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ANALYSING THE PRINT MEDIA COMMENTARY OF THE BUILDING BRIDGES INITIATIVE IN KENYA THROUGH EDITORIAL CARTOONS: A STUDY OF THE DAILY NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS

BY

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STUDENT DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

This thesis is my own original work and has not previously been submitted for an academic award in any other university or for any other qualification.

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This thesis has been submitted for review with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents Joshua Mutavi and Bibian Kalusi ,my husband Obed Simiyu and children Kimberly Blessing and Kayla Neema who taught me discipline and hard work right from a the beginning.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBI   Building Bridges Initiative

ODM   Orange Democratic Movement

HRW   Human Rights Watch

NASA   National Super Alliance

IEBC   Independent Electoral and Boundaries CommissionABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate the importance of Editorial cartoons on the main stream media especially during the Building Bridges Initiative at the peak of its campaign.

The objectives of this study will be (i) to examine the major political themes such as political powers,power struggle among others contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI published in the Nation and Standard newspapers, (ii)to discuss the main imagery used such as the use of irony,metaphor (iii) to examine the trend of political conversation as suggested by the cartoons.

From the Cartoons in January they initially started as a handshake and BBI then change of law and now a referendum metamorphised to the current political status in the country.

The study will restrict its analysis to the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, for a 4-month period from the official launch of the BBI report on 27th November, 2019 by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga at the Bomas of Kenya to March 2020 when the first case of Corona Virus was reported bringing the country to a standstill. The *Nation* and *The Standard* are chosen for the study because they have the widest newspaper circulation in Kenya. This study will use theory of rhetoric, which forms the focus of this study and the Agenda Setting theory. The research will utilise a qualitative approach where we will analyse the presentation through purposive sampling. The researcher will target editorial cartoons, their content, captions and headlines. As this is a qualitative approach, the researcher will use purposeful sampling where by 120 editorial cartoons published in the said period of newspaper for the study but only 39 were in regard to Building Bridges Initiative that will be deemed most responsive to the research objectives. A content analysis will be used to categorise editorial cartoons, their content, captions and headlines based on the political themes. The main study will be to find out if the Editorial Cartoons capture the reality on the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) agenda and who stands to gain or lose from the process. It will also delves into the impact political rhetoric has on the everyday lives of the Kenyan citizen and whether issues affecting the citizenry are at the forefront of the BBI process or whether they have taken a back seat as politicians satisfy their own individualistic agendas come the next election cycle. Thematic analysis will be used to analyse data which will be presented in narrative form.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter provides the background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, research questions, rationale of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background to the study

Traditionally, cartoons are a direct and easy to process way of transmitting a message. They are highly effective since they use a mixture of visual and verbal components to produce meaning and humour (Tsakona, 2009). In the political space, the main purpose of cartoons is to provide political commentary while simplifying the subtle, but often complex undertones of a news story (Fairrington, 2009).

According to Feldman (2005), an editorial cartoon is a representation or symbolic drawing that makes a point about a political subject using satire, wit or humour. The political subject can be a topical issue, event or person. Feldman (2005) further says that editorial cartoons convey concepts that would otherwise only be verbal abstractions. This stand is reiterated by Fox & Hoffman (2011) who say that editorial cartoons convey concepts such as satire, irony, metaphor and hyperbole, which pure text may not capture.

However, the greatest impact of editorial cartoons is their ability to sway public opinion. Lordan (2006) says that editorial cartoons go beyond mere aesthetics by persuading individuals and groups to choose an aspect of social issues over the other, or draw them towards specific political perspectives.

Lordan (2006) is quick to point out that in matters politics, cartoons use humour to make political statements while reaching out to the public on serious matters. In the long run, humour persuades the masses to join a political cause (Lawate, 2012). Furthermore, Lordan (2006) adds that cartoons effectively communicate sensitive messages while also handling issues of prejudice or political correctness. Consequently, cartoons communicate bitter but necessary messages, serving as the conscience of the nation.

The history of journalism and cartooning are greatly intertwined. Today, editorial cartoons are a permanent fixture in newspapers. They provide a means of interacting with the public visually in a way that explains economic and socio-political problems in the nation and across the globe. In Kenya, editorial cartoons are an everyday facet of local newspapers, so much so that their place on the op-ed pages is a guaranteed formality (Mulanda & Khasandi-Telewa, 2014).

Since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1991, Kenya has experienced post-election violence with ethnic undertones following disputed elections several times in her history (Lafargue & Katumanga, 2008). This is true of the 1992, 1997, 2007 and the 2017 elections, which have resulted in the death of 4,433 people and displaced over 1.8 million in the country (Halakhe, 2013). However, the 2007 electoral cycle witnessed the worst form of violence that almost drove the country to the precipice.

The Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence released a report in 2009 investigating the 2007/08 post-election violence addressing the country's history of electoral violence arising from long-standing conflicts. This violence is attributed to a perception of historic marginalisation and alleged inequalities in the allocation of resources by several ethnic groups (KNCHR, 2008).

Since 1992, the history of opposition politics in Kenya has been associated with division and infighting. The opposition has also shown its inability to cooperate to achieve common goals (Yego, 2015).

The Human Rights Watch (HRW) states that since 1990, politicians have organised political violence yet they have never been held accountable (HRW, 2008).

In 2017, two factions of the political divide, the Jubilee Party and the National Super Alliance (NASA) had the two front runners in the presidential election, President Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition chief, Raila Odinga, respectively (Waddilove, 2019; Cheeseman et. al, 2019). In the same year, Kenyans participated twice in the presidential election after NASA disputed President Kenyatta's re-election, leading to a rerun after Kenya's Supreme Court nullified this first round of elections (Waddilove, 2019; Cheeseman et. al, 2019).

In the end, the NASA team boycotted the second round of the presidential election citing a lack of confidence in the electoral body, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). This turn of events threw the country into limbo resulting in chaos from the arising tension (Waddilove, 2019; Cheeseman et. al, 2019).

After months of chaos and an economic downturn for the country, President Kenyatta who had now been sworn in as the legally elected president and the opposition chief, Raila Odinga, came to the drawing table to quell the tensions in the country in what is now known as the "Handshake." The handshake took place between the two political leaders in their personal capacities on the steps of Harambee House on 9th March, 2018 (Moosa, 2018; Brief, 2018).

Following this handshake, a task force was put in place to consult societal stakeholders such as the citizenry, private sector, religious sector, civil society, leaders, among others to give recommendations on the best ways to harmonise existing institutions and processes so that critical issues addressing inclusivity in the country can be handled. This taskforce is what is known as the BBI task force and the process it is overseeing is what is commonly referred to as the BBI. The BBI initiative faced some opposition in the beginning, including from some members within the government itself, but majority of Kenyans now support the process (Oxford Analytica. 2019).

The BBI report was officially launched by President Kenyatta and Raila Odinga on 27th November, 2019, at the Bomas of Kenya (Orinde, 2019; Nation Team 2019). In the nine-point document, one of the area Kenyans are keen to handle is the root cause of electoral violence in the country every election cycle, and how the problem can be addressed once and for all. Following the deaths of both children and adults, the destruction of property, and the use of rape as a weapon of war against women during the 2017 violence, the release of the BBI report has spurred Kenya to look into her national ethos and the ethnic antagonism the country has witnessed over the years (Orinde, 2019; Nation Team 2019).

So far, Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) is in full support of the BBI report Onyango, 2020). However, President Kenyatta's Jubilee Party has been divided on the matter. Despite being a member of the Jubilee Party, Deputy President William Ruto's supporters, commonly referred to as "*Tanga Tanga*" started opposing the BBI process way before it was officially launched. On the other hand, President Kenyatta's supporters, commonly referred to as "*Kieleweke*" have supported the process since inception (K'Onyango, 2020).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Cartoons provide a running commentary on events, people, attitudes and preoccupations, and reflect momentary shifts in public sentiments. The role of cartons in public communication is not always acknowledged as important by the audience since cartoons are associated with humour, entertainment and comical effect. Subsequently, they tend to be an overlooked means of political communication. Contrariwise, they perform a prominent role on political communication and public opinion formation.

Political cartoons may generally be seen as source of distraction rather than information. Even if they apparently do not constitute a vehicle for political participation, the way editorial cartoons deconstruct social issues can have a vital effect on the public's understanding of a political candidate or topic.

They usually appear in the op-ed, short for "opposite the editorial page" or as a backronym the "opinions and editorials page" page of the newspaper and they expresses the opinion of an author usually not affiliated with the publication's editorial board.

There is need for content to study BBI related editorial cartoons in the Daily Nation and The Standard to find out the impact it has on the audience social and political decision and their role in agenda setting in the country.

1.4 Main Objective

To examine the major political themes contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI in the Daily Nation and the Standard and their role in agenda setting in Kenya.

1.5 Specific objectives

1. To examine the major political themes contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI published in the Nation and Standard newspapers.

2. To discuss the main imagery used by the cartoons
3. To examine the trend of political conversation as suggested by the cartoons.

1.6 Research Questions

1. Which political themes are contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI?
2. What are the main imagery used by the cartoons
3. What are the trends portrayed through the conversations by the cartoons

1.7 Assumptions

Editorial cartoons play a distinct role in agenda setting for political themes on the BBI in newspapers by invoking debate among the public.

1.8 Rationale of the study

Editorial cartoons typically utilize humour, satire, or irony to advance their narratives. Therefore, they form an important mode of communication in portraying narratives as serious in setting an agenda.

Additionally, all newspapers in Kenya adopt a similar page layout with editorial cartoons prominently displayed in the op-ed pages near the beginning of the paper. The fact that they are situated at the heart of the paper's opinion and editorial page, they lay out the paper's take on socio-political issues, marking editorial cartoons as a virtual mouthpiece of the paper.

Even before Kenya restricted movement within her borders thanks to the effects of the global COVID-19 pandemic, Kenyan politicians were on the road whipping up support for their various political factions on matters BBI. This scenario provided a good opportunity for

editorial cartoonists to capture various political themes as politicians canvassed the country, and how they resonated with the public on socio-economic and political issues.

Given newspapers are widely read in the Kenyan society, they provide a source of political information to the masses. Kenyans are frequently found sharing and discussing the intrigues portrayed in editorial cartoons. This study is significant in giving insights on the importance of editorial cartoons in Kenyan newspapers on setting the national political agenda.

1.9 Significance of the study

This study focuses on a 4-month period of editorial cartoons covering the BBI process in the Nation and Standard newspapers starting from 26th November, 2019. Generally, society ignores the role of editorial cartoons in shaping the socio-economic and political agenda for a nation. However, the psychoanalytic, sociological and rhetorical aspects of editorial cartoons offer useful insights into symbolism, societal structure, and the relation or interaction among the creator, audience and the message.

Consequently will gives insights into the real business of politics on the BBI agenda and who stands to gain or lose from the process. It will also delve into the opinion of an author in the particular topic focusing on the political themes expressed in the cartoons.

1.10 Scope of the Study

The study restricted its analysis to the Nation and Standard newspapers, for a 4-month period since the launch of the BBI report on 27th November, 2019 to February 2020, because they are the two most widely read newspapers in Kenya. Kenyans have come to trust them as independent members of the fourth estate in offering unbiased views in the messages they communicate. Also, the study is restricted to a 4-month period since the official launch of the BBI report by President Uhuru Kenyatta in November 2019 at the Bomas of Kenya.

1.11 Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

1.11.1 Delimitations of the Study

- The study restricted its analysis to the Nation and Standard newspapers because they transmit to a larger population compared to other newspapers in the country. The two newspapers have the widest circulation because they have been in existence since before Kenya gained independence.
- The study was restricted to a 4-month period from the official launch of the BBI report due to time restrictions on the researcher's end following the effects of the COVD-19 global pandemic on the Kenyan society. After the 4-month period, the BBI process stalled due to movement restriction within the country, interfering with politicians' engagement with the public on matters BBI.
- The study focused on editorial cartoons prominently displayed in the op-ed pages near the beginning and heart of the paper, laying out the paper's take on socio-political issues as a virtual mouthpiece of the paper.

1.11.2 Limitations of the Study

- This study is limited to only two newspapers within the country. Consequently, the results of this study feature only the views of editorial cartoonists from these two print media houses and not all the print media houses in Kenya.
- There is limited data on editorial cartoons covering the BBI process during the chosen period of the study making it hard to determine if editorial cartoons truly shape the national agenda on matters BBI.

- The sample size used in this study is relatively small. Therefore, the results of this study are not a full representation of the impact of editorial cartoons on the BBI on all Kenyans.
- The sampling procedure used decreases the generalizability of findings. The procedure is not generalizable to all aspects of editorial cartoons.
- In this study, the findings can be subjected to other interpretations.

Operational terms?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This section looks into the historical background of political cartoons, the history of cartooning in Kenya, the types of editorial cartoons, the features and persuasive techniques of editorial cartoons, and the theoretical framework of the study.

2.2 Historical Background of Cartooning

The term *cartoon* is derived from Italian word *cartone* which means paper. In the beginning, the word was used to refer to preliminary drawings on paper by painters. The images were either traced or punched onto a surface such as a large canvas, ceiling or wall (Jimoh, 2011).

In describing what a cartoon is, Jimoh (2011) says it is today loosely used to describe any drawing published originally in a periodical while making its own point, with or without a caption. Jimoh (2011) posits that the uniqueness in cartoons can be distinguished from illustrations or sketches. The former usually tells a story and often appears in periodical publications, whereas the latter simply illuminate a scene or point accompanying an extended text in a publication.

However, Cartoonists (2010) says defining cartoons is tricky given there is no particular widely accepted definition. Consequently, the best way to describe cartoons is as an amalgam of current literature and discussion in the field. Cartoonists (2010) further posits that cartoons are generally single or multi-framed images which convey messages using both words and symbols.

To differentiate cartoons from comics, Cartoonists (2010) says that both comics and cartoons use symbols but comics have a sequential nature to them that utilize more panels to tell their stories. On the flipside, cartoons invoke two conceptions: their presentation and their production. The former encompasses all information illustrated in either a single or a few panels (not in multiple panels) while the latter while the latter can also occur in the form of animated programs instead of being limited to print only as is the case in comics.

The use of the word *cartoon* dates back to the fifteenth century (Jimoh, 2011). During this period, cartoons were used as essential elements in completing stained glass designs as well as frescoes. Frescoes are a form of wall painting practiced by Italians.

In recent history, the first picture to be called a cartoon was done by John Leech in the *Punch* newspaper in Britain (Cartoonists, 2010; Popoola, 1983). Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's consort, instituted a competition requesting prepared designs for use as frescoes in the new parliamentary house. The entries ranged from naughty to ridiculous, and John Leech drew a series of their imitations in the *Punch*, satirizing them while also railing at the political and social abuses of the day (Cartoonists, 2010; Popoola, 1983).

Today, an editorial cartoon is generally understood as any drawing which through the use of humor, satire or caricature, provokes a response in its audience on current political matters (Jimoh, 2011; Cartoonists, 2010). Editorial cartoons in the present day trace their origin to the art of caricature. A caricature is a drawing presentation made up of features with humorous intention (Cartoonists, 2010). Caricature as a Western discipline dates back to the era of Leonardo da Vinci's artistic explorations of "the ideal type of deformity"— the grotesque. He used these artistic explorations to understand the concept of ideal beauty better (Lawate, 2012).

Political cartoons mostly come in two parts: a caricature and an allusion. The former parodies an individual while the latter provides the context the individual is placed in (Lawate, 2012). The emotions behind political cartoons are genuine. Even when conveyed in a harsh manner, they are usually taken with a sense of humour (Lawate, 2012). Political cartoons aim to make a realistic appeal and commentary on current issues and situations while refraining from coming across in bad taste (Lawate, 2012).

Political cartoonists use their skills to express the most urgent political issues of the day through praise, attack, and caricature (Conrad, 1991). They highly satirize, sometimes leading to provocative results. Usually, political cartoonists have no qualms aiming their wit on one side of the divide before switching their focus to the other side. Generally speaking, political cartoonists mirror the issues and personalities of the times using either exaggerations or simplifications or both (Conrad, 1991).

William Hogarth (1697-1764) of Britain is acclaimed as the first political cartoonist. His era is closely followed by those of Goya (1746-1828) and Honore Daumier (1808-1879) from Spain and France, respectively (Cartoonists, 2010). All the three used satire in political cartoons as a medium of launching vicious attacks on socio-political practices deemed as repulsive in matters public decency (Cartoonists, 2010; Jimoh, 2011).

In the 20th century, World War I shifted the general course of pictorial comedy (Cartoonists, 2010) given that political cartoons during this period were used to alleviate the pain inflicted by the struggle of the times (Popoola, 1983). However, both during and after the war, political cartoons are described as "highly partisan" according to Popoola (1983).

As things settled down after the war, the audience for comic publications grew (Cartoonists, 2010). The most notable advancements in political cartooning after the war is the development of the "one-line joke" and the "pictorial-joke" (Cartoonists, 2010). Both are economical with words as the former uses only one line to share its joke while the latter makes use of images only without any words. Additionally, they both utilize a diverse range of drawing styles (Cartoonists, 2010).

Closer home in Nigeria, the use of caricature and satire existed in traditional Nigerian societies before invasion by the colonialists. These caricatures were used to correct societal ills (Cartoonists, 2010; Onipede, 2007). However, modern cartooning is attributed to colonial modernity (Cartoonists, 2010) after contact with the west.

Akinola Lasekan (1916-1974) is celebrated as the first Nigerian cartoonist to work in modern media as a result of his highly acclaimed political cartoons in the *West African Pilot* newspaper founded in 1937 (Jimoh, 2011; Cartoonists, 2010; Onipede, 2007; Olaniyan, 2002). Lasekan's vitriolic cartoons addressed social vices in colonial Nigeria and were mainly directed at the opposition party (Cartoonists, 2010; Olaniyan, 2002).

In general, political cartooning in Nigeria is attributed to the efforts of individual editors and not editorial policy (Cartoonists, 2010). Apart from Lasekan, other cartoonists who advanced political cartooning in Nigeria are Ayo Ajayi and Cliff Oguigo, among others (Jimoh, 2011; Cartoonists, 2010; Olaniyan, 2002).

2.2 History of Cartooning in Kenya

The art of cartooning in Kenya has existed from as far back as the 1950s before the country gained independence from colonial rule (Callus, 2018; Obonyo, 2011; Owino, 2005).

Before 1952, cartoons in the country were restricted to newspaper advertisements but some were syndicated materials. After 1952, the first cartoons made their way into the local newspapers (Callus, 2018; Obonyo, 2011; Owino, 2005). Edward Gitau's *Juha Kalulu* which

first featured in *Tazama*, followed by *Baraza* before finally landing a spot in the *East African Standard*, was the first indigenous cartoon issue to make it into the local dailies (Obonyo, 2011). However, it did not venture into political issues but instead dwelled on the adventures of daily life for the star, Juha Kalulu (Obonyo, 2011; Owino, 2005).

According to Owino (2005), indigenous cartooning in Kenya took place in four phases:

- 1952-1975 - cartoons gaining popularity
- 1975-1978 - the publication of Joe Magazine
- 1978 to mid-1980s - publication of first local strips in English
- Mid-1980s to date - emergence pf political cartoons.

The 1970s marked the key shift in editorial cartooning in the country (Owino, 2005). In Kenyan history, Terry Hirst is acknowledged as one of the most prolific cartoonists in the country (Wanjiru, 2014). He specialized in depicting social issues as was evident in *Joe,* a magazine he launched together with Hillary Ng'weno (Owino, 2005; Frederiksen, 1991). In the magazine, the character Joe gave the impression that he was the neighbour next door. Even though the publication ran for only three years (Owino, 2005), it is still remembered fondly along the streets of Nairobi. Joe's closure marked the loss of a "national celebrity." However, the publication inspired other cartoonists, unlocking the potential of cartoons to tackle different topical issues in Kenya (Wanjiru, 2014; Frederiksen, 1991).

Following the foldup of *Joe*, Hillary Ng'weno founded the *Nairobi Times* newspaper, issued every Sunday, and *The Weekly Review*, a weekly news magazine published every Friday. The former nurtured the works of several budding cartoonists (Gathara, 2004).

Around the same time, Kenyan newspapers attracted regional cartoonists such as Frank Odoi, James Tumisiime and Philip Ndunguru from Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania respectively (Obonyo, 2011). In the 1990s and early 200s, Kenyan cartoonists who made it to the top include David Njuguna Karogu, James Kamawira, Joshua Nanjero, Koskei Kirui, Paul Kelemba and Stanislaus Olonde (Obonyo, 2011).

Of these Kenyan cartoonists, the best known is Paul "*Madd*" Kelemba responsible for "*It is a Madd Madd World*" which first ran in *The Daily Nation* before moving to *The Standard* (Obonyo, 2011). He is also celebrated as the first indigenous political cartoonist to gain national prominence (Gathara, 2004). Madd first joined *The Daily Nation* in 1986 as Kenya's first full time editorial cartoonist (Gathara, 2004). Before this historic accomplishment, he worked for in-house magazines and publications at the Kenyan coast (Gathara, 2004).

However, Tanzanian Godfrey Mwampembwa (best known as *Gado*) is the most prominent cartoonist in Kenya (Obonyo, 2011). His works are not only limited to print media but have moved into the animation industry with the production of his hit show, *The XYZ* show, a political satire and television series (Callus, 2018). Gado is also acclaimed as a key catalytic agent in political animation in Kenya following his works after the 2007-2008 post-election violence witnessed in the country (Callus, 2018).

James "*Kham*" Kamawira was first hired as the main editorial cartoonist for the *Kenya Times* before he moved to the *East African Chronicles*, and finally settled in at *The Standard* (Gathara, 2004). When Madd moved to *The Standard*, Gado replaced him at the *Daily Nation*, growing into one of Africa's most internationally celebrated cartoonists (Gathara, 2004). Gado's works have appeared in a number of publications such as the *New African* in the UK; *Courier International* and *Le Monde* both in France; the *Financial Mail* and *New Nation* both in South Africa; the *Washington Times*, *Des Standard* of Belgium, and *Japan Times* (Gathara, 2004).

2.3 Modern Editorial Cartooning in Kenya

Editorial cartoons in Kenya are a guaranteed formality in the op-ed pages near the beginning of mainstream newspapers (Musandi & Khasandi-Telewa, 2014). Given they are at the heart of the paper where they handle socio-political issues, they serve as a mouthpiece of these newspapers while providing editorial direction (Musandi & Khasandi-Telewa, 2014).

The history of modern cartooning in Kenya is closely tied to that of journalism in the country. Kenyans generally perceive newspapers as credible sources of information given mass media has been at the forefront of exposing graft and other social evils (Musandi & Khasandi-Telewa, 2014; Ogonda, 1992). Given editorial cartoons have been existence in the country since the 1970s, it goes without saying that the craft has come a long way to date (Owino, 2005; Frederiksen, 1991).

It is noteworthy that in the past, cartoonists in Kenya could not freely caricature Kenyan politicians (Owino, 2005). In the 1980s, the prevailing political climate discouraged cartoonists from exploring sensitive issues (Gathara, 2004). The furthest one could go was caricaturing provincial commissioners and cabinet ministerrs.

However, touching on the president in the formal media was out of the question even for the most established cartoonists of the time (Gathara, 2004). Those who attempted to touch on the president did so in informal publications with limited circulation in the underground world, such as the clandestine press at the University of Nairobi (Gathara, 2004).

With the clamour for political change in the 1980s and early 1990s, cartoonists gained more freedom and became bolder in their publications. Madd is credited as the first to caricature then President Daniel Arap Moi (Gathara, 2004). Caricaturing the president is now commonplace but back in the day it was revolutionary. This state of affairs has however changed and today cartoonists are free to caricature Kenyan politicians together with their families (Owino, 2005), marking a key step in the freedom of expression for cartoonists. In typical politician fashion however, most politicians only support cartoonists' work when it is in their favour. When it is not, they tend to lambast cartoonists (Owino, 2005). More often than not, cartoonists' work is not complimentary to politicians' wishes (Owino, 2005).

Today, most local dailies retain the services of more one staff cartoonist on their payrolls (Gathara, 2004). Additionally, the editorial cartoon is a permanent feature in editorial pages, testimony to local cartoonists' talents as social and political commentators.

Interestingly, in Kenya, cartoonists are not known by their official names but their pseudonyms (Owino, 2005), which are as popular as the names of the top columnists in the country.

2.4 Types of Editorial Cartoons

Charles Press has written the most about the political function of editorial cartoons instead of their metaphoric or artistic content (Manning & Phiddian, 2004). The 3 main categories he reviews in his publications are: descriptive, laughing satirical and destructive satirical. However, Manning & Phiddian (2004), add another category: cartoons exhibiting savage indignation.

2.4.1 Descriptive Cartoons

These editorial cartoons are neutral and showcase things as they simply are. They are not satirical and do not give a clear political opinion. Consequently, they are best suited for depicting the status quo. Their main purpose is to amuse readers with comic commentary on the affairs of the day (Manning & Phiddian, 2004).

2.4.2 Laughing Satirical Cartoons

Most editorial cartoons in liberal democracies fall under this category. They criticise while accepting the legitimacy of those being criticised. They find their way into the debates of the day as a reality check of sorts while holding everyone accountable for better functioning of the society. Laughing satirical cartoons serve as checks and balances to the system. Politicians are usually proud to appear in such cartoons because it means they are being taken seriously (Manning & Phiddian, 2004).

2.4.3 Destructive Satirical Cartoons

These editorial cartoons are mostly revolutionary in nature since they do not accept the legitimacy of the system and arise from social despair. They rarely appear in the local dailies for mass distribution, but are instead confined to journals published by extremist groups. However, they have negligible influence on shaping or reshaping public opinion because they lack an impressionable audience (Manning & Phiddian, 2004).

2.4.4 Cartoons Exhibiting Savage Indignation

For these editorial cartoons, those who hold office and the legitimacy of the system are not urgent issues. These cartoons expose society's ills as the urgent aspect of their depiction. They say that even though most things in the country are okay, an action or inaction about a particular thing is rotten. When done well, they provoke serious thought on the distribution of power, wealth and justice. However, they can become preachy if overdone (Manning & Phiddian, 2004).

2.5 Features and Persuasive Techniques Used in Editorial Cartoons

According to Lawate (2012) and Onserio (2017), both Ted Goertzel (published author) and Jonathan Burrack (of teachinghistory.edu) say that there are similar features which make political cartoons resonate with their audiences.

2.5.1 Symbolism

Using familiar symbols, the audience easily understands what each image represents and takes the opportunity to interpret it according to what it stands for (Onserio, 2017; Lawate, 2012).

2.5.2 Distortion

Through distortion, images are intentionally exaggerated in matters emotion, shape and size of an object or person for the desired effect. Using imaginative gesture, cartoon characteristics are overdone and overblown. These exaggerated features are what readers look for when determining the messages being conveyed by cartoonists in these editorial cartoons (Onserio, 2017; Lawate, 2012).

2.5.3 Irony

Irony appears in both words and images to make a point by being witty and pointing out the flaws in a system. Irony differentiates how things are and how they are supposed to be. Using irony, cartoonists build and argument for their take on things using contradiction. Irony in editorial cartoons is easily picked up by readers, who quickly determine if it is effective or not (Onserio, 2017; Lawate, 2012).

2.5.4 Stereotypes and Caricatures

Using stereotypes a cartoonist can explain and simplify an applicable point of view. Stereotypes are usually offensive but in cartooning, they establish and promote a point of view for a certain effect. With such cartoons, readers question why the cartoonist chose to use a specific (Onserio, 2017; Lawate, 2012).

2.5.5 Use Arguments Instead of Slogans

Cartoonists aim to argue a certain point of view by taking a jab at issues and being opinionated and blunt. These cartoons may be biased but they provide proper ground for responses and counterarguments (Onserio, 2017; Lawate, 2012).

2.5.6 Analogy

By comparing two or more things that are completely different from each other in terms of characteristics, cartoonists challenge an audience's point of view while using comparison to give a different view of things. Once the reader perceives the analogy, they can decide if it makes things clearer (Onserio, 2017).

2.6 Emotional Reactions to Editorial Cartoons

In a 2011 article in the New York Times, Victor Navasky explores the violence provoked by cartoons at times. In the article, he says cartoons are most of the times harmless but can at times result in a violent reaction when deemed offensive by the audience. For example, in France, the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo was attacked after it chose to have Prophet Muhammad as the editor in chief for a certain week. Luckily, there was no loss of life as a result of the attack. However, this is not the first time attacks, and even assassinations have resulted from emotions evoked by cartoons, more so editorial cartoons (Navasky, 2011).

The question then is, at what point do editorial cartoons stop being entertaining and thought-provoking, to being offensive? If so, should editorial cartoons be regulated? If they are regulated, does this act of regulation infringe on the freedom of expression? How would any country strike the perfect balance between regulation and freedom of expression? Lastly, would this "balance" still allow editorial cartoons to shape public opinion and engage in agenda setting?

In this study, the researcher looks into the fact that even though editorial cartoons serve an entertainment purpose, there are also multiple layers of depth that can be read into them. By taking an in-depth analysis of political cartoons in the Nation and Standard newspapers for a 4-month period starting from the day of the official launch of the BBI report, the researcher examines the major political themes contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI in agenda setting in Kenya.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6..1 Theory of Rhetoric

Frank D'angelo (2009) developed the theory of rhetoric which forms the focus of this study. Working largely by analogy, D'angelo labels the Four Master Tropes by Burke as a topic analogue for coming up with theoretical ideas concerning the invention, authorial intention, style, arrangement, delivery and memory, and the rhetorical situation. This study utilized the Rhetoric of Tropes to develop a theoretical framework for the researcher.

The Burkean tropes irony, metaphor, synecdoche and metonymy, are perspectives and are broadly seen as devices for seeing something in terms of something else (Murray, 2011). Burke's master tropes are adopted to offer an explanation on how political cartoons use representation to help communicate messages (Birdsell, 1993).

As a disseminated product, the transmission of media communications is often perceived to be unidirectional: the producers of the media disseminate the news to the receivers of the media, being the viewers and readers. However, when conceptualized within the social representations theory, mass media communications are underpinned by representational system. Given both the producers and the receivers reside within the same historicity, both are seen as builders of media communications (Rouquette 1996).

Representations are always in between stasis and transition. According to the structures of society, these representations are taken through repetition, reflection, distortion and innovation. This process creates a dynamism, which also encompasses their malleability and susceptibility, influencing those who have the resources and the agency (Wagner 1998).

Inequities in media access usually pushes one version of events over others (Jovchelovitch 1997), reproducing the identities of voiceless groups while reconstructing them. Unfortunately, groups such as refugees and asylum-seekers, often known vicariously through the media, usually do not have the means or opportunity to offer a response to how they are depicted (Jovchelovitch 1997).

Consequently, what is, and what is reported is usually asymmetrical even as the gap between what is and what is reported tends to widen. Editorial cartoons are not an exception to this circularity. If anything, given their unique silent voice in the media, editorial cartoons explicitly show the interdependence between social representations and identity (Moloney, 2007).

In this study, the researcher argues that satirical cartoons are powerful in two ways. Firstly, to communicate the intended political satire, the caricatures sued need to be irrefutably recognized as such. That is, the caricature must resonate with how the viewer's perceive that group to be. Secondly, the content appropriated vicariously through the media distorts the boundaries of ridicule, exaggeration and humor of caricature creating its potential to serve as the identity of the group.

2.6.2 Agenda Setting Theory

Newspaper cartoons refer to sketches or comic strips with a political or social message alluding to current happenings. They are typically found on the journalistic side of the newsprint (Hoffman & Howard, 2007).

In this study, the researcher makes use of the agenda setting theory to give theoretical insight into how editorial cartoons depict interesting matters in newspapers as a policy of setting national agenda to reorient and shape public opinion.

Using the Agenda Setting Theory, the researcher gives an association between the media and the community. The theory also highlights how the media broadcasts information in a society through news, cartoons, and commercials.

Established in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, the Agenda-setting Theory is a media effect theory clarifying the extent of media attention to a story and the importance the audience attaches to the story (Maxwell & Shaw, 1972), setting the agenda at two levels.

In short, the theory on one level focuses on the objects of transmission such as politicians, political gatherings, occasions and public officers. Using these objects, mass media informs the public what to think about, called no substantives. At the second level, the public about the mentioned objects by highlighting their attributes and national settings; this is called substantive (Maxwell & Shaw, 1972).

2.6.3 The political themes

The BBI report was officially launched by President Kenyatta and Raila Odinga on 27th November, 2019, at the Bomas of Kenya (Orinde, 2019; Nation Team 2019).

Renckstorf and Wester (2004) assert that people engage in (political) activities to satisfy their own objectives, intentions, and interests.

The handshake and attendant intiative are best understood by recognizing that Kenyan politics are fundamentally shaped by completion among political elites and their ethnic groups.

The Kenya`s demographic structure and its electoral system contributes to this state of affairs.the country has five large ethnic groups that comprise about 65 per cent of the population.

The theme of Tribalism

According to the Kenya Human Rights(2009)Ethnic antagonism and competition is also demonstrated in the operations of political parties. By way of background on this issue, the 2009 population census placed Kenya's total population at 38.6 million. Like the five national population surveys preceding it, the 2009 census revealed that five large ethnic groups account for more than 66% of the country's total population. The 'Big Five', as they are sometimes called, are: Kikuyu (17.7%), Luhya (14.2%), Kalenjin (13.3%), Luo (10.8%), and Kamba (10.4%). Other relatively big ethnic groups are the Somali (6.4%), Kisii (5.9%), Mijikenda (5.2%) and Meru (4.4%). This ethnic configuration has direct implications on Kenyan politics, and especially, on the formation of political parties or coalitions and voting patterns. 6 Political parties draw the majority of their membership from and are founded to basically advance the interests of specific ethnic groups, and by extension, to counter the interests of perceived 'enemy' ethnic groups.

The taskforce report release earlier stated that an ethnically driven politics that ends with a winner-take-all model contradicts political and cultural cultures in Kenya that have lasted for much longer than we have been Kenyans. It does not offer us the capable leaders who will offer a strong vision and rally us to implement national visions that uplift us. And it will certainly keep us forever in one form of ethnic-based conflict or another, leading to the loss of lives and frustrating our desire for a peaceful and prosperous Kenya

Corruption as a Political theme in BBI

According to the Elephant an online publication, the BBI report appears to contain everything. It outlines what is wrong with Kenya today and calls for an urgent response. But a closer look at what it says reveals a chilling distrust of democracy. It is an attempt to sabotage democracy – a desire to return to a mythical old order of unquestioned authority and obsequious citizenry.

1.13 Research Gap
There is little analysis on forms of illustrations tied to key historical events in Kenya through editorial cartoons. Additionally, fewer studies have investigated the role of editorial cartoons in agenda setting during the course of these historical events.

The aim of this research study is to contribute to analysis of visual illustrations, which make use of rhetorical devices. Understanding these devices remains a challenge in the present learning landscape.

This study analyzed editorial cartoons in the Standard and Nation newspapers for 4 months and used the agenda setting theory to determine political themes attributed to the BBI process in Kenya.

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Cartoon   A simple drawing showing the features of its subjects in a humorously exaggerated way, especially a satirical one in a newspaper or magazine

Mwananchi   The common man

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter covered the information and data collection process leading up to the recommendation and conclusion given about the study. The chapter contains the study's research approach, research design, study area, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection and lastly ethical considerations for the study.

3.2 Research design

This study deployed explanatory research design. (Yin 1994) he noted that explanatory design is achieved through explaining information. This is because I will investigate and find out the 'how and why' questions.
The suitability of the study sought to analyse and explain how the cartoons are projected. The Explanatory study went beyond describing and attempted to explain the reason behind Editorial Cartoons in the mainstream media to the online platform that has seen it reach a wider audience.

3.2 Research approach

The study applied qualitative Research. The qualitative content analysis used in studying the inherent meanings of the identified elements of representation.

The qualitative analysis was based on the tenets of the SRT (Moscovici, 1988, 2000, 2007), where different elements of cartooning (naming, thematic anchoring, antinomies, and metaphors) and objectification (personification) analysed included emotional dimensions of objectification and cartoons where pictures analysed for their emotional appeal.

Qualitative researchers contend that there is no fixed interpretation of a text but rather that interpretations can be multidimensional and relational (Flick, 1998).

In the case of the current study, a qualitative method of analysis allowed the researcher to identify and unearth meanings behind the multiple representations of the BBI process that continuously emerged from how the newspapers used the various elements of representation.

3.2 Research Design

This study deployed explanatory research design. (Yin 1994) he noted that explanatory design is achieved through explaining information. This is because investigation sought to find out the 'how and why' questions.

This explored the in-depth research on Editorial Cartoons since this was not an area that's well researched even as the world is moving digital.

My Explanatory study went beyond describing and explaining the reason behind Editorial Cartoons in the mainstream media to the online platform that has seen it reach a wider audience.

3.3   Research Methods

This research utilized only qualitative methods. While quantitative would have contributed to understanding a broader perspective of how Editorial Cartoons use online platforms to reach a broader target it still remains the satirical method to pass information.

Qualitative method gave the research best offer on insights into the deeper meanings, values or gains on Editorial Cartoons . Qualitative studies are best used for collecting information as opposed to frequencies (Kothari, 2004).

Study Area

The study was conducted in Kenya through a content analysis of editorial cartoons in the Nation and Standard newspapers featuring the BBI season.

3.4 Target Population

The population for this study was two Kenyan newspapers, the Nation and Standard. The population focused on 120 editorial cartoons were sampled and only 15 featured BBI campaign. The Nation and Standard newspapers are the most widely read newspapers in Kenya hence content for analysis was determined by accessibility of the content. Consequently, they are easy to access given they are printed everyday.

3.5   Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

Sampling technique and Sample Design Chandran (2004) defines sampling as the process of selecting sufficient number of elements from the population so that a study of the selected sample represents the population adequately. Besides, an understanding of its properties or characteristics makes it possible to generalize such properties to the wider target population elements.

The study focused on 120 editorial cartoons touching on the BBI through the purposive sampling narrowing down to cartoons 15 which touched on BBI from two local dailies, the Nation and Standard.

3.6 Research Instruments

Direct observation of editorial cartoons featuring the BBI process was used in this study.

3.6   Data Collection

This research documented analysis or what is otherwise known as content analysis to collect the data required.

Data used came from the primary source by collecting and observing editorial cartoons through content analysis of BBI-related editorial cartoons in the Nation and Standard newspapers in line with the objectives of the study.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

The researcher did a pilot study which ensured that the guide question elicits the responses that was directly relevant to the research objectives. Irrelevant questions or any other indication that the research designed was improved and considered at this stage. The permission of the supervisor was considered as increasing the validity and reliability of the study.

3.9 Data analysis

Content analysis considered the longest established method of analyzing text. When it first began, term meant only the methods that deal with ―directly and clearly quantifiable aspects of text content and as a rule on absolute and relative frequencies of words per text or surface unit‖ (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Eva 2000). But Babbie (2001) defines content analysis as the study of recorded human communications. He further says that ―the process is basically a coding operation where coding in this sense refers to the process of transforming data into a standardized form.

The researcher transcribed the editorial content according to their relevance to each study objective. Emerging themes such as gender,violence,politics,rich versus poor was identified, interpreted and discussed. Each objective was responded to using direct quotes from the cartoons. inferences and meanings was deduced from the responses which enabled the drawing of conclusions.

As Kombo and Tromp (2006) say, the research uses own judgement in drawing conclusions and recommendations.

A coding instrument tool with details of how the content analysis was undertaken with specific questions aimed at collecting data required to achieve the objectives of the study.

3.11 Research Tools

According to Hennik et al. (2011), the researcher pilot-test the data collection tool, in this study the content analysis coding instrument tool, to determine if: the questions are understood immediately; if the words, sentences adapted to the context of the content analysis; some questions need to be rephrased; the order of the questions to determine if they are logical In short, content analysis questions must also be both relevant and appropriate.

The content analysis coding instrument tool was evaluated for suitability based on a number of criteria.

The first criterion was appropriateness, which was whether or not the content analysis coding instrument tool is good enough to answer the research question(s).

The second criterion was validity which determined whether the instrument was a valid operationalization of the research questions and conceptual framework (Hennik et al. 2011).

I also looked at the cultural sensitivity. The question answered by this criterion was whether the questions were asked in a language and wordings that were sensitive to the operational culture.

3.10 Ethical issues

The researcher respected the rights, privacy, dignity, and sensitivities of the populations and also the integrity of the institutions within which the research was carried.

During the course of the study, proper citation was featured for the scholarly work used for the purpose of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

4.0   OVERVIEW

This chapter shows how data was analyzed and the findings of qualitative research which was analyzed through themes identification, coding and categorizing patterns that were found in the primary data (Byrne, 2001).

This section used the theories of meaning and framing to arrive at conclusions.Lexical and stylistic devices were used to analyse and interprete the data.Therefore the cartoons are described,analysed and then interpreted from the adverse dates of 2021 during the peak of the BBI campaigns.

4.2 BBI DOCUMENT AS A BIBLE

Figure 1: Editorial cartoon in the Standard

In this political Cartoon sketched by Godfrey Mwapembwa, pen name Gaddo, the Building Bridges Initiative Report is symbolic to Kenyans as it was beliebved to be the guideline that will deliver the country from the perennial election clashes.

Just like a Bible the BBI was meant to be the key on propelling Raila Odinga to teh top seat if thewords Raila Tosha on the bookmark was to go by.

The cartoons shows that the BBI had nothing to do with the people but giving Raila a life line in politics by blinding Kenyans with the document that has been made to look like a Bible and its pastor is the former Prime Minister.

The cartoon was timely with its unveiling where the ceremony was a replica of the 2010 constitution that was seen to be the long awaited change we as a country waited to be our saviour.

It first appeared on The Standard newspaper on November 25, 2020 after the two principals Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta launched a campaign to collect signatures to endorse the document.

The size of the document is also too large for the ordinary Kenyans to go through it given the limited time the report was to be analyzed and a referendum to be conducted.

4.3 RAILA THE MOSES

Figure 2: Editorial cartoon of the Standard

This sketch by Gado depicts Raila Odinga as Moses from the Bible who led the children of Israel from Egypt to Canaan which was his slogan during the campaign.

The context surrounds Odinga's campaigns analogy where he said his followers were like the children of Israel and himself as Moses and he was leading them from Egypt to the promised Land, Canaan.

The political cartoon which appeared on The Standard newspaper on January 6, 2021is symbolic as it gave Raila another chance to hold rallies to popularize the BBI long after campaigns.

The public are keen listening to Baba in the above cartoon despite while he promises them goodies that will come from the document at hand.

Him standing in the crowd is a symbol of power where BBI will ascend to power and be the President soon it does pass in a referendum.

The cartoon targets Odinga's supporters who thought that he had betrayed them and here he is convincing them the handshake was good for the journey to Canaan which was still on course.

4.4 BBI AND TITANIC THE MOVIE

Figure 3: Editorial cartoon of Daily Nation

This cartoon by Victor Ndula appeared on the Daily Nation on July 23, 2021 is satirical.

The cartoonist was inspired by Titanic the film which ccurred in 1912, on the well known ship Titanic in the Atlantic Sea. Just like the themes on the movie the sketch was meant to depict whether BBI would Persevere and win even after the High Court had declared the BBI an unconstitutional document, the process notwithstanding.

The capsizing boat depicts the fall of the BBI with it's principals the president Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga attempting to save it.

The artist creates a humorous yet factual impression of the status of the BBI campaign after it was thrown out in court.

Here we see the President Uhuru Kenyatta trying to save Raila from drowning in the ocean after the BBI reggae was stooped and coming up with Plan B the parliament which on the other side of the boat is sinkin.

BBI is hanging on a thread and the President is hoping to get a way out by running to parliament and save some clause in the BBI which do not need a referendum.

4.5 BBI THE POWER SHARING TOOL

Figure 4: Editorial cartoon of the Standard

This political cartoon by Gado appeared in The Standard newspaper on March 21, 2020.

The cartoon is ironical.In what was seen to be a constitutional change that will help the country the BBI has turned out to be a power sharing tool for the leaders.

The baby in the cartoon is the BBI and one side of the party wants it to themselves while the Raila and Uhuru want it shared so that all those who miss the top seat get piece of the power. Ironically nobody seems to care about the social-economy impact of sharing the top seats and the wage burden to the common mwananchi who will bear the cost.

It shows Raila Odinga and other BBI leaders negotiating on how to split power through the BBI. The BBI Report is represented by a young baby, and King Solomon about to divide the baby, as was in the Biblical story.

4.6 BBI AND POLITICAL PRIORITIES

Figure 5: Editorial Cartoon of the Standard

This political cartoon by Gado appeared in The Standard newspaper on August 20, 2021 is very ironical.

At a time when Kenyans were suffering from the Covid-19 pandemic and Kenyans needed immediate medical attention the political class was busy pushing for BBI.

The hospitals lacked Personal protective Equipment (PPEs),vaccines,ICU beds and enough medical staff and other essential services,the BBI bandwagon did not stop but was busy collecting signatures.

This satirical and critical as we can see the people they are collecting signatures are in dire need of something that is essential such as medical attention than the change of constitution.

For the gender its seen that women suffer more in time of crisis where by a mother and a child are suffering in the ward and sharing beds while the male counterpart are seen to be sleeping alone.

The Covid ward lacks oxygen while despite the health guidelines of one meter away rule seem to not been followed.

Symbolism of the cartoon of a pig collecting signatures shows that how they eat anything even what is meant for the poor.

4.7 THE WRESTLING MATCH

Figure 6: Editorial Cartoon of Daily Nation

This political cartoon shows the president Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto engaging in a "BBI bout" for the umpteenth round is a metaphor for the upcoming referendum.

The Standard on 12 July 2020 is also critical. The artist takes his stand on the fact that there is indeed a deep divisions between the President and his deputy which clearly started after the president and former prime minister Raila Odinga teamed up and started the BBI initiative.

In this wrestling Match it shows how the game is unfair for the deputy president William Ruto who does not have backing from the state or state machinery fighting against Raila Odinga who have full backing by the President.

Ruto puts on a fearless face and is ready to battle the two against BBI and he will not be backing down anytime soon.

The use of Raila as a glove has made the cartoon complex to interpret as one cannot differentiate if its Ruto fighting Uhuru through or the President using the former prime minister to fight his deputy.

The use of boxing game to measure the muscle between the head of state and his deputy has significant as it shows the battle line has been drawn and the once upon friends are now enemies.

4.8 RESURRECTION ATTEMPTS

Figure 7: Editorial Cartoon of the Standard

Text within cartoon:
R·I·P
BBI

IT'S HARD
TELL WHETHE
IS PULLING THE
DOWN WITH HIM O
THEY ARE PULLING
OUT....

This political cartoon by Gado appeared in The Standard newspaper on August 20, 2021 is satirical.

The occasion surrounding the cartoon is the ruling by the Supreme court that the document was unconstitutional. Despite the ruling, BBI principals are still making efforts to rescue the document.

The tone of the sketch is both satirical and critical, showing the report as dead and the president Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga frantically trying to pull it from the grave.

The complexity of this cartoon is its not clear if BBI is pulling down the President and Raila to the ground or the two are the ones salvaging it after it failed to sail through at the Supreme court.

The crown on the ground is also significant to show that Uhuru`s term is coming to an end and he might be using BBI to give him a lifeline despite him stating that he is ready to retire.

On the side Kenyans are left at a cross way asking whether BBI is pulling the two leaders down or they are trying to pull it out.

The cartoon also depicts BBI as good as dead but the two are desperately holding on it to the last minute despite its fate being sealed by the high court and the consequent appeal thrown out by the Supreme Court.

4.9 BBI BEFORE THE STORM

Figure 8: Editorial Cartoon of the Daily Nation

This political cartoon shows BBI has used metaphor such that the sheep are Kenyans and chief leaders Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga as herdsmen leading the BBI campaign as the deputy president who is against the campaign heading the opposite direction and visibly angry.

The sketch by Victor Ndula appeared on the Daily Nation newspaper on February 3, 2021. In this art, the artist is also satirical as he implies in the caption text that instead of leading the sheep, the two herdsmen Kenyatta and Odinga are instead "reading" for the sheep.

It also show that only a few Kenyans are with the deputy as he is only holding one sheep while the rest seem to follow Raila and Uhuru Kenyatta.

The two leaders who are visibly walking with confidence marching towards are common goal are assuming the deputy president who is looking the other direction opposing the BBI and its bandwagon.

The cartoon also shows that while the president has the people on his side,Raila has to use BBI to have his followers believe he is leading them to Canaan.

5.0 TOO MANY COOKS SPOIL THE BROTH

Figure 9: Editorial cartoon of Daily Nation

This sketch appeared on the Daily Nation on 23 September 2020 and its symbolic at a time when BBI campaign took momentum.

What started as a Handshake and about the President and the former Prime minister was now blown into forcing the politicians to support the BBI by force by fire.

In the above cartoon we see those who refused to join being victimized and some were threaten by having criminal charges against them hence being thrown in the hot soup.

It is also complex to understand the cartoon as one can not be cooking at teyh same time set a rat trap inside the pot.

Musalia Mudavadi is also seen standing at a corner not decided whether to join the feast while they serve Ruto some broth which he wont give in and support BBI.

The tone of this cartoon is humorous. It shows Kalonzo Musyoka whose indicisiveness led to him being labelled a watermelon being set a trap to join the BBI. In this instance, he is shown supporting the BBI by throwing in his melon into the BBI dish.

The use of high heels is symbolic to add on the gender factor in the BBI to show inclusivity.

Kipchumba Murkomen who at the time was fence-sittting as far as the BBI was concerned is seen trying to feed persuade Ruto to have a taste of the BBI soup.

5.1 ONE MAN RACE

Figure 10: Editorial Cartoon of the Daily Nation
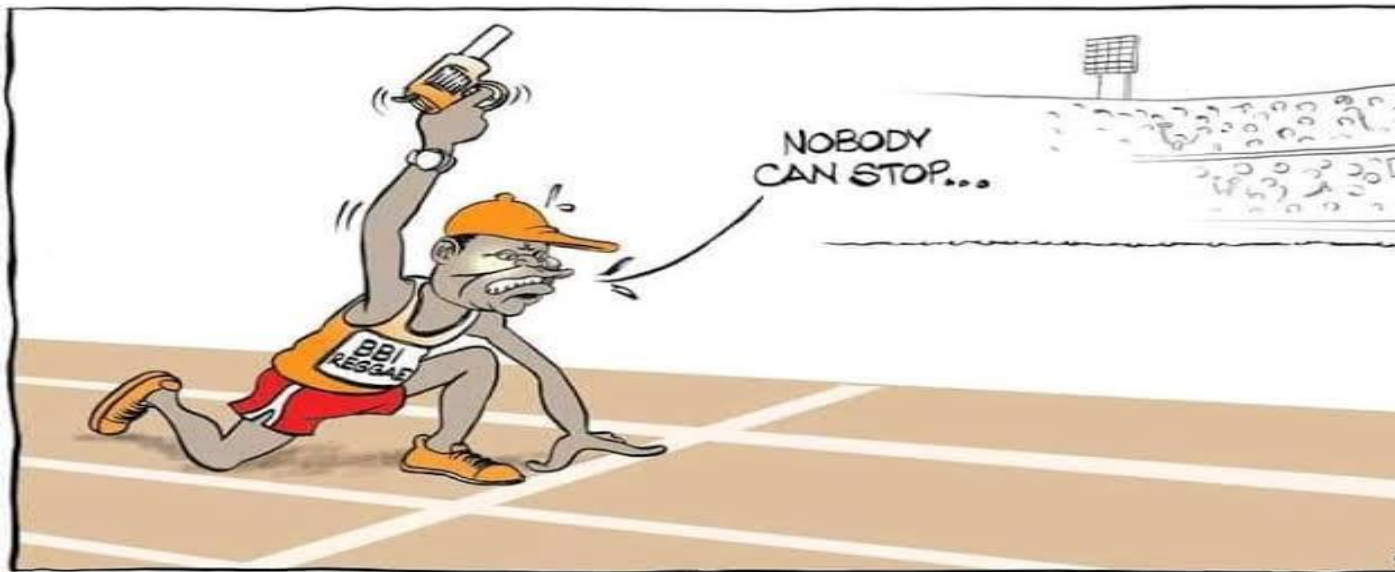
This political cartoon was drawn by Igah and first appeared in The Daily Nation on 27 May 2021is satirical.

It's context surrounds a race that was being ran by one person and was to win irregardless of who opposed.

The BBI Report was christened "Reggae" by Raila Odinga who claimed it was unstoppable.

Nobody can stop reggae is a popular song by the late South African artist Lucky Dube. Odinga therefore established the phrase "nobody can stop reggae" to imply that no amount of opposition would get in the way of the BBI Report.

Igah on this sketch is using a satirical tone. He portrays Odinga as a man that is running his own race alone , and also being the race starter.

In a campaign which did not have an opposition as noone came out to lead an opposition of the BBI referendum,the cartoonist was symbolic to show that it was a one person race against himself.

5.2 MORE BURDEN FOR THE DONKEY

Figure 11: Editorial Cartoon of Daily Nation

BBI APPEAL...

This political cartoon by Victor Ndula first appeared in the Daily Nation newspaper on 12 August 2021 symbolic.

The donkeys are Kenyans who despite the burden of taxes and the pandemic are still being forced to carry the BBI.

Kenyans in this case the donkeys are deliberating if they will be able to carry the burden of the BBI.

The cart is also full of BBI reports and it can also be interpreted that the donkeys are wondering if the appeal was worth as the mountain of papers they are pulling to the court of appeal.

It came hot in the heels of a botched appeal after the High Court declared the document null and void. The BBI proponents went ahead and lodged and appeal which was also rejected, effectively ending the campaign.

The artist's tone is satirical. The cartoon can also be interpreted as Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta as the two horses, stranded and detered after another appeal in the court failed.

The two seem to be consulting which direction to go next as they are stuck with a cart full of BBI report.

5.3 BBI AND SELFISHNESS

Figure 12:Editorial cartoon of the Standard
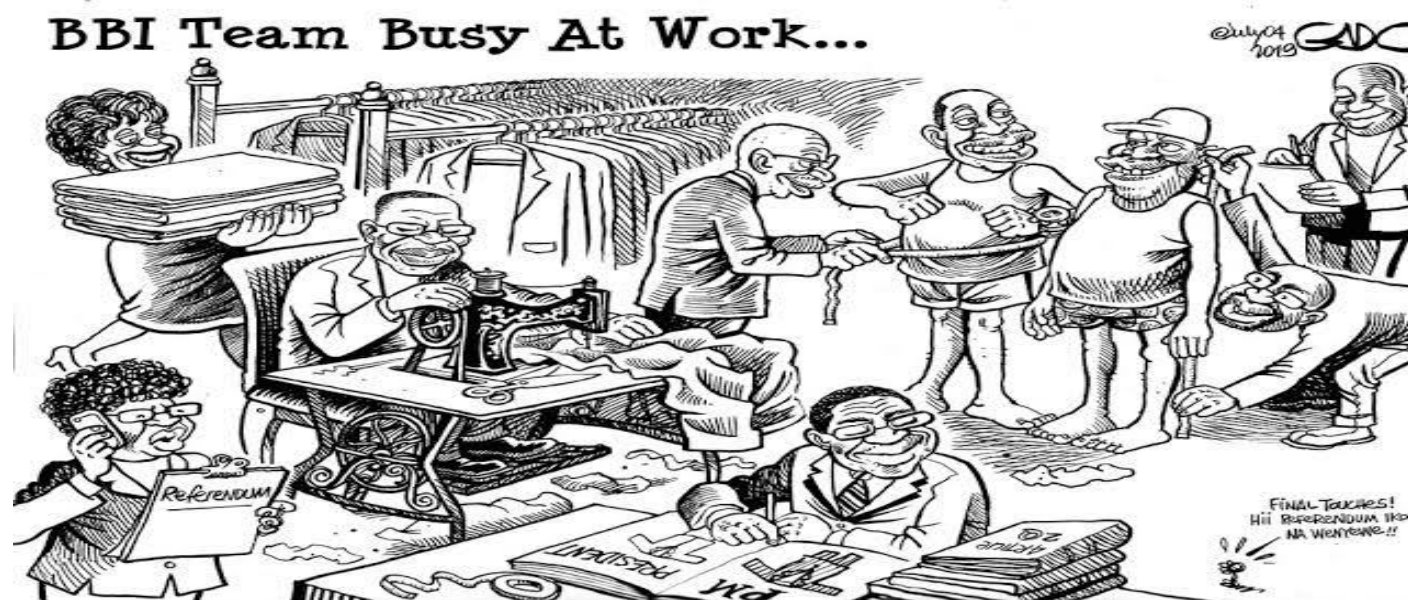
This sketch first appeared in The Standard on 23 May 2020 and its symbolic. It shows various politicians getting suited up ready to commence the new positions that they will be sharing once BBI succeeds.

The two principals Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga are getting their measurements taken once they get the new positions proposed in the BBI to give a new breath to their political careers.

The lawyer james Orengo is busy scheming how the two will be either the President or prime minister.

However women are given the lighter duties of making calls and moving files instead of being called on the table to take up powerful positions.

In this cartoon which was drawn by Gado, he has a humorous tone. He pokes fun on the process by comparing it to a busy tailoring shop. He is also critical by creating the implication that the BBI Report is actually a referendum which is what people did not know.

By captioning "hii referendum iko na wenyewe" the artist appeals to the reader's emotions by portraying the process as selfish and non-inclusive.

5.4 BBI AND THE JUDGEMENT DAY

Figure 13. Editorial Cartoon of Daily Nation

Victor Ndula drew this sketch which first appeared on the Daily Nation newspaper in August 2021.

The symbolism in this cartoon that is in an hospital setting in a maternity ward depicts how the judiciary is the midwife and BBI is the baby meant to be born.

Whether the baby is alive or dead its fate would be known today during the judgement day.

It potrays the two BBI principals Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta as jittery parents in a hospital waiting for the delivery of their child which would be the BBI judgement ruling by the court.

In the cartoon Uhuru is shown as nervous pacing around the reception while Raila Odinga is worried and nervous as they await the results. The occasion surrounding the theme of this sketch is the BBI judgement that was expected after an appeal was lodged when high court judges rules against the report.

In his art, the artist of this cartoon seems to be using a satirical torn, as he likens the discomfort and nervousness of Odinga and Kenyatta to that of a desperate couple waiting for a child to be delivered.

5.5 ISRALITES LEFT ALONE AT THE REDSEA

Figure 14: Editorial cartoon of the Standard
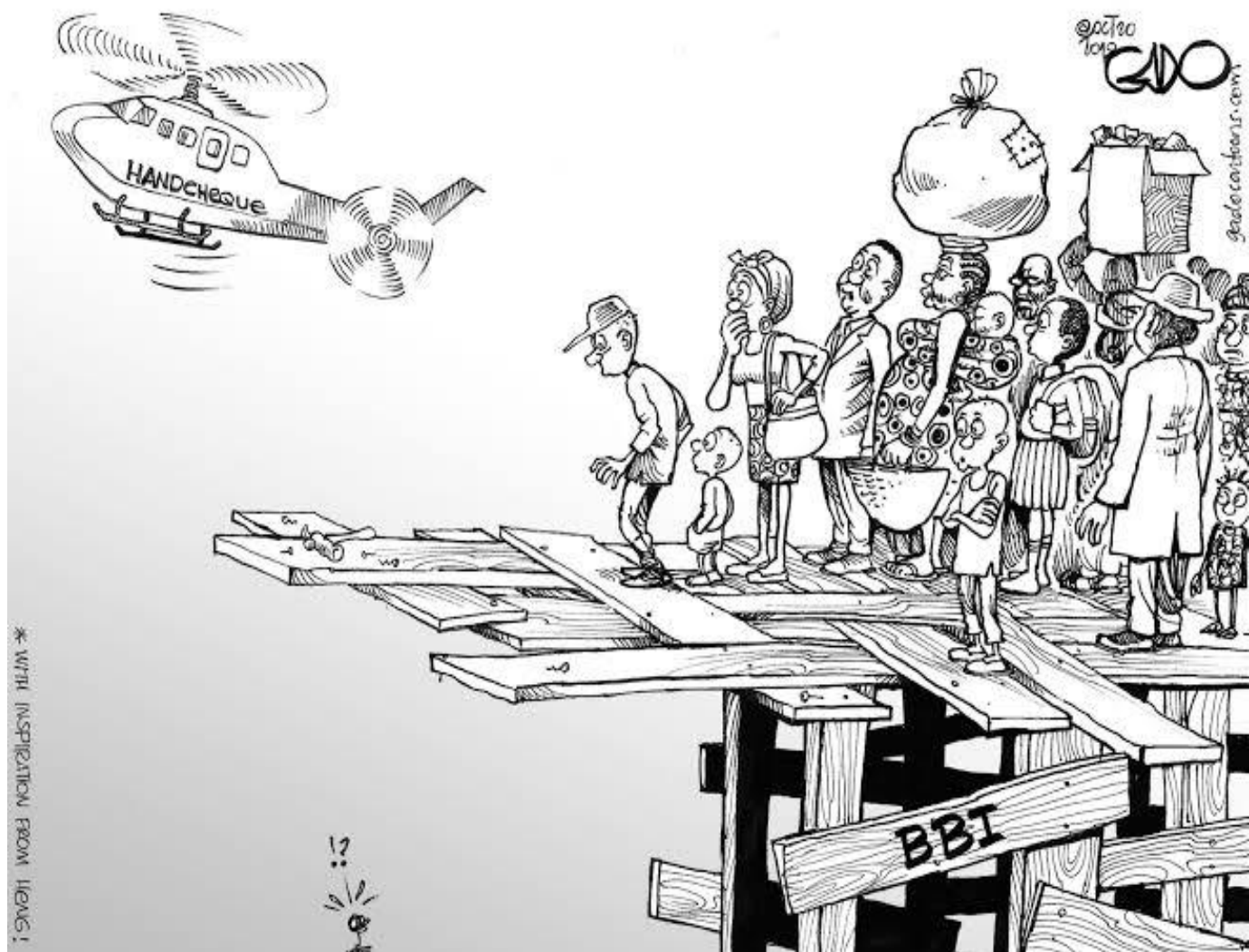
This political cartoon by Gado appeared in The Standard newspaper on August 20, 2021 is ironical.

Unlike the story of Moses and the Isralites at the Redsea where he parted waters and created a pathway for the people,Raila left his people stranded while he is seen to have moved on from the BBI once Reggae was stopped.

The people`s expression on their faces are in a limbo on what next after there leader left them at the broken bridge taht had been built to take them to "Cannan."

The bridge dupped BBI is hanging while its leader has left on a chopper in what the cartonist depict as a person who used BBI to make money and benefit himself.

The chopper written handcheque is symbolic such that it shows the one riding on it was in it for his selfish gain and the followers were left on there on.

5.6 BBI THE NEW MONEY MILKING COW

Figure:15 Editorial Cartoon of the Standard
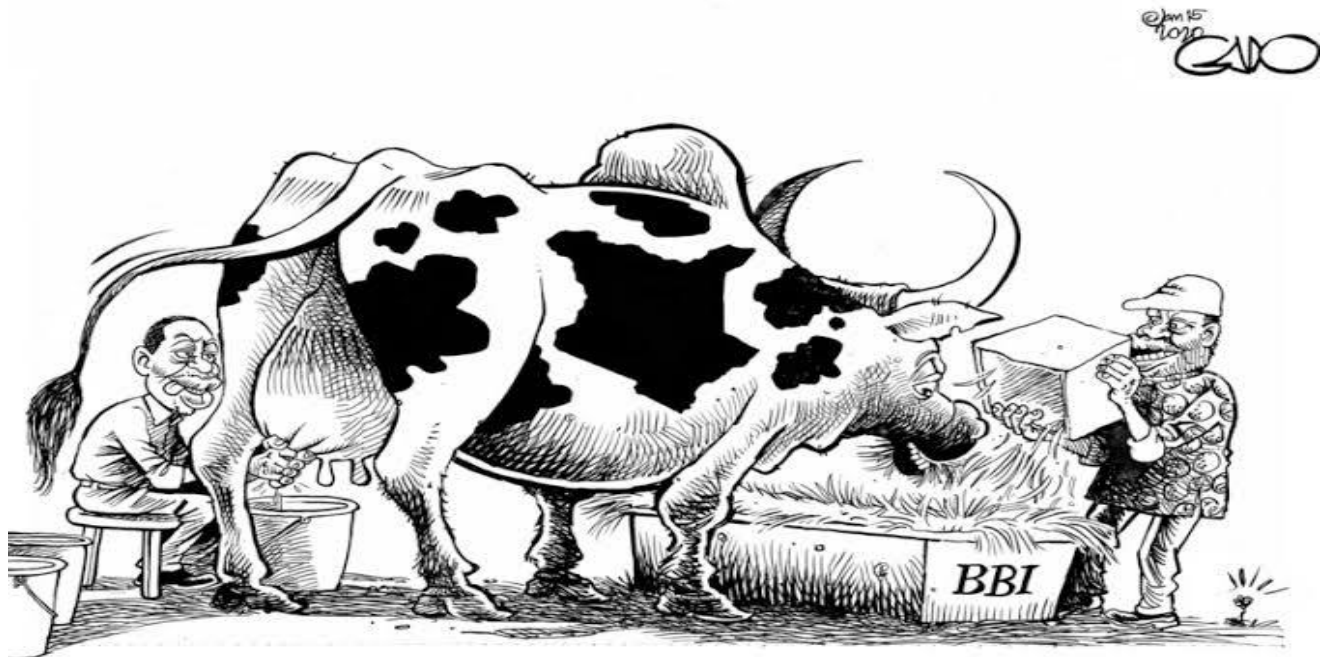
This political cartoon by Gado appeared in The Standard newspaper on August 20, 2021 is symbolic and satirical.

The satire is how fattened the cow is despite the dwindling resources and funds in the country which now is being milked dry by the two leaders.

The cartoon is also symbolic to show that the once strong opposer of the Jubilee government,Raila Odinga has been kept busy with BBI as the President goes on with his business milking Kenyans without worry.

The cartoon can also be interpreted as something that will benefit the two leaders following the three buckets of milk once they finish feeding and milking they could share the the products leaving Kenyans at their own mercies.

Here Raila is feeding the cow which in this case is the masses while he is keeping them busy Uhuru is enjoying his last tenure peacefully.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter comprised of a summary of the key findings from this research on the editorial cartoons derived from the Daily Nation and the Standard on chapter four, a conclusion of the research, recommendations which came up from the findings and suggestion for further studies. The study was guided by the main objective of this research which is:To examine the major political themes contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI in the Daily Nation and the Standard and their role in agenda setting in Kenya and Specific objectives which included:

1. To examine the major political themes contained in the editorial cartoons on the BBI published in the Nation and Standard newspapers.

2. To discuss the main imagery used by the cartoons
3. To examine the trend of political conversation as suggested by the cartoons.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Editorial cartoons deployed the four master tropes where by Political issues were the highlight of the BBI campaigns in the diverse dates of 2021.BBI editorial cartoons took a centre stage in the two dailies during the peak of the campaign but soon it was overtaken by events after it failed to sail through the courts.

The study observed that for both Nation newspaper and the Standard editorial cartoons are published throughout the month on their editorial pages although not necessarily the same topic.

Symbolism,satire and metaphor was the most dominant editorial cartoon feature used in both newspapers.

The use of persuasive techniques such as symbolism,irony,stereotyping and humor was revealed in the various images.

The gender agenda theme came out at some point of the cartoons though depicted women as weak and given lighter duties at the political forums.

Most of the cartoons featured politics as with the cartoons shying away from economic and societal issues despite BBI containing contents from such topic.

Editorial cartoons also set the agenda setting by documenting and reflecting on the socio-economic and political issues affecting the politics of the day.

The cartoons followed different media house styles hence they were unique on their own way giving audience choices in what to consume.

Cartoons are not always straight forward and one has to be keen while interpreting them.

5.3 Conclusion

The researcher concluded from the 15 analysed cartoons that editorial cartoons are determined by the news of the day as the BBI sketches appeared on the days when they were the headlines such as court rulings,who joined and left the campaigns. This study revealed that BBI editorial cartoons surrounded the political class and there own selfish agendas where little was portrayed that would be themed around social or the economic gain of the common mwananchi.

The study also revealed how editorial cartoons are used to accomplish communicative tasks in Kenyan print media and how these editorial cartoons are creatively used to incorporate the big story of the day for the readers to understand in a satirical manner.

Therefore, the study showed that the cartoon genre constituted a formidable medium of communication through which the two dailies set social agenda by attaching relevance to importance of BBI ahead of the 2022 general elections.

5.3 RECOMMENDATION

The study considers the following recommendations with regard to editorial cartoons media coverage on Building Bridges Initiative.

5.4.1 SIMPLICITY

Make editorial cartoons simple. Some editorial cartoons are complex to the readers as interpreting them was not as straight forward as they should.

Some of those in the drawings are not straight forward to be identified by the majority hence paving way for speculations.

Though the reader will properly establish the topic matter, they're unlikely to grasp the deeper message and piece along the advanced scenario summarized within the editorial cartoon.

5.4.2 Cartoons should cover various topics

Audience need variety cartoons on various topic other than cartoons.These comes after the audience was fed on politics throughout the BBI process while topics in the document varied from societal to economic benefits to the people.

Media houses focused editorial cartoons to only the political gains leaving out the public benefit from the document either through the social and the economic value that could have beneffitted them. The public was only fed on politics of who will gain and lose and the cartoons dared not to venture into the complex topics especially the economic aspect.

5.4.3

There is need to educate the public on house styles.Various cartoons followed the editorial topic of the day and was determined by the editors pick which the public may not be aware why a certain cartoonist choose a certain sketch to put across the message.

One needs a glance to a certain cartoon and you can tell the artist without even checking the byline as different media houses have different house styles.

5.4.4 Use of Social Media

The research recommends the use of online platform where the works should be accessible to a larger audience.

The researcher had a difficult time tracing the hardcopy and at one time had to call the artist to share his works.

The editorial cartoons should be updated daily on both Daily Nation and the Standard web pages just like they promptly update news articles.

Except for Gaddo the other artist hardly share their works on their social media handles hence little scrutiny is done to the work.

5.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

Research need to be conducted on African editorial cartooning. This is so as to broaden the research objectives on editorial cartooning which seem to centre around politics. A research should be done on why editorial cartoons tend to run away from social and economic topics.

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5.7 CODING SHEET FOR NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS ON EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Analysis of the print media commentary of the building bridges initiative in Kenya through editorial cartoons: a study on daily nation and the standard newspapers

Articles picked from Kenyan newspapers: the Nation and the Standard on adverse dates of 2021 samples of editorial cartoons published only most relevant responses to the study were adopted for data analysis as seen

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

The study was carried out in the following newspapers: The Daily Nation, The Saturday Nation ,The Sunday Nation The Standard ,The Saturday Standard and The Sunday Standard

Objective of the study theme	coding	
Main issues and relative to current debates	The Building Bridges Initiative editorial cartoons	
Type of the editorial Cartoon	Political Cartoons	
Main Theme of the editorial cartoon	Satirical	
Techniques perspective:Appropriate,cultural sensitivity.	Symbolism	

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