

The Handshake: Analysis of Political Cartoons during Electioneering Period in Kenya

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Abstract

This study seeks to analyze how cartoons depicted Kenyan political scenario during electioneering period from April 2017 to April 2018. The objectives of the study is to find out how Kenyan electioneering period was framed in political cartoons through the use of metaphors a clear picture can be constructed by performing a content analysis that reveal what type of frames were dominants and which kind of metaphor were used. An analysis of 24 cartoons from four major print media that is The standard, Daily Nation and the Star between April 2017 and April 2018 portraying Kenyan election period was analyzed in order to find out which frames were prominent during the Kenyan political period and to evaluate metaphors that cartoonist used to pass out the message. A deductive approach with possible frames predetermined as variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news was used; therefore five frames distinguished are: conflict frames, human interest frames, responsibility frame, economic consequences frame and morality frame were used. Giles theory of conceptual blending where metaphorical scenario and frame are combined was used to analyze 24 political cartoons. Responsibility frame was the dominant frame. The metaphorical scenario of a fight was the most recurrent metaphor used in the cartoons of Kenyan election period. The findings of this research show that political leaders are responsible for igniting and ending political crisis in Kenya. The study will contribute on research about framing as visual metaphors and provide a contribution towards an analytical tool for cartoons.

Keywords: Framing, Metaphors, Cartoons, Elections, Handshake.

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INTRODUCTION

Political cartoons provide a format within political communication in which complex messages can be expressed through single image where in general extensive clarification is needed when the message is written in words. Political cartoons are a format that simplifies the complex political situations and thus helps people to understand current events. During 2017 electoral period Kenya underwent very rigorous campaigns that almost divided the country into two. The media plays an important role in informing citizens about the current issues in the society. Many of our social media outlets and the media are key resources when thinking about politics [1]. When producing news, journalist have to decide which news is included and which news is not in addition, the position of the news has to be chosen as well as which will not. The selection and highlights of the news is part of which is called framing. When news producers frame news items, there are several internal and external influencing factors involved such as norms and beliefs of journalist and consulted sources. Producers have different tools they use when framing news, for example use of

catchphrase, visual imagery and metaphors. This paper will focus on visual imagery and metaphors to demonstrate how cartoons depicted Kenyan electioneering period in the year 2017/2018.

In this paper, political cartoons will be studied as a format for framing news. The reasons for choosing political cartoons are; first, cartoons provide a format within which political communication in which complex messages can be expressed through single image where in general extensive clarification is needed when the message is written in words. Secondly, political cartoons are a format that simplifies the complex political situation and thus helps people understand current events [2].

The objective of the study is to provide a clear overview on how Kenyan electioneering period was framed in political cartoons through the use of metaphors. A clear picture can be constructed by performing a content analysis that will reveal what types of frames were dominant in political cartoons and which kind of metaphor are employed. A number of political cartoons published in Kenyan Daily Nation,

The Standard, and the Star between April 2017 to April 2018 Portraying Kenyan election period will be analyzed in order to answer two research questions

- How is the Kenyan electioneering period framed in political cartoons?
- What type of frames and metaphorical scenarios are chosen in these political cartoons?

The metaphorical scenario and frame are combined in the theory of conceptual blending that provides the integral model used to analyze the political cartoons. Through this analysis this paper will contribute to research on framing as a visual metaphor and provide a contribution towards an analytical tool for political cartoons.

Political Cartoons

Political cartoons are a form of satirical journalism and type of visual opinion in news discourse [3]. Although political cartoons belong to the editorial pages of Kenyan major dailies newspapers, it provided a platform for cartoonist to reach broader audience. A political cartoon can serve two purposes; first, a political cartoon is one of the most powerful weapon in the journalistic armory; it can accuse, blame encourage debate, and convey opinion. Secondly, a political cartoon allows the reader to consider an issue from different point of view [4]. A cartoon has a commenting, a clarifying or evaluating function. A commenting function of cartoon is generally about representing an aspect of social cultural or political life in a way which condenses reality and transforms it in a striking original and humorous way [5]. The clarifying or evaluating function of a political cartoon is that it generally provides the public a format to help them understand current events [2]. Cartoons provide critical evaluation of their topic which often takes shape as a moral or ethical judgment, a good-bad or righteous type of stance. Though political cartoons occupy little space, they convey extremely, complex information condensed into a single image, where normally a lot of written explanation would be required. Cartoons explain and help people understand politics that is often complex by presenting an imaginary scenario of real life events [5].

News Framing

The media carefully has to choose what news issues they publish instead of informing the audience about all news happening in the world. The issues highlighted in the news are perceived by people as more important than issues which do not appear in the news as frequently. Kinder [6] identified the lead story hypothesis which states that placement of a story within news broadcast is just as important on how the news is perceived as that frequency is of the big news of the day. Framing activities are broader range of cognitive processes, such as moral evaluation, causal relations appeals to principles and recommendations for treatment of problems [7]. The perception of reality is influenced by framing. Goffman [8] explains frame

analysis that everyone classifies, organizes and interprets life experiences in order to understand them. Framing is a multidimensional concept that concerns the production, content and effects of a media message [9].

Most authors focus on dichotomy between media and audience frame. Media frames are located at the level of sender/producer of the news and can be seen as device that is embedded in political discourse. Audience frames on the other hand are internal structures of the mind of receiver and addresses how readers on the other hand process and interprets a news message [6]. In this paper the focus will be production side of frame. It will investigate how Kenyan major dailies in these case cartoons select an interpretive framework for the story, which facilitates the discourse about an issue as well as the public understanding [10].

Framing by Media Producers

Framing is about managing information in the news room where journalist cannot avoid selecting and prioritizing information use in the news story [1]. In framing, some information is strongly highlighted than others. Salience making is a piece of information that is more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audience.

Vreese [1] developed an integral process model of news framing. In this model, the dichotomy between the production and processing part of framing is emphasized. Vreese [1] describes these two stages process as frame-building and frame setting.

Frame building

Frame setting

Frames in the news room

| |
|--|
| Internal factors(editorials Policies, news value External factors |
|--|

Frames in the news

| |
|---|
| Issues specific frames Generic frame |
|---|

Frame effect

| |
|--|
| Information processing Attitudinal behavior |
|--|

An integrated model of news framing [1].

This model has three components; framing in the newsroom, frames in the news and framing effects. The first components are how production starts. Journalists try to select and prioritize information to be able to tell a story in the news. By using certain frames, journalist can tell their story within a limited time or space and at the same time give meaning to the flow of events and keep audience interested [1]. This way; frames guide journalist and other news producers to structure and organize news stories. During this process

journalists are influenced by various factors such as values, norms, beliefs as well as agenda of journalists themselves and their views on the news worthiness of topic, how it affects the production of the news.

In the second component, frames in the news as Vreese [1] distinguishes issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frame contain only specific topics or news events. Generic frames have no thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to a whole variety of topics, sometimes even extended over time and in different cultural contexts. Semetko and Valkenburg [11] identified five different types of news frames namely:

- Conflicts frame
- Human interest frame
- Economic consequences frame
- Morality frame
- Responsibility frame

According to Semetko and Vanlkenburg [11], conflicts frame focuses on negative effects of the news frame. Human interest highlights the human and emotional aspect of events, issue or problem. Economic consequences frame reports, event problem or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, religion or country [11]. Morality frame is used as an event or issue that contains religious tenets or moral messages. Finally, responsibility frame is on which actor is responsible for certain events or problem and who can provide the solution. This distinction made by Semetko and Valkenburg [11] was used to determine what extent a certain frame is present in the cartoon during Kenyan electioneering period between April 2017 and April 2018. The last component of the model is framing effects; this refers to frame setting that is; the effects of framing. It occurs on the three levels, on the information processing level, the attitude level and the behavior level.

Metaphors

The use of metaphors is hidden power of language. Semetko and Valkenburg [11] demonstrate that much of what we call literal language is in fact metaphor. Kateyo, Brown and Crawford (2008) says that metaphor scenarios are cognitively emotionally and politically important as they enable the speaker to not only apply source to target concepts but draw on them to build and to spin out these narratives into emergent [1]. By identifying metaphorical scenarios, it can be determined which aspect of metaphorical mapping can be designated to be prominent in public discourse for particular time [12]. This paper therefore, used identification of metaphors scenarios and frames to analyze political cartoons about Kenyan electioneering period of 2017/2018.

The Theory of Conceptual Blending

This theory was proposed by Fauconner and Tunner [13-15]. The theory is about development of mental space theory [12]. Mental spaces are partial and temporal representational structure that speakers construct when thinking or talking about a perceived, imagined, past or future situation. The theory of conceptual blending states that the mapping process is not only about the source domain to the target domain. But that knowledge of both domains together can create new meaning. Therefore, the theory of conceptual blending makes use of four space model; that together they form the concept integration model. This model consist two 'inputs' spaces (a reality space and pretense space) a generic space and a blend space. The two input spaces can be associated with the source and target domain. The generic space represents the conceptual structure that is shared by both inputs and in the blend space. The two spaces interact and are combined. Subsequently the construction of the blended cognitive model includes structures and elements from multiple inputs models, whereby new meaning is created. The theory of conceptual blending can be used to justify how people create new meaning by integration of information.

| Generic space experts/leaders | Reality space (cartoon) | Pretense space |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Leaders must solve election crisis in Kenya | Actors: | Metaphorical scenario: |
| Frame: | Topic: | |

METHODOLOGY

In Kenya, we have the following mainstream newspapers: The Daily Nation, The Standard, The People and The Star among other regional newspapers. Purposive sampling was used to select three newspapers and 24 newspaper cartoons, twenty from Daily Nation, three from the Standard and one From the Star each of the three newspapers which comprised The Daily Nation, The Star and The Standard. These papers were believed to be the most popular and widely read throughout the country and both are written in English language which is the language of analysis in the

current study. According to the Nation Media Group statistics 2005 cited in Kateyo *et al.*, [16], The Daily Nation newspaper had a readership of five million and seven hundred thousand making it the most circulating daily newspaper in Kenya. The Standard came second with at least five million readers. Both The People and The Star newspapers had barely one million readers. The newspapers selected were printed from April 2017 to April 2018. This is the period from nominations to handshake.

A selection of cartoons was done, cartoons created by professional cartoonists in Kenyan major

dailies of The Daily Nation, Standard and the Star published from April 2017 to April 2018 which is the time from nomination of political parties candidates to the hand shake between the two Kenyan political rivals. A selection of some cartoons that relate to Kenyan electioneering period was done. A total of 24 cartoons were analyzed.

Materials and procedure

A content analysis was done to answer two research questions; which frames can be identified in the cartoon and what metaphorical scenarios were used. In this paper, a deductive approach with possible frames predetermined and functions as variable were used to verify the extent to which these frames occur in news [11], therefore, the researcher used five frames. That is Semetko and Valkenburg [11] distinguished frames:

- Conflict frames
- Human interest frame
- Responsibility frame
- Economic consequences frame
- Morality frame

By conducting a quantitative content analysis, generic frames within the news were identified based on the following guiding questions whose answer is Yes or No. Eefje [17] used the same questions to analyze cartoon in the Euro zone. Semetko and Valkenburg [11] used the same questions to analyze frames in written news and television.

Conflicts Frame

- Does the cartoon present disagreement/conflict between individuals, groups or institution?
- Does the cartoon present different views on conflicts/disagreement?
- Does the cartoon present winners or losers?

Human Interest Frame

- Does the cartoon put emphasis on the impact that the problems/ issue has on individual or groups?

- Does the cartoon use the private life or personal circumstances of the actors?
- Does the cartoon give human view on the topic?
- Does the cartoon use symbols or personal characteristics to defamation, empathy or pity

Responsibility Frame

- Does the cartoon suggest the government can soften the problem?
- Does the cartoon suggest the government is responsible for the problem?
- Does the cartoon suggest that the individual or group is responsible for the problem?
- Does the cartoon assume that the problem/issue needs to be solved urgently?
- Does the cartoon suggest possible solution to the problem?

Economic Consequences

- Does the cartoon refer to financial or loss for this moment or for future
- Does the cartoon treat costs and investment?
- Does the cartoon contain the economic consequence that will or will not follow out of the action?

Morality Frame

- Does the cartoon contain a moral message?
- Does the cartoon refer to morality, God or some other religious ground?
- Does the cartoon offer social conditions with respect to desired behavior?
- Theory of conceptual blending in action?

The theory makes use of four space model, particularly that from conceptual integration model. First the core of conceptual integration is explained in the example see Figure-1. Further integration of framing theory in the conceptual integration model will be discussed



Fig-1: Source daily Nation 20 FEB, 2018

The cartoon depicted in figure 1 involves the scenario of a monster journey. Even without further interpretation, the possible meaning of the cartoon is that it shows multiple actors. Two people are controlling the monster chariot and several passengers in front hanging on the lead stick. This monster gets motivated by feeding on people who are hanging in front of it therefore it keeps going. A closer look of the cartoon shows they are experts in financing Kenyan treasury because the chariot is labeled 'TREASURY'. The cartoon comments on the national debt that has gone up after elections consequently rising the cost of living.

After this observation of the cartoon the first space of the conceptual integration model can be completed. Starting with the generic space, a conceptual integration model has a generic space that reflects some abstract structure shared by input spaces, which licenses the cross space mapping between source and target. Thus, the generic space contains low level conceptual structure that serve to mediate between the contents of the input spaces, thus enabling the two input spaces to be structurally reconciled [18]. Therefore in figure 1 and all the other cartoons, the generic space will be experts/ leaders/ individuals who need to solve the problem of all crises facing Kenyans during electioneering period.

Within the conceptual structure of the generic space, an underlying frame can be identified. This frame is the salient feature that underlies the topic (pretense space, source) and the reporting of the topic (reality space, target) the underlying frame in Figure-1 is *economic consequences frame*. The question Does the cartoon refer to financial or loss for this moment or

for future? Does the cartoon contain the economic consequence that will or will not follow out of the action? Cartoons are about a certain topic, political actor, a certain event or certain state of affairs. This content is represented in the first input space the reality space. In the conceptual integration model, a viewer needs background information in order to understand the cartoon. In this paper, the background information is Kenyan electioneering crisis and its consequences the actors are experts, leaders, politicians and individual citizens.

The second inputs consist of metaphorical scenario used to represents the Kenyan election crisis and its consequences. In figure 1 a scenario of monster journey is used. The two experts in the ministry of finance try to lead the monster by motivating it using people because the monster eats them and its becoming big and big as the caption illustrate. The domain of debt crisis because of poor policies is linked together through analogy of monster journey. The key persons in this journey are leaders and experts in treasury. The crisis of high national debt need to be solved because this input is imaginary it's called pretence space.

In conceptual integration model, the most important space is blended space, because this space accounts for the creation of new structure. In figure 1, the structure coming from the two input spaces are visually integrated and the cartoon is the visual representation of the blended space. Therefore, the emergent issue is the monster that represents Kenyan national debt crisis after elections. Therefore both the metaphorical scenario and the frame have to fit in the model in order to make a complete representation of the cartoon.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

| News paper | No of cartoons selected | percentage |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Daily Nation | 20 | 83 |
| The Standard | 3 | 13 |
| The Star | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 24 | 100 |

Cartoons analyzed from Major Dailies. Source own research

In this table, a total of 24 cartoons were analyzed. Daily Nation had the highest percentage of 83% this is because it is the most read in Kenya [16] due to the location of the researcher that is in Laikipia

county where the researcher hardly get the other papers. The Standard had 13% and The Star 4%.

Frames

| Type of frame | Total no | Percentage |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|
| Conflict | 5 | 21 |
| Human interest | 5 | 21 |
| Responsibility | 12 | 50 |
| Economic consequences | 1 | 4 |
| Morality | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 24 | 100 |

Distribution of five frames sources own research

Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way to attribute responsibility for causing or solving a problem to the government individual or group. The questions who caused the crisis or who are supposed to solve the problem are

central in this frame. 12 cartoons out of 24 depicted responsibility frame. The cartoons in figure 2 and 3 are examples of cartoons where responsibility frame is used. Figure-2 depicts a metaphorical scenario of angels:



Fig- 2: Source Daily nation

In Figure-2, the cartoon depicts two important leaders in Kenya and who were major presidential candidates, i.e. Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. The other actors are human beings with wings like angels. From the bubble captions, Raila Odinga says IEBC must go and Uhuru says IEBC is partisan the cartoonist chose the metaphorical scenario of angels but these angels are also inform of human beings. From the

caption of ordinary Mwananchi commonly known as Wanjiku in Kenya, it reads "may be this is what you're looking for." In Kenyan politics, IEBC is feared by politicians because of allegations of rigging elections and being biased. Therefore the two leaders were concerned about the same. The choice of angels in the scenario resembles human being is clear indication of the fear that Kenyans have with IEBC. But the question

is who will conduct the election? The two leaders are responsible for providing a solution but not engaging into blame game. The emphasis lies on who is responsible for election crisis in IEBC. The solution provided in this cartoon is that the two leaders must

know that IEBC are human beings and angels will not come from heaven to conduct elections. That's why in the lower caption, the two leaders are dumb founded after realizing that the angels have wings but they are human beings.

| Generic space | Reality space | Pretense space |
|---|--|--|
| Leaders must solve election crisis in Kenya | Actors: political leaders Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga. IEBC | Metaphorical scenario: angels, IEBC commissioners |
| Frame: responsibility | Topic: fear of rigging elections | |

Conceptual blending figure 2



Fig-3: Source Daily Nation

In Figure-3, the cartoon depicts leaders who do not obey court orders. After elections there were extra judicial killings and annulment of presidential elections. All orders that were given by courts were ignored. The cartoonist selected the scenario of burial process showing a big coffin that is being carried by leaders including police officers. The coffin is written RESPECT COURT ORDERS R.I.P. This choice that

leaders have to make to respect court orders can be linked to the responsibility frame. The leaders are responsible for respecting court orders even if it touches them directly. If leaders don't do so then the country can easily turn into a banana republic. The country is in danger if leaders don't act and so many deaths will be witnessed.

| Generic space | Reality space | Pretense space |
|--|--|---|
| Leaders need to solve the problem/crisis | Actors: political leaders, police | Metaphorical scenario: burial procession, coffin |
| Frame: responsibility | Topic: respect of court orders before and after elections | |

Conceptual blending figure 3

Conflict Frame

This frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions [19]. The conflict frame is often connected to the coverage of elections. The focus lies on the competition of candidates. When using the conflicts frame politics are translated easily

into the terms of the metaphorical scenario of sports. When politics is depicted as sports, the actual substance of politics may be relegated to the sidelines [20]. Conflict frame had 12% in this study. Figure 4 and 5 are examples of how cartoonist depicted conflicts in Kenyan electioneering period.



Fig-4: Source daily Nation APRIL 2017

The cartoon depicted in Figure-4 comments on nomination of various candidates for political sits in Kenya. The cartoonist has selected the scenario of entertainment. It has 4 actors who cannot be identified. One big hand (of a party leader) holding a DVD. The contents of the DVD shows two people fighting and another one running away with election materials.

Further the Wanjiku at the bottom says in bubble 'available for free.' Those fighting are supporters of various candidates. In Kenya according to the background knowledge of the researcher, nominations are always marred with violence. The cartoon fits in the conflict frame, the conflicts between main actors.

| Generic space | Reality space | Pretense space |
|--|--|--|
| Leaders need to solve election crisis in Kenya | Actors: politicians, supporters | Metaphorical scenario: sports; entertainment, fight |
| Frame. Conflicts | Topic: nomination crisis | |

Conceptual blending of figure 4



Fig-5: Source Daily Nation July 18, 2017

In Figure-5, the cartoon comments on the politicians and their supporters during campaigns. There are four actors involved. First the two politicians are depicted fighting during campaigns and tearing of

clothes. The second picture of the two politicians are in a hotel enjoying meals and drinks together, in deed they have good moments and this is after elections. On the other hand, the first cartoon depicts supporters of

various candidates fighting during campaigns. After campaigns and elections are over the second picture depicts supporters who are still fighting, that means there fight did not end. The cartoonist has chosen the

metaphorical scenario of wrestling and this is pretense of politicians and friendship after elections. Supporters do not agree. Therefore it fits in conflict frame.

| Generic frame | Reality space | Pretense space |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| Leaders and supporters need to solve elections problems | Actors: politicians, supporters | Metaphorical scenario: wrestling, celebrations supporters and the politicians |
| Frame: conflicts | Topic: campaigns and after elections | |

Conceptual blending of figure 5

Economic Consequences Frame

The economic consequence frame presents an event, problem, or issue in terms of economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, religion or country. News is often framed in

terms of the actual or potential economic impact on the audience [19]. Consequences in general and wide impact of an event are certain news value for events to become news stories; the economic impact of an event has an important news value. In this study it had 4%



Fig-6: Source Daily nation Nov 2, 2017

In Figure-6, the cartoon comments on the hardship supporters undergo after their leaders urge them to resist some products in Kenya. The metaphorical scenario is covered with nails. The Wanjiku who is very weak is carrying a leader who is too big but walking over the nails in fact she gets injured by those nails but since the leader is on the back, no harm begets him. He has a bubble tag that

reads YOUR PAIN SHALL BE OUR PAIN. This cartoon fits well in economic consequences after the boycott of various products. The common Mwananchi suffered the consequences more than the leaders because as it is depicted, the leaders ride on the back of common man who is weak and has torn clothes as a sign of poverty.

| Generic frame | Reality space | Pretense space |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| Leaders need to solve election crisis in Kenya | Actors: politician, common Mwananchi | Metaphorical scenario: field, nails |
| Frame: economic consequences | Topic: boycott of products after elections | |

Conceptual blending of figure 6

Human Interest Frame

Human interest frame presents an event, issue or problem from a more emotional perspective. It makes a problem more personal. Personalizing an issue

contributes to the narrative character of news and dramatizes; emotionalize the news [21]. Personalization is a tool used more and more in politics, especially in the context of elections. More often, politicians show

there personal side, in order to win votes. If voters see the human side of politicians, they can more easily connect to them. The use of the human interest frame is

more sensational so that it can capture and retain audience interest. In this paper the use of human interest had 4%.



Fig-7: Source Daily Nation Nov 15, 2017

The cartoon depicted in Figure-7 is an example of use human interest frame is personalized in this cartoon where by the presidents and his deputy is depicted. The president is carrying his deputy on the back. They want to cross a river that is infested by crocodiles. On the other side of the river there is a chair written 2nd term. This is where they want to go. Personalization has been used where the relationship of the president and his deputy are depicted. Emotional perspective is used because these two politicians want to cross a river; the handle is the crocodiles in the river.

Therefore, their supporters empathize with them. The crocodiles in the river are written some words like, annulment, petitions, and boycott. These were the characteristics of 2017/2018 elections in Kenya especially for presidential candidates where the results were annulled by the supreme court of Kenya, after successful petition by opposition therefore this cartoon depicts the challenge that the president and his deputy had to get to the 2nd term. The metaphorical scenario used is crossing a river infested with crocodiles.

| Generic space | Reality space | Pretense space |
|---|---|---|
| Leaders need to solve elections crisis in Kenya | Actors: political leaders Uhuru and Ruto | Metaphorical scenario; river infested by crocodiles |
| Frame: human interest | Topic: annulment of presidential elections | |

Conceptual blending figure 7

Morality Frame

The morality frame puts an event, issue or problem in the context of religious tenets or moral values. Because of professional norm of objectivity, journalists do not use this frame often, at least not directly. Journalists make reference to moral frames indirectly through inference. Journalist in politics is not supposed to take sides by the way they structure their stories, present different sides of a story, check there

resources and very important, journalist have to be objective. Cartoonists however do not need to be objective, contact sources, and do not need to present both sides of the story. Lamb [22] states that the entire task mentioned above is counterproductive to satire. Political cartoons provide critical evaluation of the topic, which often takes shape as moral or ethical judgments. In this study morality space had 4%.



Fig-8: Source (Daily Nation April 4, 2018)

The cartoon in figure-8, comments on defying court orders by both the poor and the rich in Kenya. During elections, there were reported so many cases of politicians and leaders defying court orders. The cartoon shows how the poor is treated when he/she defy court orders. He /she is supposed to be killed as the cartoon depicts, it shows a man holding a big axe ready to kill a poor person who has defied court order. In

contrast when the rich and well-connected defy court order, that is impunity in practice they are taken to a hotel they enjoy good meals and drinks and they are guarded by police officers who are armed. The cartoonist chose to use scenario of death to the poor who defy court orders and scenario of animals in celebrations and good life for the rich who defy court orders.

| Generic space | Reality space | Pretense space |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Leaders must solve election crisis | Actors: poor and the rich | Metaphorical scenario: death, animals good life for the rich |
| Frame: morality | Topic: impunity in Kenya | |

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to find out how cartoonist depicted Kenyans electioneering period. That is which frames were used in political cartoon through the use of metaphors. In total 24 cartoons published between April 2017 and April 2018 that is from nomination of political parties to the famous handshake were selected and analyzed. 50% of the selected cartoons used responsibility frame. Kenyan election period is marred by violence therefore; the question is who is responsible for the violence and who is supposed to solve election violence in Kenya. It is the responsibility of all leaders and people of Kenya to solve election crisis. That is what happened during the handshake between president Uhuru Kenyatta and honorable Raila Odinga who were key candidates during 2017/2018 elections. Responsibility frame was followed by conflicts frame and human interest both frames had 21%. This is clear indication that politics in Kenya are about conflicts and selfish gains. Economic frame and morality frame had 4% an indication that leaders don't care about the economy or moral values. Out of five frames, several metaphorical scenario were

used, for example; celebrations, deaths, fights, monsters, crocodiles, rivers and many more of these the most recurrent metaphorical scenario reporting of Kenyan electioneering period were fights.

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