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## A Retrospective Analysis of Age Contests in Kenya's Succession Politics through Editorial Cartoons of the 2002 Presidential Elections

Dr. Samuel Siringi

Lecturer, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi, Kenya

### Abstract:

*This study set out to analyse the political succession contest in Kenya between the old and younger leaders using lenses of editorial cartoons. The age question in politics continues to dominate Kenya's political succession discourse, with the younger politicians struggling to rise to leadership positions, which the elder politicians are keen on clinging onto. Cartoons constitute a popular, yet sometimes, overlooked genre of visual political communication. The aim of this study was to find out how editorial cartoons articulated the issue of succession through the political debates age in Kenya. Choosing to locate the study on editorial cartoons of 2002 was important because the issues of age and political succession were widely discussed during the 2002 General Election. This study involved a selection of cartoons from two leading newspapers in Kenya, namely Nation and Standard. The cartoons used were published on the opinion and editorial pages between January 2002 and December 2002. Change messages were centred on the replacement of the older generation (Old Guards) by the youth (Young Turks). Eight cartoons were purposively selected and analysed by employing the Four Master Tropes – metaphor, irony, metonymy and synecdoche. The study found out that cartoons raise important theoretical questions in the context of an emerging democracy, like Kenya, and that they adequately articulate the political leadership struggles between the younger and older politicians. The study shows that the youth are portrayed as strong in physic but temporal and inexperienced for political leadership. These aspects were well communicated through all the four tropes, with most of them depicting the younger leaders as lacking in wisdom and unable to play different positions in leadership, as attested to by the various troupes represented through football matches, boxing matches and races. Although the older politicians are still widely viewed to have an upper hand in leadership, this study found out that they were under pressure to get out. But the older politicians are portrayed as struggling to maintain their stranglehold on power. The study calls for an expansion of editorial political cartoon space in newspapers and a greater attention to the meanings they create in politics. There is need to consider cartoons as a genuine news commentary that can help provide a good visual representation of politics.*

**Keywords:** Media, politics, newspapers, cartoons, age

### 1. Introduction and Background of the Study

Newspaper cartoons, a form of graphics, are powerful instruments of communication (Kaviti, 2006). They are powerful because, more than just plain humour or satire, cartoons do influence values and attitudes in the minds of readers after interpreting the contents of the cartoons (ibid). This power of cartoons is also articulated by Speedling (2004) who contends that political cartoons help to comment on political events and policy, and serve both to define the significant topics of political discourse and to record them, thus helping to show the picture of the political climate in a given time period.

The media in Kenya have played a big role in communicating political change, particularly from the one party, largely undemocratic regime, to a multiparty democracy in the 1990s. Obonyo (2006) observes that the transition from a more rigid political system, which controlled all institutions in society, to a more liberal one, would not have been possible without a sustained campaign in the media. This situation is not only true of Kenya but also in other African countries. For example, Nyamnjoh (2005) observes that one of the instruments of the current democratic process in Africa has been political cartooning. He adds that cartoons have mushroomed everywhere in the continent since 1990, most of them focusing daringly on politics. This statement serves to show the importance of the media in general, and cartoons in particular in the democratic process in Kenya. Despite Nyamnjoh and Obonyo's assertion on the importance of cartooning in democracy, Obonyo (2006) observes that research on the role of the media has not clearly pointed searchlights at one of its subtle departments, that of cartooning.

The foregoing observation underscores the importance of cartoons as communicative devices while emphasising the extent to which they have not attracted the attention they deserve in research. Commenting on this situation where cartoons have been ignored, Obonyo (ibid) argues that scholarship in Africa needs to pay considerable attention to this field, which he terms virgin, to help dig out the history of cartooning in respective countries, discover the pioneers of the genre and help to explore the area that has the capacity to communicate to one of the largest segments of the newspaper audience.

## 2. Statement of the Problem

The age question in politics continues to dominate Kenya's political succession discourse, with the pre-independence and post-independence politicians jostling to steer the east African country's leadership. Although, the political leadership in Kenya has made efforts to involve the youth in the democratization process through sustained political succession engagements, the efforts have largely failed to put many young people at the same pedestal as the older leaders who have dominated politics for generations. For example, in an attempt to prepare the youth for political succession, the government enacted the National Youth Council Act 2009 that established leadership councils aimed at putting the younger people in a position where they can participate in leadership. On their own, the youth have made spirited attempts to raise themselves to political leadership positions but largely failed. This has resulted to a contest with the older politicians who would rather use those (youth) to sustain themselves in power. The effectiveness of communicating the youth and age contests in political leadership through the mass media has not been effectively studied. Although newspapers publish political commentaries through both opinions and cartoons on age contests in Kenya, this general area has not attracted much attention from scholars. One specific genre that has received the least attention is political editorial cartoons, despite the fact that the area is powerful instrument of communication (Kaviti, 2006).

The foregoing is evidence of the gap that exists in the area of political cartooning. Cartoons have been overlooked as a form of visual political communication. The aim of this study is to find out how editorial cartoons articulated the issue of succession through the political debates age in Kenya.

## 3. Research Questions

- How did editorial cartoons present the concerns of political contests of age during Kenya's political debates of 2002?
- What were the key frames that were used to guide succession politics through rhetorical devices in 2002?

## 4. Significance of the Study

Choosing to locate the study on editorial cartoons of 2002 in two major dailies is important because the issues of youth, age and political succession were widely discussed during the 2002 General Election. Additionally, a similar debate shaped up ahead of the 2012 General Election when younger politicians were propagated the message that the next president of Kenya (after the 2012 General Election) should be aged below 50 years. Additionally, research into cartoons is a relatively young area of study, particularly in Africa where any existing research has barely scratched the surface, leaving many yawning gaps (Obonyo, 2006). This makes this study important as it helped bring to the fore the pertinent issue of political succession through exploring the theme of "youth and age". This theme has elicited a lot of debate about the future of politics in Africa, meaning this thesis is a good addition to the debate.

## 5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study involved a selection of cartoons from two leading newspapers in Kenya, namely *Nation* and *Standard*. It utilised cartoons that were published on the Opinion and Editorial (Op-Ed) pages between January 2002 and December 2002. This period, occurring during an election year of elections of December 27, 2002, was significant because the elections were largely viewed as key to bringing about a general change in leadership and also usher in new reforms that would have changed the political and economic wellbeing of Kenya. Change messages were centred on the replacement of the older generation (Old Guards) by the youth (Young Turks).

## 6. Literature Review

### 6.1. Age and Political Contests in Kenya

Lukalo (2006) points out that the term youth in contemporary Kenya, especially during the independence part, Kenya National Union of Teachers (KANU) era, had been politically inflected to mean anyone between the ages of 18 and 65. This wide age spectrum was meant to enable the continued empowerment of the more experienced and older people in politics. Lukalo (ibid) notes that this social construction deliberately ignores intergenerational and gender tensions. Lukalo argues that the casual definition of youth as including people as old as 65 years runs contrary to the Kenya National Youth Policy (2006) that defined the youth as those aged between 15 and 30. In Kenya, however, there appears to be a new casual definition of youth. The younger generation of politicians, clamouring for a regime change on the basis of youth and age in the 2002 elections suggest that presidents of Kenya should be below the age of 50 years, calling the age bracket as youthful.

These contestations and lack of clarity on who comprises the youth group show the lack of harmony in Kenya's social and political dispensation since 1963, when Kenya gained independence. Then, many of the local leaders were relatively

youthful. Since then, these leaders have dominated the political scene for more than 40 years underlining the fact that today's youth have lacked the space to rise to political leadership despite the growing democratic space (Imoite, 2003). Imoite gives an example of current President Kibaki, 81, who has been a powerful political figure since he became the Executive Officer of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) at the age of 31, in 1962. Since then, the political environment in Kenya has been polarized making it uncondusive to youth participation.

Imoite (ibid) notes that the slow evolution of the democratic culture in Kenya has been the first major challenge to youth participation in the political process. Although Kenya embraced multiparty democracy in 1991, it was not until 2002 that the greater meaning of this concept began to be realised. Imoite (ibid) notes that in the years between, Kenya was a *de jure* multiparty state by law but a single-party state in practice. The political environment was stifling for anyone outside the government, especially the youth. The youth only participated in political activities when KANU recruited them into the KANU Youth Wingers. It was nearly impossible for the youth to be positively engaged in contributing their ideas or different points of view on any matter.

A second major challenge is that Kenyans have a tendency to assume that the younger the person, the less prepared they are to deal with the mechanics of policy formulation and governance issues (Imoite, 2007). This is evidence that in Kenya, much as is the case in Africa, the youth stage is synonymous to political incompetence. That is why the definition of youth has changed over the years, often to accommodate political interests. However, the most recent definition accepted by the government classifies youth as all individuals who have attained the age of 18 years but are below the age of 35 years (National Youth Council Act, 2009).

Another obstacle to the effective participation of youth in political leadership is the unequal distribution of resources. Most of the young people do not have the basic resources to mount a campaign for elected office. Where they attempt to run for elective office, the youth are likely to be rejected by parties in favour of older candidates who have the money to mount serious campaigners. Imoite (ibid) also identifies ignorance as a factor that impedes the involvement of youth in political leadership. Young voters' lack of understanding of the issues can cause them to become either angry and violent or apathetic and disinterested in the candidates.

The youth have often contested the reverence of age as a key measure of who should be allowed to hold political office. Indeed, although age alone cannot be the measure of good leadership, Kenya lacks the institutional structure evident in the United States that would ensure order within the political process to allow young people to function independently within the political system while holding them accountable (ibid).

Compounding the problem of the little youth participation in politics is the utter lack of internal systems within political parties that provide for procedures of nominating representatives from all ages and gender. It is, however, expected that the new Constitution that came into effect in 2010 could address some of these inherent political weaknesses as it emphasises representation of gender and other special interest groups.

Realising that there is a special relationship between political power and distribution of the country's resources, Kenyan youth have always viewed the political process as an effective way of addressing their needs. Imoite (ibid) argues that this explains why the youth have kept the struggle to secure political participation with many more youth seeking to contest political positions. Sometimes, the youth's struggle to secure political participation has turned into frustration that has ended up pushing them into rebellion. For instance, a study conducted by the Nairobi Peace Initiative Africa (2008) after the 2007 post-election violence, found out that Kenyan unemployed youth are forming an army of idle people who could easily be manipulated to swing into directed actions and cause political instability in the country. The study argued that the persistent problem of youth unemployment heightened anger, frustration and despair, which are a recipe for political instability.

In terms of numbers, the youth population (15-34) has been increasing between 1969 and 2009, according to Kenya's censuses (Institute for Economics and Democracy (IEA), 2010). Currently, the youth population constitutes 35.39% of the total population, according to the 2009 National Population and Housing Census. Those aged between 0-14 years constitute 42.92% of the total population meaning the youth aged below 34 years constitute 78.31% of Kenya's population.

The number of youth has been rising rapidly compared to the general population that is shown in form of percentages. In 1969, the youth aged between 15 and 34 years was only 11.3% of the total population. However, that percentage has risen to 38.6%, according to the results of the 2009 Kenya National Population and Housing Census.

The rising population of African youth has attracted some scholarship. Diouf (2003) observes that young people are emerging as one of the central concerns of African studies given their rising population across the continent. Diouf observes that youth, located at the heart of both analytical apparatuses and political action, have become a preoccupation of politicians, social workers, and communities in Africa. Their high numbers are a concern because many of them, some well-educated, are failing to get employment thereby getting into frustration that usually pushes them into crime and other forms of unruly behaviour patterns. This situation is true of Kenya where successive regimes, particularly the regimes of President Daniel arap Moi (1978 – 2002) and current Head of State Kibaki (2003-2013) have always promised that they were keen to include the youth in political and professional leadership positions. Moi was always, to many Kenyans, known by his regular political slogan of *Vijana ni viongozi wa Kesho* (Swahili for "youth are leaders of the future). It was argued that the time (future) for youth was never a genuine statement but one only meant to give the youth hope and get their political support in return. For example, Lukalo (2006) argues that the *Vijana ni viongozi wa kesho* slogan was derived from the assumed association between youth and greater tolerance and open-mindedness.

Diouf (ibid) discusses the three crucial factors that have led to the increased focus on youth in the political leadership in most African states. First, is the growing youthful population in Africa, which currently stands at 60% of the total one billion people. This situation is a stark contrast to the situation in developed countries where the population of youth is reducing. Young people now constitute the majority of the African population, and their integration into society, in terms of both civic responsibility and membership, has had enormous economic, cultural, political and social consequences (ibid). The challenge of integrating the youth in the affairs of states could manifest itself in the breakdown of the social fabric like the Arab revolution of 2011.

Secondly, African countries have had to focus on the youth because the condition of young people in Africa, as well as their future, is heavily influenced by the interaction between local and global pressures (ibid). Like the demographic changes, this conflict has political and economic consequences that force African societies to look to young people as instruments of change. In Kenya, for example, many politicians and government are known to turn to the youth during political campaigns because of their numbers and the fact that they are bolder than the older people in seeking political change and generally voting without considering their tribal affiliations. Diouf (ibid) confirms this ability for youth to rise above their ethnic affiliations when he notes that the sense that youth are positioned to speak a language of both universal rights and specific African cultures has led to continual redefinitions of their role in the social sphere.

Thirdly, Diouf (2003) argues that states focus on the youth because the dramatic eruption of young people in the public and domestic spheres seems to have resulted in the construction of African youth as a threat within society as a whole, a panic that is simultaneously moral and civic issue. An example of this is the rising illegal youth groupings in Kenya, including the Mungiki and Taliban, which have sometimes revolved against the public and ended up causing mayhem through killings and murder of innocent people. An even more recent case is the emergence of the Mombasa Republican Council separatist group that wants the Coastal region to secede from the rest of Kenya.

Youth's position in democracy and politics has been an issue of debate since the time when the KANU and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) – both former national parties – mobilised youth in the fierce struggle for state power as early as 1963 (Kagwanja, 2005). Kagwanja (ibid) notes that soon after independence, the young government, at the behest of former Mau Mau veterans like Josiah Mwangi Kariuki who was detained under the Mau Mau and General 'China' (Waruhiu Itote), created a National Youth Service to inculcate discipline and impart skills to demobilised KANU youths. Nevertheless, the manipulation of youth continued, especially during the mini-election in 1966, when KANU youth joined forces with the provincial administration to weaken its left-leaning rival party, the Kenya People's Union (herein referred to as KPU), led by former Vice President the late Oginga Odinga (Kagwanja, 2005). But at the height of the Nyayo era (1982-1990) President Daniel arap Moi revitalised the then ruling party, KANU's youth wing as a powerful instrument for monitoring and punishing dissent and asserting authority (ibid, 2005).

The Kenya National Youth Programme (KNYP) proposed that national planning needed to involve the youth in all sectors of the economy. This appears to have been a deliberate measure of uplifting their participation in national issues as noted by Diouf (2003) who observed that the absence of the national project for the young people's development is manifested in the economic crisis that has persisted since the beginning of the 1970s. So far, the youth's construction as the hope of the world has been replaced by representations of youth as dangerous, criminal and threatening for the whole society. He observes:

Not only are young people losing the prestigious status that nationalism gave them in its ascending phase, but they no longer represent the national priority. This loss of status is reflected in the physical and intellectual collapse of the institutions of supervision and education, the absence of health coverage, and the massive and aggressive presence of young people on the streets, at public garbage dumps and in urban and rural undergrounds. (Diouf, 2003, p.4)

This statement by Diouf is evidence of the challenges currently facing youth in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. It means that the youth are suffering under the weight of lack of good health facilities and are not getting the good quality education that they need.

The social, economic and political challenges highlighted above occur because the youth are largely isolated from the platforms of power, work, education and leisure. As indicated briefly earlier on in this chapter, some of the frustrated youth in Kenya (Lukalo, 2006) have resorted to forming militia groups that turn into dangerous extortionist groups like the killer Mungiki, Kamjeshi and Chinkororo. Lukalo notes that youth groups such as the Mungiki, Bagdad Boys, Talibans and Kamjeshi were manipulated to participate in narrow political projects as youth militia. The situation may be similar to what has happened in the most dangerous neighbourhoods of Senegalese capital, Dakar, where young people have seized control of local space by setting up militias for self defence and the protection of property of the citizens (Diouf, 2003).

Given the attention focused on political leadership in Africa, leaders often bear the brunt of cartoonists' messages (Mbembe, 2001). Mbembe argues that cartoons can act in association with other factors such as newspaper articles to effect political change, and in that way serve to weaken the forces of repression. Mbembe gives an example of Cameroon where cartoons may have succeeded in inciting Cameroonians to rebellion. In the next section, this study looks at how cartoons are used to help the communication process.



## 6.2. Cartoons and the Communication of Ideas

A pertinent question here is: Who reads cartoons in Kenya? Although not much research has been conducted as to the exact readers of editorial cartoons, it can be deduced that many of the people who read the OP-Ed page also focus on cartoons. Based on this assumption, it is worth stating that at least 27 per cent of all the people who read newspapers also read cartoons (Ipsos Synnovate 2012)

Newspaper editorial cartoons as a form of visual communication are often loaded with many messages. Some of the messages are easily understood by the readers while other may require a deeper analysis to dig out the meanings. Mainigi (2006) notes that cartoons in Kenya, and the world at large, are forms of art that give certain kinds of meanings to society. It is, therefore, important to gain some understanding on cartoon artistry in Kenya so as to have an experience and interpretation of it.

Akindele & Oha (2006), writing on the purpose of cartoons, state that a cartoonist's key aim is to graphically recapitulate topical issues in a satirical way, with the message satirically coded for researchers to decipher. The cartoonist, for instance, may want to suggest certain things about the different inner feelings of the characters in the cartoons through visualisations of different parts of the body and facial expressions. The mouth, the eyes, the cheeks or the nose may be exaggerated or drawn in peculiar ways to show the happy, angry or different moods of characters.

The absence of the verbal aspect is an important stylistic strategy that suggests that when we talk about the language of a cartoon, we should not just be thinking of words but also about the visual image (Ibid). The visual level of the language of cartoons works hand in hand with the verbal, that is, where the cartoons co-occur, and in such case the verbal level acts as an "anchorage" to the proliferating meanings of the visual signifiers, as Roland Barthes has pointed out in his essay on "The Rhetoric of the Image":

Anchorage is the most frequent function of the linguistic message and is commonly found in press photographs and advertisements. The function of relay is less common (at least as far as the fixed image is concerned); it can be seen particularly in cartoons and comic strips. Here text (most often a snatch of dialogue) and image stand in a complementary relationship; the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general system and the unity of the message is realised at higher level, that of the story, the anecdote, the digenesis... (Barthes, 1977:p.40-41).

Outside of Africa, some scholars, for example, Brooks Brian, Pinson James & Jack Sisors (2005) have emphasised the role of cartoons as a form of visual communication. They acknowledge that we live in a world in which visual stimulation is important in attracting and holding the attention of television viewers, newspaper and magazine readers. The authors suggest that it is unthinkable in today's world to ignore the power of design and the impact of illustrations including cartoons, photos, and other graphics such as Michelle Obama as the first African American first lady in 2008. Recommending that the media and communication industry embrace visual journalism, the scholars' emphasise the importance of visual communication by stating that about 90% of readers enter newspaper pages through large photos, cartoons, artwork or display type. They also argue that running a visual element with text makes it three times more likely it will be read while headlines are more likely to be read when a photo, cartoon or graphic is nearby. Stiftung & KATUNI (2004) agree with the importance of visual communication, particularly cartoons when they note that there is a universal popularity of cartoons as the lingua franca of satire. They add that messages that cannot be conveyed in words for sensitivity, political correctness or prejudice are effectively communicated through cartoons, making them the sugar coating for the bitter but necessary message (ibid).

Cartoons are also viewed as important because they provide "instant, effective new direction, readily conveyed immediate communication, food-for-thought artistic expression...[and] a visual aid to better understand or clarify issues" (Szabo & Lent 1994, p.31). The scholars further note that "one cartoon is worth a thousand photographs" (Ibid, p.30). This statement implies that cartoons are capable of communicating more powerfully and faster than words. As can be established later in Chapter Four, a cartoonist is capable of condensing many aspects of a story or multifaceted political issue into one image.

Kaviti (2006) explores the communication process of cartoons in everyday life by narrating the channels through which cartoon messages are transmitted from the source of information (cartoonist or artist) to the receiver (newspaper reader). This communication starts from the cartoonist who has an idea that he/she wishes to pass on to the reader. The artist then turns the idea into a well-coded message (a carefully designed combination of thought and creative graphic). The artist then presents the cartoon as an image and text in a medium or channel for the cartoon. This channel is the newspaper, in the case of this study. After the newspaper is printed, published and distributed, the reader (receiver) in turn is expected to study the cartoon. Whether the readers interpret it for its satirical humour and messages behind it can be subjective. Based on the subjective interpretation of the cartoon, a response is elicited. An immediate response, for instance, would be when the reader laughs or simply appreciates the satirical humour and message behind the comical depiction. The delayed response would, however, be more profound leading to different types of attitudes and perceptions that are fed and perpetuated into the reader's subconscious mind commonly in the form of stereotypes (Kaviti, 2006).

Throughout the clamour for democracy in Kenya in the 1990s and early 2000s, cartoons increasingly became an indirect avenue used to sustain the political discourse surrounding the theme of youth and age in Kenya, among other key themes. The Nation cartoonist Godfrey Mwampembwa (Gado) observed that political changes brought about more freedom of expression and the press (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Gado, well-known cartoonists in East and Central Africa, was instrumental in

publishing images in the Nation that helped to communicate the changing patterns of the politics of the time. Gado admits that before the "current wave of liberalisation" the fear of reprisals by cartoonists severely "limited creativity" (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p.220). Indeed, the KANU regime led by ex-President Moi was always keen to criticise the media whenever they portrayed the government in a negative way, sometimes threatening to ban media houses that were regarded critical of government.

Although Gado does not delve into specific examples, he notes that some cartoonists were deported from their countries while others were forced to quit the artistic jobs (ibid, 2005).

Such pressure on cartoonists who were critical to regimes, observes Nyamnjoh (2004), make it crucial to consider the way political discussions or public representations of the autocrats are conducted since they may either threaten their (cartoonists') myths and powers or reinforce them. Nyamnjoh adds that the very existence of censorship in some countries is an implicit recognition of the destructive potential of political cartooning to the 'good image' of the autocrats. Judging from the widespread administrative censorship, therefore, and from government's pre-occupation with controlling alternative voices, one could say that political cartooning provides a vehicle for dialogue between the governing and the governed (ibid).

Lukalo (2006), in a study on political discourse in Kenya, notes that cartoonists were young artists who used the power of cartoons to depict political debates in a form that had not been effectively utilised before. For example, the Nation published many cartoons that expressed doubt that President Moi would hand over power. Such cartoons were used creatively to strengthen political discourse and appropriated their voices to pursue a democratic agenda. All such youth-driven political expressions were artistic forms intended to connect with everyday politics and the dictatorial character of ex-President Moi (ibid 2006). Citing the example of Mwampembwa, Lukalo (Ibid) notes that since cartoons are a powerful medium of communication that can arouse anger and hatred, artistes should always be extra careful not to polarise emotions amongst audiences.

Nyamnjoh (2005) argues that political cartooning has been one of the instruments of the current democratic process in Africa. Cartoonists have mushroomed everywhere in the continent since 1990, most of them focusing daringly in and narrowly on politics (ibid). But this statement by Nyamnjoh (Ibid) fails to locate the contribution of cartoons in communicating the theme of youth and age in the so-called democratic process in Africa.

Kaviti (2006) warns that unless careful and deliberate consideration is given to differences in the readers' uniqueness, the satirical humour presented in newspaper cartoons can indeed backfire thereby become inappropriate, offensive or only remotely relevant to the particular topic or issue at hand. Therefore, it is only proper that the cartoonist must tread carefully whenever they portray humour at the expense of a group's culture, ethnicity, religious beliefs and gender distinctions (ibid).

The types of humour that have the potential to be offensive are elucidated in the following quotation:

Religious humour is usually dangerous, and racist or sexist humour is absolutely forbidden. The first (type) runs the risk of offending some members of the audience (newspaper readers) and can make the speaker (cartoonist) seem intolerant. The second (type) reveals a devastating truth about the speaker's (cartoonist) character and can create negative reactions from the audience (the newspaper reader) than the humour and satire in the message (cartoon). (Osborne M. & Osborn S, 1994, p.440)

The reaction to the offending religious cartoons was proof that political cartoons are the most extreme form of expression found in the print media. Largely, this is because they are not bound by norms of journalistic objectivity (Koetzle & Brunell, 1992; Lamb, 2004) or even the domain of objective reality that encompasses other newspaper editorials. As such, the cartoons have historically been a source of satirical critique of the political status quo.

According to Koetzle & Brunell (1992, p.96), "editorial cartoons are oriented towards extreme interpretations of campaign events, "they are free to "discuss, investigate and lampoon topics that are generally left untouched by the media at large". This broad space enables cartoons to put into the public discourse debates that would otherwise have been ignored by the mainstream newspaper sections.

Notably, political leaders bear the brunt of cartoonist attacks. The attention leaders pay to political cartoons may stem from their well-documented association with political turmoil and revolution (Danjoux, 2007). For this reason, most leaders irrespective of age consider the cartoon's ability to undermine political legitimacy as a genuine threat, making the history of cartoons as one riddled with attempts to silence artists. It is the hidden ability of cartoons to question the legitimacy of rulers, leaving an indelible stain on their public image that remains one of their most potent and feared attributes (Duus, 2001). Arising from the discussion above, the following section of this chapter outlines the statement of the problem.

### 6.3. Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the developing theory of the *Rhetoric of Tropes* by Frank D'angelo (1992). Working largely by analogy, D'angelo has labelled Burke's Four Master Tropes as a topic analogue for generating theoretical ideas about invention, arrangement, style, memory, delivery and authorial intention and the rhetorical situation. The study used the Rhetoric of Tropes to help come up with a conceptual framework for this study. This conceptual framework is then used as a guide to the analysis of data on how issues of youth and age were fronted in Kenya's political succession debate through cartoons.

The Burkean tropes, 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). In this study, I found the tropes

suitable since they were relevant to the African communication culture where, for instance proverbs, sayings and idiomatic expressions are common. For example, author Chinua Achebe, in his novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), notes that proverbs were like palm wine with which words were eaten. I should emphasise that this statement by Achebe is part of a figurative language that was used to show the importance of proverbs as respected frame of communicating important messages. Since proverbs are like metaphors, with a hidden meaning, the master tropes were also found relevant for a study in an African setting.

The master tropes serve to structure messages, as attending to arguments as tropes and tropes of arguments allow (individuals) to examine possibilities for audience response after they have read and interpreted cartoons (Birdsell, 1993). Applying Burke's tropes to political cartoons narrows the gap between representation and argument structure, since the genre only uses images. The four master tropes serve as organising principles that help readers grasp the concept of specific persuasive arguments within political cartoons (Bostdorff, 1987). Burke's framework asserts that the audience has a responsibility in terms of interpreting the text, meaning that individual readers respond to messages in different ways. This interpretation is purely a subjective issue, which helps to situate this study within the interpretive research paradigm discussed earlier in this chapter.

Political cartoonists, like all writers, aspire to influence their readers to behave in a certain way after receiving their messages (persuasive impact). In doing this, many cartoonists employ the art of rhetoric. For Burke, wherever there is 'meaning' there is 'persuasion' (Olson & Olson, 2004). In assigning and creating meaning, persuaders (those originating messages) often rely on binary choice, offering, for example, judgements rooted in notions of good and evil. Persuasion, therefore, becomes the ability to persuade an individual in a positive or negative direction. Logical and succinct argument presentation certainly increases the likelihood of reader comprehension and potential influence. As tropes serve to condense arguments, their involvement in the political cartooning process is necessary and apparent. Political cartoonists aim at a purposeful condensation of sometimes complex meanings into a single striking image (Bostdorff, 1987).

The ability for tropes to serve as bundle(s) of judgments helps to guide perception and action (ibid). Burke endorses this function of tropes to form arguments, viewing "form to be ultimately grounded in audience psychology rather than adherence of formalistic rules governing construction of arguments" (Fritch & Leeper 1993, p.188). Without the master tropes, the potential to persuade audiences greatly decreases. An examination below of Burke's four master tropes reinforces their relevance in terms of gaining insight into the world of political cartooning.

## 7. Research Methodology

In line with the need to use cartoons, this study focuses on age and youth concerns in Kenya's succession politics by the employing the theory surrounding the Four Master Tropes – metaphor, irony, metonymy and synecdoche – first developed by Italian Giambattista Vico (Chandler, 2007). Vico provides a framework for the study of the tropes within a semiotic enterprise because semiotic textual analysis sometimes involves the identification of an 'overarching (or root) metaphor or dominant trope' (Chandler, 2007, p.126)

Using the four master tropes, the study employs a rhetorical analysis of cartoons selected from the *Nation* and *Standard* in 2002 and over a period of 12 months. This was the year the third multiparty elections were held in Kenya. The elections were crucial because they marked the year when then President Moi was exiting the political arena after staying in power for 24 years since 1978. He decided to pick on a young leader, Kenyatta, as the ruling party, KANU's flag bearer for the presidency. Moi argued that it was time a youthful leader was to take over power. Kenyatta was then aged 41. The complexities surrounding this choice had to do on one hand with the selection as protectionist of an elitist agenda. On the other hand, the introduction of a monarch, albeit young politician, brought to light the succession as a privilege for the political class.

This study examined a select number of cartoons of two of Kenya's daily English newspapers, *Nation* and *Standard*. The two newspapers were picked for this study because they are the most widely circulated publications in Kenya. The 2002 General Election were considered for this study because they marked the period when the succession debate was seen in terms of youth and age, following the impending exit of President Moi from power after 24 years.

This study is a qualitative research. According to Franfort-Nachmias & David Nachmias (1996), qualitative research is both a method of data collection and analysis. Indeed, in this study, the method was be utilised in a similar way, with a qualitative rhetorical analysis as the main method of collecting and analysing data. Qualitative research approach was selected for this study mainly for three reasons.

The study used selected cartoons from two of Kenya's largest English circulating newspapers, *Nation* and *Standard*, to assess how they used cartoons to cover the debate of youth and age in the political succession.

### 7.1. Identification and Selection of Cartoon

The population for this study, the entire set of relevant units of analysis or data (Franfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996) constitutes all the cartoons published in the two Kenyan newspapers' opinion and editorial pages (Op-Ed) in 2002. The study utilised purposive sampling design meaning it allowed for use of personal judgment to select the sampling units (cartoons) subjectively in an attempt to obtain a sample that was as representative of the population as possible (ibid, 2005).

The study drew from Dominick & Wimmer (ibid) who opine that a purposive sample includes subjects or elements selected for specific characteristics or qualities and eliminates those that fail to meet these criteria. This, therefore, allowed the researcher to dismiss from my sample cartoons that did not seem suitable to answer my research questions.

Borrowing from Speedling (2004) the rhetorical analysis was used to offer depictions or descriptions of the political cartoons. Each of the cartoons selected was critically analyzed to find out how each artist presented characters and portrayed the messages pertaining to youth and age during the countdown to the 2002 General Election. Specifically, the study devised a system of analyzing the cartoons using the four master tropes of irony, metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche cartoons arising from the following rhetorical analysis of the rhetoricians (cartoonists) as shown in Table 1:

Cartoon content	Caption/textual and verbal cues
Subject	Exaggeration/hyperbole
Analogy	Image presentation
Purpose and intention	Diction/slanted language
Arrangement of ideas	Paradox

Table 1: Main Areas of Focus in Analyzing Selected Cartoons

The study selected 8 relevant cartoons purposively based on how relevant they were (or at least alluded to) any specific political or social issues. Additionally, they were analyzed for any evaluations (positive or negative) of the presidential and political candidates' personal character traits. What was important during the analysis was how to use the elements of analysis of the cartoons to show the link between the theme of youth and age during the period under study. The cartoons were, therefore, analysed to find out how the artists portrayed and sustained the age debates and how the theme was communicated to the audiences throughout the related themes.

## 8. Findings, Analysis and Interpretation

Based on the landscape of the 2002 General Election, the key focus of this study was to explore how cartoons were used to portray the political debates pitting the older and newer or younger politicians.

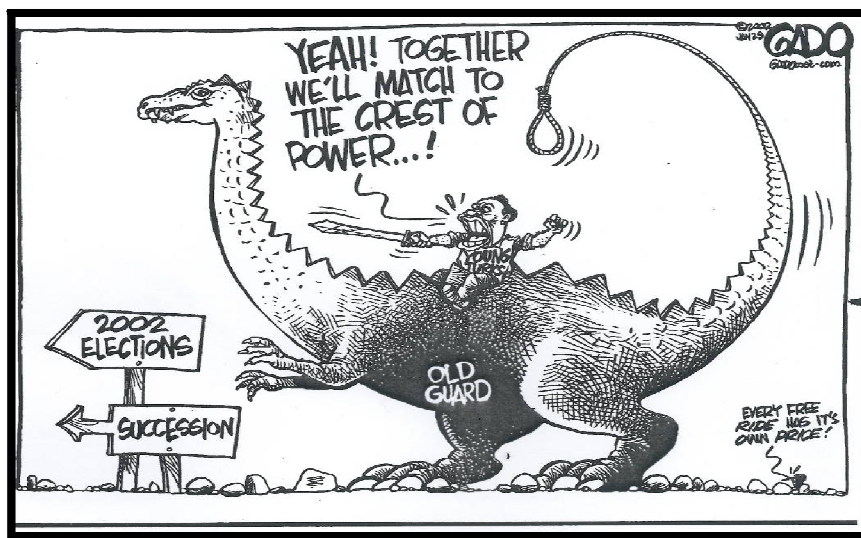


Figure 1: Nation, January 29, 2002: Reprinted With Permission

In Figure 1 of the Nation the artist presents a large dinosaur to represent the political experience and age of the older politicians who have dominated the political space for more than 40 years. The giant reptile is metonymically used and labeled Old Guard, representing the older politicians who were largely expected to pave the way for the younger (Young Turks) politicians. Through this, the artist metaphorically calls the older politicians in 2002 dinosaurs helping to communicate the Burkean rhetorical trope is a more powerful way than he could have done had he used a human representation. The reptile is being driven by a machete-wielding Young Turk off the dinosaur tail is a hanging noose, helping to show that despite the old guard's age, he/she would still determine the political life of the Young Turk, which could include hanging the younger politician's ambitions if he does not cooperate upon taking over power or during the campaigns. The dinosaur seems to be racing towards the 2002 elections. It means the political race has started another metaphorical representation that the artist uses to compare the political campaigns to a racing competition. Implied, the Young Turk on the back of the dinosaur is pointing the machete towards the horizon – elections and succession.

At the foot of the cartoon is a textual warning that appears directed to the young turk, every free ride has its own price. This is a verbal ironic warning that serves to inform the young turk that the ride he is receiving from the old guard will be rewarded through risks. This cartoon, therefore, broadly shows the political competition that was evident in 2002 between the youth and the older politicians, which served to highlight the youth and age succession politics. Gado's cartoon also contains a textual message that reads Yeah! Together we'll match to the crest of power. This message represents the irony of the relationship between the old guard (extinct) and young turks (who are misguided). This cartoon serves to show that the youth are viewed as not independent and cannot navigate the political campaigns on its own. As a result, much as the youth think they can replace the old guards, they still need the agency of the old guards.

The focus on the old guards represented as dinosaurs portrays a political system in extinction yet one that the youth are attempting to use in their futile attempts at politics.

It is important to note that this cartoon can be classified as metaphorical, too, since the youth is not given a specific name identity. Hence loosely, this image refers to a homogenous grasp of the young, who happen to be predominantly male. The artist, therefore, utilises irony in that the young turks that seek to replace the old guards still have to depend on their support, represented in this cartoon through riding in their back. Apart from this, the story of youth dependency on the old guards is also largely portrayed through images of father child relationship. Cartoon also shows the hyperbolic relationship of power between the old guards and the young turks, with the former shown as having the power of life and death over the latter, as seen in the noose at the end of the tail.

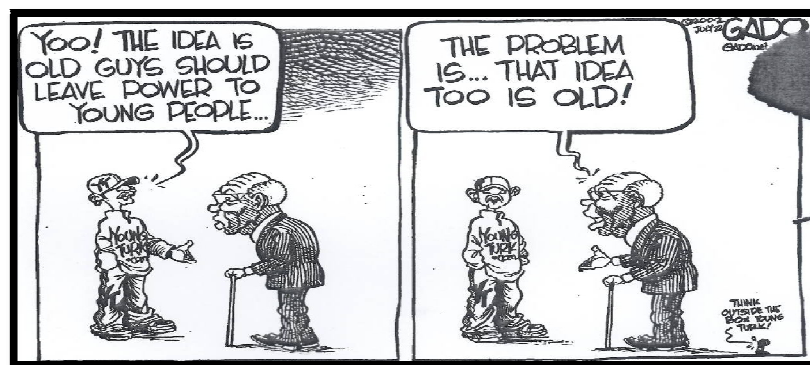


Figure 2: Nation, July 22, 2002, Reproduced with Permission

Cartoons sometimes operate as internal speech perceived as creating a them and us audience. Fig. 2 features two side-by-side images. In the first is the sender of the message, known as the Young Turk.com announcing to the older person to relinquish power. In response, the old man notes that the idea of relinquishing power is not new. This response reduces the urgency of the youth comment and demeans his mental capacity to rethink. The image reproduces the age old intergenerational conflict that often depicts youth as short sighted (Diouf 2003). The suggestion think outside the box seems to reinforce the old man's position. In this, the suggestion becomes an ironic stance that qualifies to summarise the end of the youth's position. The rhetorician here also attempts to present the old guard as the brighter one in the argument for using the rebuttal (refutation) that helps show the Young Turk's argument that he should quit as false or baseless.

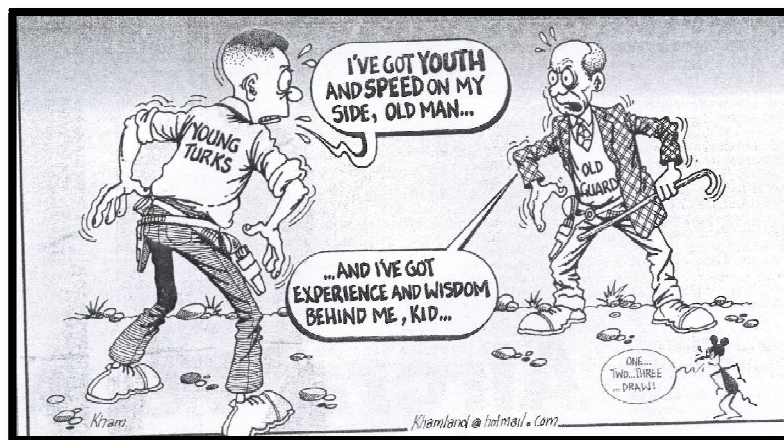


Figure 3: Standard, May 27, 2002: Reproduced with Permission

In Figure3, the rhetorician attempts to bring out the contentious debate on youth and age in the context of the General Election. On the one hand, the image of the man representing the Young Turks is shown to be more energetic, a symbol that he



can do better in leadership because of his strength. This is confirmed when Kham adds a verbal cue to the image of the youth: "I've got youth and speed on my side". To the cartoonist, the youthfulness of the Young Turk will provide him with the speed to become the leader.

However, the image of the cartoon that represents the older leaders chooses to contest the reasoning of the young turk who thinks that youth and speed are all one needs to become a leader. The Old Guard, presented as a bald and frail man who must walk with the help of a walking stick, tells the youthful leaders that he (Old Guard) is better placed to become the leader because he has the political experience and is wiser than the younger one. It is to be noted that bald headedness is commonly equated to wisdom in the African setting, and that it is more important than age and strength. The age and strength of the young turk is therefore juxtaposed with the old guard's statement contained in the rhetorician's verbal cue: "...and I've got experience and wisdom behind me". These two exchanges offered one of the best examples of the debate that exists in Kenya's political scene today as people contest the generational differences and their suitability to lead. Whereas the youth think that being young is enough to make them agents of change, the older leaders always dismiss them as unsuitable to lead. Indeed this is the reason why the older generation of leaders has always advised the young leaders to wait until their turn comes up "tomorrow". In this cartoon, Kham summarises the exchanges between the old and youthful leaders by comparing them to a shooting duel between two cowboys, shown from the pistol around their waist. This metaphorical expression implies that in the arguments of the youth and age, there really is no consensus between the old and the young on who should be the right one to rule. This rivalry of the generations is a frequent election debate in Africa. Yet again, violence is portrayed as the solution to the political duel. This characterization of violence serves to "other" the youth reinforcing their continued outsider positions in politics. Ultimately, this undermines the viability of youth as candidates for elections.



Figure4: Nation, February 6, 2002. Reproduced with Permission

The cartoon portrays Kenyatta, the emerging political force in KANU, as one who is not capable of leading. By depicting him as a baby still used to his milk bottle, who can hardly walk and is confined to the ground where he is playing with all sorts of toys (ball, toy car and chess), the rhetorician brings out the irony of a likely presidential candidate who has yet to mature in politics. Ironically, too, these toys turn out to be serious issues affecting Kenyans. For example, many Kenyans had a lot to learn on how to practise mature and national politics (ABC of Politics), the country's soccer has always been in shambles (ball) while vehicles are always causing road accidents on the roads.

The image helps to show the inexperience of Kenyatta's politics as he leaves the folder containing the lessons of politics (ABC of Politics) to fall off. Also falling off is a folder called "Young Turk Connection" which sums up what the cartoonist calls Dot Con Politics. By referring to it that way, the cartoonist believes that the emerging craze of having youthful leaders take over leadership is misplaced because they do not know how to play it. It is what the politics are compared to a football match, which unfortunately Kenyatta has thrown to his back. All these issues seem to have overwhelmed Kenyatta who prefers to be left alone producing the cry Wuaaaa! Leave me alone wuaaaa...! This is a confirmation that young Kenyatta is bewildered because he does not know how to approach politics.

It is perhaps because of the confusion surrounding Kenyatta and his inability to juggle with many leadership issues that the cartoonist chooses to conclude that it is Not yet Uhuru. Although this is a phrase that was used to refer to neo-colonialism whenever foreign countries forced Kenya to adopt some policies after independence, its use here metaphorically means that it is not yet time for Kenyatta to rule Kenya. Focusing on Kenyatta are media practitioners who seem keen to take pictures of the confusion they have seen facing Kenyatta. By selecting well known signs and symbols to depict the serious debate on politics, the cartoonist managed to connect with the audience through the trope of synecdoche, which formulates an argument as a relationship between the part (issues in represented in the cartoon) and the whole (national political

campaigns) (Bostdorff 1987). The representation of Kenyatta as an immature politician is further represented in the next cartoon.

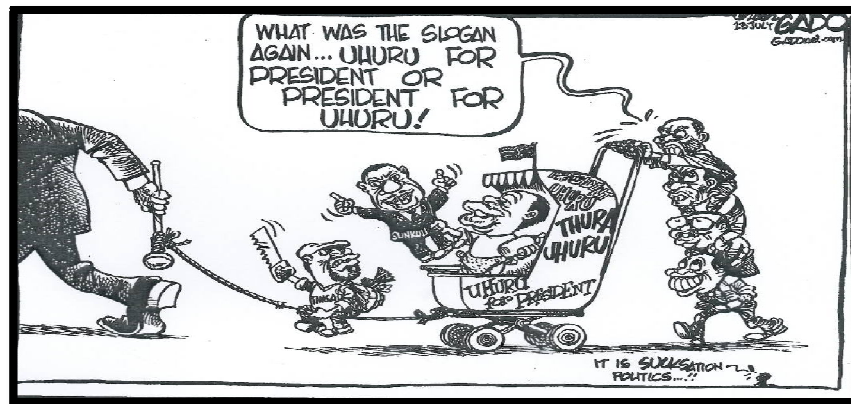


Figure5: Nation, July 13, 2002. Reproduced with Permissio

Figure 5 was published at a time political succession debate was heating up, five months to the elections date. But because Moi had just declared that he preferred Kenyatta as KANU's flag bearer in the presidency, debate was raging as to whether the nomination was constitutional and popular. In this cartoon, Kenyatta is placed in a baby trolley that is pushed by KANU loyalists. In it, too, is former powerful minister and youthful minister Julius Sunkuli. The metaphorical significance of this trolley is that Kenyatta is a baby in politics, who cannot stand by himself unless supported by other leaders. This message is the one that was conveyed in Fig. 3. Kenyatta, therefore, needs more time in politics to mature up and walk by his own, thereby be weaned. The political succession scenario is seen as being active with various leaders playing roles which were aimed at ensuring that Kenyatta leads.

As Kenyatta is pushed, his political mentor, Moi, is shown pulling him into what can be said is victory or State House. This portrays Kenyatta as a man who is being imposed on the people by the outgoing president yet he is not ready to be on his own. At the time, this cartoon resonated with the people in the sense that anti-Kanu campaigners were busy labelling Kenyatta as a project of Moi. At the time it was unheard of for anyone in the party to question the president's decision, in what clearly showed that democracy was far from being realised in the country. This is clearly brought out when the people pushing Kenyatta in the trolley themselves question the rationale of pushing the youngster to the president. This is evident in their verbal cue: "What was the slogan again...Uhuru for President or President for Uhuru?" This statement is weighty in the sense that it captures two statements. In the first place, it shows that the *Uhuru for President* campaign is being questioned. For if the statement was to hold true, then the candidate would have been democratically selected through a democratic system. The second part of the statement serves to show that Moi may have made his own choice to pick on Kenyatta, without the input of the public, who are crucial in any democracy. However, this is a good rhetorical question that needed no answer from anyone.

The opposition to the Kenyatta candidature is seen when Odinga is shown to be carrying a saw that he aims to cut the long chain that Moi is using to pull Kenyatta to State House. This is metaphorical to the manner in which Kenyatta's candidate was being opposed by forces within KANU. The cartoon concludes that the kind of succession politics that was taking place was actually not genuine. This is promoted when it puts out the verbal cue of "It is sucksation politics".



Figure 6: Standard, September 22, 200, Reproduced with Permission

In this cartoon, Kham tries to metaphorically compare politics to a game of golf. He presents Moi as the captain of the game who is training, or showing younger players how the game is played. But since he is keen on nominating Kenyatta as the presidential candidate on a KANU ticket, he asks him to watch so he can see how golf (politics) is played. In reality, Moi is asking Kenyatta to watch how he (Moi) is going to play other leaders in KANU to an extent that they do not get the nomination. One of the people he hits as the golf club is Saitoti, here shown as Sankor. Moi observes that politics is a game, like golf, when he tells Kenyatta that 'Siasa (politics) is an interesting game young man...Just watch". Through this, the rhetorician also achieves the trope of metonymy as he manages to communicate the issues of political succession regarding KANU's presidential nominations, expected to come from about 10 candidates, to only one image. Thus the trope of metonymy increases the opportunity for persuasion and influence through the visual rhetoric (Moss 2007).

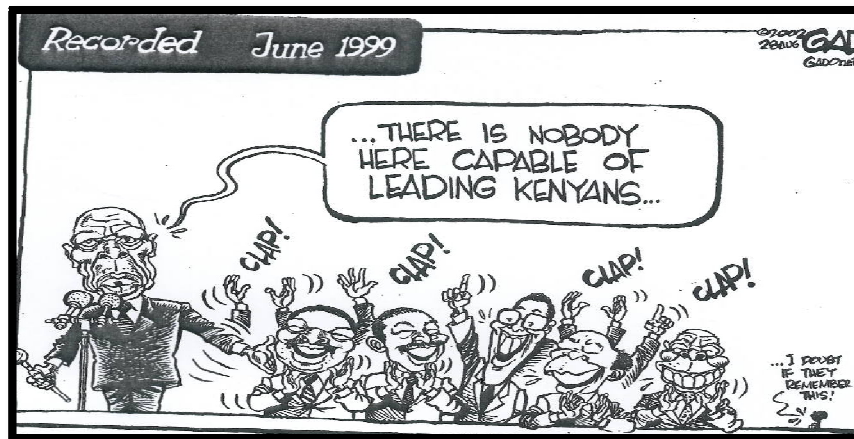


Figure 7: Nation, August 28, 2002. Reproduced with Permission

This caricature presents a political context in retrospect (1999). Foregrounded in this is the notion that Moi had once declared himself leader immortal (Mbembe, 2001). This cartoon offers one of the strongest ironies of politics witnessed in Kenyan history. It chronicles a situation where the senior KANU leaders who were expected to take over from Moi are projected as sycophants who echo Moi even when he thinks they are not worthy of leadership. These leaders hail his declaration agreeing there was no one who was capable of leading Kenyans. The cartoon, whose setting is a public rally that took place in June 1999, shows Moi addressing a rally. This flashback and reference to a historical event (allusion) is meant to remind the leaders who have been bypassed that, though they were opposing the candidature of Kenyatta, they were indeed clapping for Moi when he once declared that none of them was fit to lead. In his address, Moi says: "There is nobody here capable of leading Kenyans". Instead of jeering the remark, the VIP table comprising of cabinet ministers Mudavadi, Kamotho, Saitoti ends up cheering Clap! Clap! The blind sycophancy and belief that the African leader is invincible is evident here. Yet, two years on, Moi is forced by the constitution that does not allow him to stand for a third five-year term in office to declare Kenyatta as a political successor.

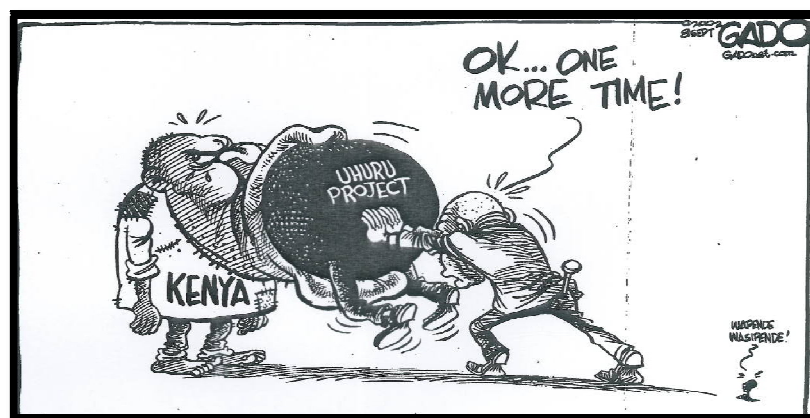


Figure 8: Nation, September 5, 2002. Reproduced with Permission

The cartoon portrays Kenyatta as a protégé of Moi. It shows how, despite the fact that many KANU members would not have liked Kenyatta to be their presidential candidate; Moi was keen on forcing him upon the people. This is shown when he attempts to push him (Uhuru Project) into the mouths and down the throats of Kenyans. This is further indicated by the textual cue that says Wapende Wapende (They like it or not). This means that, however, much Kenyans were unwilling to



accept Kenyatta, he had to be at the ballot box in the elections of 2002. The Wapende Wasipende phrase echoes a similar scenario in 1988 when Moi imposed on Kenyans the queue voting method (mlolongo) despite stiff competition from politicians. It was then that Nassir said Wapende Wasipende meaning Kenyans had to be forced to vote through the system (queue) whether they liked it or not.

And true to this, Kenyatta was endorsed as the presidential on a KANU ticket and finally was presented to Kenyans in the elections where he was defeated by NARC's Kibaki. In this cartoon, the trope of metaphor is evident when the artist used an image of a person to represent Kenya and then turns Kenyatta to be an edible that can be pushed down the throats of people.

### 8.1. Summary of Findings

Cartoons raise important theoretical questions in the context of an emerging democracy like Kenya. An analysis of the cartoons selected for this study shows that the youth are portrayed as strong in physic but temporal and inexperienced for political leadership. This aspect was well communicated through all the four tropes, with most of them depicting the young people as lacking in wisdom and unable to play different positions in leadership, as attested to by the various troupes represented through football matches, boxing matches and races. The Nation newspaper's cartoons were highly critical of the inexperience of Kenyatta in politics and the fact that he had been unfairly nominated by Moi ahead of more politically qualified people. This criticism was evident in cartoons, an issue that explains why there were a much high number of cartoons on the theme of youth and age published by Nation. For example, in Gado's cartoon published in the Nation of September 15, the newspaper seeks to show that Kenyatta, branded the Uhuru Project was about to be swept aside by the hurricane of the Rainbow Alliance led by Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka and George Saitoti. The interpretation here, therefore, is that the Gado believed that Kenyatta's quest for the presidency was not formidable and that he was headed to failure. Given that Kenyatta's candidature is referred to as a project clearly shows that politics is both undone and unfinished. Overall, the cartoons in this section were in consensus in depicting the youth and uncertain in their political future and that they were largely naïve in their activities. Because they have not been in politics for long, they are politically immature. However, the cartoons portray older people as unyielding in power and keen to promoting inheritance politics.

Although the older politicians are still widely viewed to have an upper hand in leadership, this study found out that they were under pressure to get out. But they are portrayed as struggling to maintain their stranglehold on power. For example, Gado's cartoon published in the Nation of November 5, 2002 warns Moi that he would be subjected to full force of the law as an innocent citizen as soon as he retires from the presidency immediately after the elections.

The four master tropes – metaphor, irony, synecdoche and metonymy – proved to be one of the best ways of communicating persuasive cartoon messages. Metaphors allowed the audience to “see something in terms of something else”, irony created a connection that positively or negatively linked act to an actor, synecdoche formulated arguments as a relationship between the part and the whole while metonymy helped communicate messages through reducing large concepts through a reduced single image. This study suggests that the tropes be relied on in any further study on cartoons in Kenya and elsewhere.

## 9. Conclusion and Recommendations

By and large, this study established that editorial political cartoons were a genuine news commentary that helped provide a good visual representation of the place of the youth and the aged in the political discourse in Kenya. They helped summarise – using the Four Master Troupes – the characters, attitudes, demeanour and beliefs that were espoused by the society in Kenya in 2002 in terms of the old guards who wanted to continue remaining in power and the younger generation that was hungry to rise to leadership positions.

This study of the editorial/political cartoons on the campaigns toward the 2002 general elections also helped to show that there were more complex forces at work than the traditional tension between image and issues. The heavily mediated nature of the political campaigns and the resultant attitudes towards this media influence were explored through cartoons that emphasised personality over policy and spectacle over substance.

Cartoonists, as established from this study, made a valid commentary and revealed important analyses of current political climate. Presidential campaigns, as seen through cartoons, were more personality-based than issue-based. Not bound by journalistic norms (except perhaps considerations of taste, political cartoonists are free to create their own “truths” in the course of commenting on society. These “truths” are bound by the limits of what really is.

In this study, cartoonists revealed their transformative nature of metaphor, whereby the ability to redefine what something is by depicting it as something it objectively is not means that through cartoons, fictions extend from actualities and develop new realities (Edwards, 1997). Each of these images exaggerates the actual in order to invent a new reality that offers greater fodder for critique, which is no less valid than if it were based in the reality.

According to the cartoons studied, metaphor remained a powerful weapon in what Gombrich (1963) termed the “cartoonists' armoury.” The ability of metaphor to create meanings not easily expressed otherwise (especially in the case of visual metaphors), was clearly demonstrated in cartoons delineating aspects of candidates' personal character. If left to literal, objective texts, these messages would come across as didactic and weak. However, in the hands of political cartoonists, they are made more forceful and memorable by the use of metaphor and image.

While the agenda-setting effects of political cartoons have yet to be proven, they certainly illuminate the agendas created by other news media. By placing greater emphasis on character over issues, and the focusing more on the overall media treatment, of the debate rather than their substance, political cartoons reflected the climate of the 2002 campaigns through a fun-house mirror exaggerating slightly only to create a new truth. One of the more persistent "truths" emphasised by cartoonists regarding the 2004 campaigns was that they were largely dominated by the media and filled with hollow "spun" messages.

This was an explorative study on political cartoons in Kenya. As such, it concentrated only in the portrayal of issues of youth and age in editorial political cartoons as they pertain to issues such as political succession, party politics, character, policy, among others. Since the study did not venture into interpreting ways in which readers of newspapers interpreted cartoons, it is recommended that further study be sought to establish if the readers' interpretations were in agreement or at variance to those of the cartoonists. It is also recommended that newspapers try to investigate their framing of issues on political succession to avoid turning political campaigns into contests of age. The study also recommends a careful balance of political narratives between cartoon commentaries on political debates and the textual (opinion and editorial) articles on the editorial pages.

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