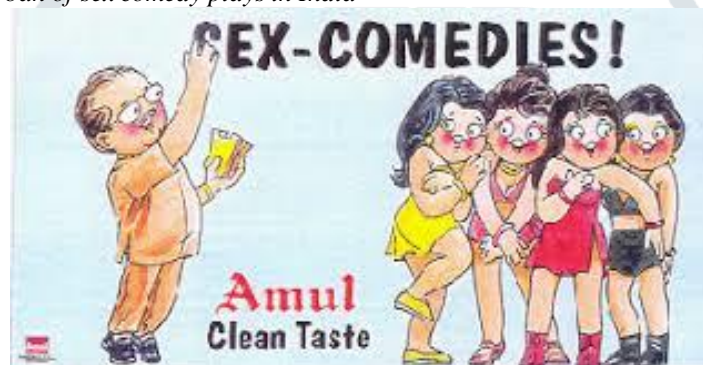
#### 1.6.3.3 Amul cartoon about Jayalalitha's misuse of power



**Fig 1.3 Amul cartoon depicting the leader of the AIADMK, Jayalalitha threatening the then Prime Minister Vajpayee and the other leaders of the BJP.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to question AIADMK leader Jayalalitha using her power and threatening the then union government if whether is it her power or not her power to do so by portraying Jayalalitha threatening the then Prime Minister Vajpayee, L K Advani and the other leaders of the BJP and it also has a slogan called "Jaya's power or Najayaz power?". The word "Najayaz" has been created from using a part of Jayalalitha's name and the meaning of its word is "not her". The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that the message of the cartoon is that Jayalalitha is misusing her power to threaten the union government under the leadership of the BJP to force the leaders to accept her demands. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also conveys an indirect message that Amul butter is a very strong and delicious product positively, unlike Jayalalitha who is misusing her power and this is also conveyed by the caption below the name of the brand "Amul"-Soft Centre which is also a pun on this situation.

#### 1.6.3.4 Amul cartoon about the ban of sex comedy plays in India



**Fig 1.4 Amul cartoon depicting the then Union Culture Minister banning sex comedy plays in India by removing the word "s" from the word "sex" and thus turning into the word "Ex-comedies" which indicates that these types of plays have been banned.**

The frame of this cartoon is that it has been designed to satirize the decision the ban sex comedy plays in India by the government with a picture of the then Union minister erasing the word "S" from "Sex comedies" and a group of girls are staring at it in surprise. The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that the then Union government in India had banned sex comedy plays in India. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it also indirectly conveys a message that, unlike the sex comedy plays which have been banned, Amul butter has got a clean and delicious taste and should not be banned by the Union government.

#### 1.6.3.5 Amul cartoon about the ban of vulgar lyrics of Rock music



**Fig 1.5 The Amul cartoon depicting the ban of the vulgar lyrics by the rock musicians by the Union Government by depicting the Union Culture Minister sitting on an armchair with a slice of cheese and a chain in his hand with which he has tied the rock musicians together.**

The frame of this cartoon is designed to satirize the decision after the ban on the vulgar lyrics in the songs from the genre of rock music by the government with a picture of the then Union minister sitting in an armchair and holding the chain to the rope of rock musicians being tied. It also includes the phrase "Rock Banned". The denotative meaning of this cartoon is that the vulgar lyrics in the songs from the genre of rock music has been banned by the government. The connotative meaning of this cartoon is that it indirectly indicates that the Amul butter, has got a lyrical (very delicious) taste, unlike the songs from the rock music genre which have been banned by the Union government.

### 1.7 Findings of the Study

The advertisements had portrayed the Union Government and the Prime Minister of India mostly in a very humorous and sarcastic manner by including the sarcastic or humorous drawings of the politicians or Union Ministers based on the situations and events in the Amul advertisements. The advertisements had mostly depicted the events or incidents upon which they were based, humorously and sarcastically and they had further used this as a base to portray the Union Government and the Prime Ministers sarcastically. During the research, it was also found that the distinction between the Union Government and the Prime Ministers were not so distinct in some cases as the Prime Minister was portrayed as the representative of the Union Government in some of the advertisements and also the advertisements portrayed the Prime Ministers of India and some politicians of India by focusing on their personality and depicting them distinctly from the other politicians or people in the advertisements.

It was found through the study and analysis of the advertisements created by the brand Amul that they placed a key focus on the personalities of the politicians and leaders of the country through their portrayals of them in their advertisements and the Amul advertisements had created humorous or sarcastic versions of the political and other events in the country to portray the Prime Ministers and the Union Government.

### 1.8 Limitations of the Study

During this study, the researcher would have to analyze some Amul advertisements which were written in Hindi which would be difficult for him as he would not be proficient in the language and the context of some of the Amul advertisements would not be easy to understand and comprehend as the political events and situations which had formed the basis of these advertisements had occurred several years ago which the researcher would not so familiar with. In addition to this, the period of two years from 1996-to 1998 might not be sufficient to analyze and infer about the change in the portrayal of the Prime Ministers and the Union governments of India as it is also quite a small period and the number of advertisements which are obtained from the site of the brand Amul for this study, are also very small to study and observe the portrayal of the political executive and the head of the government spanning over two years. However, despite these difficulties, utmost efforts have been made by the researcher to carefully study and analyze the advertisements for this study and also to comprehend the text of the advertisements which were written in Hindi. Some of the advertisements that have been studied and analyzed in this study have not been accessible and found on the online sources to be downloaded and to be used in this study and efforts have been taken to describe the cartoon effectively so that they could be easily and effectively visualized by the readers of this study.

### 1.9 Conclusion

The analysis of the Amul advertisements from the years of 1996-1998 which portrayed the prime minister and the union government has led to the observations that the cabinet government and the prime minister have either been criticized or being made fun of in the Amul advertisements or the cabinet government is mostly portrayed as a group of individuals or is represented through as a single Union minister. The Amul advertisements have also portrayed the Union government by connecting them with the coalition of the political parties such as the United Front or with the dominant political party of the coalition of the parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party or the Indian National Congress.

It has also been observed that the portrayal of the Union government and the prime minister have generally changed from a more humorous and entertaining tone to a more serious and criticizing tone within the period of these two years. The Amul advertisements use images of the prime ministers, some union ministers and a group of individuals along with the slogans in Hindi and English which include the puns of the names of the politicians and the political parties based on the situations when they are portraying the union government and the prime minister.

It has also been observed that unlike the unstable political condition in the country during the years from 1996-1998, Amul advertisements generally did not depict the political instability in the country, except for a few cartoons and depicted the Union government and the prime ministers as they had portrayed during a normal political condition in the country.

The Union government is a part of the executive organ of the government in a democracy and the executive also includes all the functionaries, political power holders and the permanent civil servants who play a role in the formulation and implementation of laws and policies. There are also two types of executives in a parliamentary form of democracy; the nominal and the real.

The head of the state such as the President or the monarch is the nominal executive while the council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister are known as the titular executives. The functions of the executive include law enforcement, policy-making and financial decision making. The Prime Minister is the head of the government in a democracy and is also the head of the Council of Ministers in a democracy and is usually considered as the first among equals. The Prime Minister also has a vital role to play in policy-related matters in the government and is also acts as the spokesperson of the country during visits to foreign countries.

It has been observed that while the portrayal of the Prime Ministers in Amul advertisements adheres to the role and importance in a democracy, the portrayal of the union government does not adhere to its role and importance in democracy from 1996-1998. Union ministers, who implement the decisions taken by the civil servants and politicians in general are depicted in the Amul advertisements during these years. Thus, the portrayal of the institutions and the leaders of the state in a democracy such as the Union government and the Prime Minister, who are part of the executive arm of the democracy, differs in time according to the situation and events and also might not confirm with their role and importance in democracy in cartoons. Further research could include the portrayal of certain sections of people in a society such as women in Amul advertisements and also whether the Amul advertisements adhere to the personality cult of prominent personalities through the depiction of them in the advertisements.

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