

**RETHINKING GENDER PORTRAYAL BY EDITORIAL CARTOONS: A  
STUDY OF SELECTED NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

### Declaration by the Candidate:

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other institution for examination.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my parents Elijah and Ruth Masinde for choosing to take me to school.

## ABSTRACT

Increased perceptions by scholars, policy makers as well as readers of newspapers and magazines point to one critical issue that the media have of late become conduits for gender stereotyping not only in Kenya but the world over. This fact that has been proven in the recent years by sporadic protests against some media houses following publication of cartoons that seemed offensive to sections of society. In some cases, such protests and reactions were violent enough to claim lives and cause destruction of property. Consequently, this study set out to establish whether editorial cartoonists and by extension the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers unconsciously promote gender bias and stereotypical overtones. It is centred around three questions: What is the nature of gender portrayal in the selected editorial cartoons?, What are the views of journalists and gender activists on gender portrayal by editorial cartoons. This study is anchored on the relativist/interpretivist philosophical paradigm. And qualitative case study of the two newspapers namely the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers respectively was applied. Data was generated through a qualitative content analysis of the sampled cartoons published by the two dailies. It was complimented by semi-structured in-depth interviews targeting the cartoonists, human rights and gender activists from selected organizations. 252 cartoons out of 2184 were sampled systematically through a six week systematic sampling mechanism. Each week represented a month amounting to three years in a row. The findings of the study revealed that men were negatively represented in most of the cartoons. Specifically, men were linked to greed, corruption, political violence and land grabbing among other issues. On the other hand, women were mostly portrayed as weak, helpless, irredeemably vulnerable and mostly afflicted. In over some of the sampled cartoons, women were projected as sexual objects and agents of beauty. And yet in some though only a few the very women were projected as the voice of reason and one that could be entrusted with leadership and integrity. This study reveals the bias and increased stereotypical overtones against both the male and female gender and inability of the two media houses to adequately embrace gender sensitivity in the way cartoons portray both men and women before their readers.. Thus, the study recommends editors, reporters, cartoonists to remove bias and stereotypes in their portrayal of both men and women. To this end, they require urgent retraining and sensitization on gender sensitivity cartooning. Specific editorial guidelines for cartoonist as a reminder against biased cartooning. Annual awards for cartoonists and introduction of cartooning as learning and training module is necessary to enhancing talent and professionalism besides promoting partnership between the media, training institutions, Media Council and gender focused organizations such as Federation of Kenyan Women Lawyers (FIDA), Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and National Commission on Gender and Equality among others.

## DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS:

**Gender:** Socially and culturally constructed differences between men and women.

The social construct vary from society to society.

**Gender activist:** Person or group of people in agitating for gender equality. The advocates of non-discrimination of gender based on race, sex and nationality among other perimeters

**Gender Discrimination:** Unequal or preferential treatment of individuals on the basis of gender leading to unequal control of resources and opportunities

**Gender Equality:** Equal treatment of men and women regardless to their gender in relation to access to opportunities and resources.

**Gender portrayal:** The way gender is described, mirrored and presented to the public.. Portrayal is same as depiction or delineation. The depiction is done by the journalists, in this case cartoonists for the reader to make sense out of it.

**Gender sensitivity reporting:** Deliberate effort by journalists to guarantee fair, impartial and just treatment of male and female gender in sourcing, selection and dissemination of news.

**Editorial:** Refers to the voice of the newspaper or the position in regard to a particular burning issue that affects the community or the nation. It is the product arrived at by a team of senior editors jointly working together to provide such position.

**Cartoon:** A drawing with an open or hidden meaning and message. It is also a satirical or metaphorical caricature of amusement and underlying message.

**Cartoonist:** One specialized in drawing caricatures of satirical and metaphorical dimension for information, education and entertainment purposes.

**Editorial Page:** Specific section of the newspaper reserved for the voice of an editor on a critical issue affecting the general public.

**Editorial:** The voice or pronouncement of an editor on matters critical to the public.

**Editorial Policy:** Media's In-house style of collecting, packaging and disseminating news.

**Editorial Cartoon:** A satirical, metaphorical and ironical drawing with exaggerated dimensions appearing along side the editorial.

**Editorial content:** Piece of information that is sourced, processed and packaged in order to inform, educate and entertain through mass media.

**Mascot:** A little cat/mouse with critical message normally drawn at the bottom of an editorial cartoon. The Mascot can amuse, challenge or pose a question or riddle to make the reader scratch his or her head.

**Media House:** A conglomerate, institution or organization bringing together professional people involved in gathering, reviewing, packaging and publicizing news to make profit.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Overview

In this chapter I provide the background to the study giving details of the academic and the social contexts in which the study was conducted. I also describe the problem that prompted the study highlighting details of the questions that guided the research. On the other hand, the scope and the rationale for the study are also provided in this chapter. Details of each area mentioned now follows.

#### 1.1 Background

This study investigated gender portrayal in editorial cartoons in both the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. Gender portrayal refers to depiction of male and female gender or their description, picturing and sketching and what they are seen to be doing or associated with as highlighted in the cartoon or any other form of media. In this study, depiction or highlighting of the characters in editorial cartoons becomes the appropriate definition of the word gender portrayal. Now, editorial cartoon refers to the specific drawings or caricaturing of the newsmakers and their connection with the current news as published where editorial commentary or the voice of the media house appears in the newspaper.

Gender is a critical element of national development. Depiction of men and women and their roles in media is matter of concern since the media exist to inform, educate and entertain in addition to facilitating sustainable change. Many a times, it can also be an avenue to maintain status quo in a given socio political environment. Thus, Margaret Gallager in a UNESCO report of 1979 notes:

Taking in to consideration that Television programs give information and reflect on gender roles in real life, it must be stated that women images are distorted and unrealistic in these programs. All kinds of entertainment programs portray women in dual images. On one hand, they are decorative objects. Yet at the same time, they are passive individuals in the households and in marriages who are dependent on men for financial, emotional and physical support. Even in United States of America and Europe where feminist ideas are widely spread and women have legally reached equal rights with men, media continue to have discriminatory attitudes towards women and rely on male world view when portraying women.

Similarly, Anna (2016) argues that despite many international conferences and conventions including the Beijing Conference of 1995, which voiced the need for the media to embrace equal attention to both male and female gender, the situation has not changed much. And even in some cases, the situation has worsened. Thus, she notes,

Mass media continue to reproduce discriminatory stereotypes about women and portray them in sexist ways. As a rule, women are portrayed in a narrow range of characters in mass media. And if we were to divide mass media in to two categories, such as fictional and news reporting, then in the former women are often associated with the household or sex objects and in the latter category, they lack roles.

So, one would want to understand why media is perceived in this context and yet it occupies a very important position in facilitating change in society. The Fourth Estate, as it is popularly known, has been instrumental in facilitating change especially political change in many economies world over. For example it is the spirited efforts of the media in reporting consistently about the peoples' voices that finally forced former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos out of office in 1986. He fled the country and died in exile. Similarly, it was the persistence of the media reports that haunted former South African President Jacob Zuma in February 2018 happening right on the heels of the exit of yet another African leader Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. In a more recent scenario, the Yellow Movement in France has managed to push President Emmanuel Macron led Government to reduce tax majorly

because of the persistent media highlights. That is why understanding the position that the media in Kenya in general and newspapers in particular is such a critical academic subject that deserves greater input such as this research and many other contributions so that the tales of the editorial cartoons can be well explained within a gender perspective and understood by the consumers of news.

As Lawate (2012) argued, cartoons are a critical form of communication because they convey a lot of information using simple illustrations coupled with few words. In so doing, cartoons express genuine emotions although harsh and sometimes exaggerated they nevertheless facilitate agenda setting especially to many important issues that generally affect the society. Therefore, gender depiction in media and more so in editorial cartoons is an important issue that determines the way men and women and their connection with news are framed before the society. Negative portrayal of either gender in the media through cartoons has a significant contribution towards reinforcing gender stereotypes and discrimination. This ultimately leads to gender gap. On the other hand, entrenched gender gap affects national cohesion and is an obvious affront to the national values and principles of good governance as spelled out in the constitution of Kenya (2010). Cartoons are serious forms of communication that deserve attention since they are intrinsic section of the editorial voice of every newspaper. The editorial voice of the newspaper is simply described as the stand the Media House takes over a specific issue that concern the society.

The importance of cartoons in the media industry is perhaps as old as the many socio political issues that have been affecting the world for many years. Although a number of researchers (for example, Hines, 1933; Johnson, 1937; Streicher, 1967; Harrison, 1981) have aimed to provide an account of the beginnings of caricature and cartoon,

the most "celebrated essay" (Barm, 1975) on the history of caricature is "The Principles of Caricature" (1962) by Kris and Gombrich. Although their essay is concerned more with the caricature as an art form, it is important for this discussion since "cartooning as we know it today is an outgrowth of caricature" (Johnson, 1937). Kris and Gombrich note that while caricature is as old as the graphic arts themselves, portrait caricature as an artistic style is a much more recent development, originating in Italy at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The authors are especially interested in uncovering why portrait caricature, which they define as "the deliberate distortion of the features of a person for the purpose of mockery" (1962), took so long to develop given that artists had for some time been well versed in many forms of comic art such as satirical illustrations and images of the grotesque. According to Kris and Gombrich, the development of caricature is closely tied to the complex change in the artist's role and position which occurred during the sixteenth century.

Each cartoon published has an underlying meaning which is either implicit or explicit or can also have connotative and denotative in nature depending on the cartoonist's perspective and the interpretation of the reader. Tamplin (1999) argues that cartoons do share and demonstrate fundamental biases within the society they critique. These cartoons are tailored towards biased portrayal of the subject. Katz (2004) says cartoons are deliberately meant to be bias towards persuasion more than anything else. And the impact of such bias is felt at the tail end where the reader sits. As for Hawkesworth (2003), cartoons have the tendency to facilitate silencing, marginalizing, segregating and even discrediting certain individuals of society particularly women. That such discounting, stereotyping and patronizing tendencies

found in some of the cartoons if unchecked could easily become express indicators of either gender or consistent negative portrayal of either gender in the newspapers and in the media as a whole.

The significance of cartoons in other parts of the world offers a litmus test to the application of the same in other areas of the world today. This study delves in to the African context deeply focusing on the contribution of cartoons in the democratization and the rule of law in Africa. A study conducted using a pragmatic approach indicated how editorial cartoons carry stereotypical beliefs towards various gender groups reflecting expectations and ideas that may not accurately reflect the reality (Kaviti, 2006). It is within the dimensions of this inaccuracy that I find solace in this study which explores the extent to which this inaccuracy is harmful and requires immediate redress. The study adequately covers the Kenyan context, where the rubber meets the road, the content within which the significance of cartoons in complementing news either hard or soft is equally important.

### **1.1.1 Global Perspective**

The question of portrayal in cartoons is not new as its primary objective is to describe characters in a manner that cause impact to the readership. Such impact comes in form of amusement, excitement or irritation as a reaction to what characters appear and how they appear in the editorial cartoons.

By all standards, a cartoon is the sternest and most satirical form of visual communication whose definition is based on a metaphorical codification with implicit meaning and satirical genre through which an artist informs, educates and entertains his or her readers ( Adejuwon and Alimi 2011). This partly explains why some of the

cartoons are excessively satirical in demonstrating what characters are not other than what they are.

Throughout ages, cartoons have been used for propaganda and change. Cartoons can digest complex messages in to simple but meaningful metaphors that can easily be interpreted and understood by the readers. Poor or incorrect portrayal of society in cartoons can easily precipitate tensions. In recent years, some cartoons have fuelled tension in society leading to killings. . For example, in January 2015, 12 people were killed in Paris, France after weekly magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, published offensive cartoons targeting the Muslim community. Although the situation was later calmed, the effects of the work of the cartoonist remain a living scar among those who lost their dear ones. At the same time two African newspapers: *The Citizen* of South Africa and *The Star* of Kenya apologized profusely for publishing *Charlie Hebdo* cover belittling Muslim spiritual leader. The apology remains a living testimony of how incorrect or biased cartooning can bring havoc to the society.

In related but equally disturbing circumstances, Kevin Carter a renowned photojournalist committed suicide after he was criticized for being another predator because of having taken a photograph of a toddler who had collapsed on the way to the United Nations feeding centre as a vulture waited closely. That was in Ayod village South Sudan in 1993.

Carter was criticized for not helping the girl and that instead he was more interested in taking the picture of the helpless child. The picture had such huge impact that people were concerned about what could have happened to the child who badly needed food in an almost desolate areas affected by famine. Understandably, although Carter

helped the toddler out of the situation, but the public imagination of what could have happened to the child kept fanning negative criticism against him. The photojournalist could not take in the critics further and so he chose to terminate his own life as if to put everything to rest. Similarly, a photojournalist Richard Drew was equally criticized for having captured a man while falling from Twin Towers in New York during the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 in the United States of America. The picture that has come to be known as the *falling man* photograph was heavily criticized by many people across the globe for condemning the falling man to death even when actually he was destined for death. Basing on the two incidents that were captured in the photographs, it is evident that pictures have lasting impact to the viewers and the readers. To many readers, Carter was more concerned with his work of informing the world what was then happening in Sudan than helping the toddler. Equally, Richard was not kind enough to the falling man. In the same breadth, just like pictures, cartoons and illustrations equally bear similar if not greater impact to the readers and the viewers. As demonstrated earlier, cartoons can elicit worse reactions depending on the characters depicted and how they are depicted to the readers.. Thus, the framing of characters and messages that are attributed to them hold critical message that if not well presented to the readers can easily cause havoc. On the other hand the importance of the *mascot* voice cannot be underestimated in adding more salt to an injury in a critical cartoon with a heavy message to the readers. That is why England, (2011) in examining the Disney princess movies found that gender representation in cartoons is just the same as it was many years ago. The traditional image of male and female characters is just the same. Male characters are always dominating and rescue the female characters and female cartoon character is always portrayed as smart, beautiful and sexy. Likewise Jeanne & Debra (1996) argued that



in most of the animated films, the male characters are usually projected as aggressive, terror-like, full of action and violent whilst female characters are proved to be passive and useless as well as sub-ordinate to man. During the last few years a number of studies have proved that in majority of animated cartoons, not only the females are portrayed stereotypically but the male characters as well are projected in a stereotypical manner in media all over the world. Moreover, Thompson, & Zerbinos, (1995) studied the animated cartoons in American television and found that the animated cartoon which were shown before 1980 on television had represented the male and female characters more stereotypically than which were produced after 1980. The male characters were more aggressive and stronger while female characters were more beautiful, smart with ideal prettiness in feminine characters. Moreover the male characters were outnumbered in ration 2 to 1 to female characters in most of the animated cartoon films. Furthermore, male characters in animated cartoons, not only outnumbered the female characters but were portrayed in a variety of different roles and especially in characters of good occupations (Levinson, 1975). On the other hand the female are just represented in a few typical type of roles and characters of being a sex symbol or an assistant and house lady with very few characters of occupations like teacher, nurse, girlfriend or mother. Up until 1980, the gender portrayal has been the similar in more or less all of the kids' films and cartoons. Wiserma, (2011) found that from many years of history, the gender role portrayal has not progressed according to the equality of male and female in the social development in the society because media is not portraying the real images and balanced perspective about men and women. This perception obviously points to the main focus of this study. That it is about time that more is revealed as to why the media has consistently failed to recognize the need to give equal limelight to both men and women in news and

editorial cartoons in particular. Therefore it is the quest to find out why this is so that adds impetus to this study. And the search for mitigating measures in to this scenario is even more inspirational to this study.

### **1.1.2 Regional Perspective**

In Africa, cartoonists have been actively involved in democratization process besides being involved in relentless struggle for transparency and accountability on the part of the leadership. In Nigeria for example, cartoons were used as vehicles of the struggle against military regimes which had become synonymous with the history of most of the West African nations. In this oil-rich and populous African nation, cartoons were used to mobilize the citizens in their quest for democratic governments (Jimson 2010). They were effective as the struggle to restore order also became fruitful and useful to the majority of the citizens. In this regard, cartoons acted as mobilization tools which challenged the citizens to rise up and fight for justice and their freedom

Moving on to South Africa cartoons were used to fight apartheid which was discriminative, racist and punitive way of keeping majority African under the mercy of the few whites and white domination (James 1997). It would be remembered that those who stood to defend inclusion, integration and freedom for all were soon to smile as their efforts to restore sanity in South Africa using cartoons paid dividends that gradually led to independence in 1994. Since then, cartoons and their impact have occupied soft spots in the hearts of the South Africans. In this regard, cartoons have such critical voice laced with persuasive power gaining momentum for unprecedented visibility and influence and that could be the more reason cartoons have come a long way gaining popularity and prominence from time to time Katz (2004). In nearly all the newspapers and journals, world over, cartoons take the centre stage of attracting

the readers. Therefore, in many newspapers and magazines world over, editor's devote specific pages in the dummies for cartoons in order to make the readers get more informed and entertained on what current issues are and how they affect the society now and in future. In so doing, cartoons provide additional lenses that enable the readers to interpret issues that appear as news in the media. Therefore, cartoons are important especially in their role in mobilizing people for change as has been specifically felt in Nigeria and South Africa as these two super African economies have had a history of political and social upheavals which have affected national cohesion to a very large degree.

### **1.1.3 Local Perspective**

In Kenya, cartoons have been used to question those in authority particularly whenever things go the wrong way to the disappointment of many. From the statistics available, most of the newspaper readers interact with the editorial pages of the newspapers where cartoons are mostly published with clear messages almost on daily basis. While most people begin reading newspapers from headlines on front moving on to inside pages, there is yet another group of readers who begin reading newspapers by first looking at the cartoons and more specifically those appearing on editorial pages before reaching out to the headlines of major stories then other stories that are published as fillers and captions. And still there is yet another category of readers who first look at the pictures, then headlines and finally inside stories. Another category s begin reading newspapers from politics, general issues of criminality or stories from courts, county news and sports pages to catch up with the betting options that are published on daily basis. Another group though may be small but significant catch up with news starting from the top stories on page one and

straight in to business, advertisement, obituaries and finally sports perhaps for betting purpose.

Cartoons do not just appear serious and perhaps stern, but they are laced with laughter-some form of amusement that makes it exciting to look for what has been ridiculed in the newspaper. This explains why Russ Radcliffe (2004) argues that the first rule of the cartoon is to be funny because if one doesn't laugh, then it hasn't worked. But based on the cardinal definition of the cartoon in this study, when a cartoon makes people to laugh then that must be an important issue otherwise they will just ignore. It therefore means that even as people are made to laugh, they should be able to learn from that particular cartoon. Thus, the essence of the *so what* in the cartoon must always override the laughter. For example if it is on corruption, the cartoonist is obliged to caricature some characters with ballooning bellies to suggest that they have eaten or stolen a lot. Such cartoon would not just be an ordinary cartoon for one just to laugh and forget. It means corruption is bad and costly and action against it is need. This study insists that when the readers are confronted with such cartoon, it is important and necessary to relate it with the scarcity of commodities facing people such as lack of *Unga*, hiked prices of essential goods and lack of medicine in dispensaries among other issues. It will also make readers to understand why for example doctors and teachers must go on strike before their grievances are addressed. The reader will then loudly demand that those responsible and culpable must be punished. Confronted by these comparisons, policy makers will not be at peace at all. Instead, they will be forced by the unrest and agitation that comes with such cartoons to act immediately. That is why Kenyan women parliamentarians protested after the *Daily Nation* published a cartoon depicting

women massaging a key government leader. Similar reactions greeted the newspapers after they published a cartoon likening Kenyan MPs to pigs suggesting that they were too greedy to depend on their salary alone. Fair and balanced portrayal of either gender in cartoons effectively informs, educates and entertains society without any bias or preference to a particular section of society. When there is fair and balanced gender portrayal it becomes easier for the nation to move together in a united front against any whirls such as hunger, floods, poverty and conflicts among others.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The main problem that prompted this study is in three dimensions namely the social, contextual and academic. Each of the three parts are discussed separately..

### **1.2.1 Social Problem**

The gender question has for more than two decades occupied national conversation globally. Article 10 of the constitution of Kenya (2010) categorically states the principles and values of good governance which envisages non-discrimination based on either gender, tribe, color or even race. Therefore negative portrayal of either gender in the media through cartoons has a significant contribution towards reinforcing gender stereotypes and discrimination resulting in increased gender gap, specifically between men and women. Entrenched gender gap affects national cohesion and is an affront to the national values and principles of good governance. Cartoons are serious forms of communication that deserve attention since they are intrinsic section of the editorial voice of every newspaper. Gender portrayal has a direct connection to overall society expectation and appreciation of the need to change perception that one gender should be more dominant and by extension important than another in cartoons. Leaning towards one gender is not only retrogressive but

promotes marginalization, and stereotyping. Stereotyping affects cohesion in society and entrenches division. Gender portrayals in the media ought to be a cause of concern because of the importance of media in the socialization process for both children and adults (Signorelli 1990:59). This presupposes that realistic and varied portrayals of both men and women has the potential of promoting healthy, sustainable development while the extreme and perhaps unrealistic stereotypes will only negatively influence young viewers and readers. The treatment of gender in the newspapers is part and parcel of the agenda setting process by the media. The society considers this as a great opportunity to learn from what is emphasized by the media. Such interrogation will help in understanding how the media through cartoons mirrors gender to the readers. Gender portrayal in whichever form and manner strongly contributes to the way the society would consider the affected gender. For example negative portrayal of any of the gender would have a devastating effect on whether the society would hold the affected gender with respect or not. This is a social problem because it is bound to influence perceptions and attitude particularly from the targeted consumers. Understanding these dynamics therefore becomes an important step towards addressing gender disparity, thus making gender equality part and parcel of a national conversation as set out by the media. Editorial cartoons provide a firm interpretation of the events and issues as reported by the newspapers or by any other form of communication including the social media. This study aims at highlighting the nature of gender treatment given by the newspapers through editorial cartoons of the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. It is intended to highlight whether or not cartoonists are biased and stereotypical in the manner they portray both men and women.

### 1.2.2 Contextual Problem

This study is founded in the Publishing Journalism and Communication Studies but has serious connection with gender and communication as well as visual communication. These two areas emphasize the importance of images and how they need to be understood from the denotative and connotative perspectives. This study was conducted at the time when the media had increased freedom and protection as outlined in the articles 34 and 35 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010). This media fraternity has the full leverage of relevant institutions like the Media Council of Kenya, the Kenya Union of Journalists and the Law Society of Kenya institutions that can be described as drivers of progressive media today.. The two dailies, *Nation* and the *Standard* are the largest in circulation by extension most influential among the readers. And specific, the *Nation* in particular boasts of a regional coverage spread across the East Africa and beyond with a daily circulation of 4, 379,400 readers compared to the *Daily Standard's* figure of 2,223,500 per day. The Geo Poll media measurement report of 2015 further revealed that the *Daily Nation* has a 40 per cent share of the readers nationwide while the *Standard* has a 20 per cent of the share in the whole country. These figures have changed upwards over time. These two dailies also have a comparative advantage of drawing further readership from the region which includes, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan. These figures would therefore mean that majority of Kenyans and a good portion of the East African population largely depends on the two dailies as a source of information, education and entertainment needs. It therefore follows that each story, picture and cartoon published in these two dailies has a higher possibility of generating reaction from the readers. The study was conducted after the promulgation of the new constitution on August 27, 2010, which emphasizes the principle of cohesion and non-discrimination

as prescribed in article 10 of principles and values,. It is within this context that investigating how the editorial cartoons portray gender becomes a significant study as it sets out to determine whether or not these cartoons serve to facilitate gender parity or retrogressively serves to incrementally set both gender apart.

### **1.2.3 Academic Problem**

The literature reviewed revealed that a lot of academic research undertakings have previously focused on cartoons and politics leaving aside issues related to gender. In a recent study Siringi (2013) looked at the impact of cartoons on the politics of Kenya. Elsewhere, Omanga (2012) paid more attention to cartoons in relation to the war against terror. And as for the case of Adejuwon and Alimi (2011) the focus was directed towards the role of cartoons in the democratization of Nigeria. Mukhongo and Gakahu (2015) observed that there is deliberate gender bias in depicting women in the media focusing on the inside pages of the newspaper excluding the editorial page where cartoons are normally placed.. Thus, the inside pages where most of the women related issues are covered and placed point to deliberate efforts especially in the print media to sideline women. The same concerns were raised by the UN report of 2015, on women and the media having concluded that despite being more than half of the world population, only a small fraction of the same are either seen, heard or read about in the media. This makes it difficult for the female gender to raise their visibility in the media and to the public in general. Similar concerns were raised by the Media Council of Kenya in a report *Gender Agenda* published in 2015 and in which it was observed that most of the issues that were published had a lot to do with the male gender. The report further states that news were skewed towards the elite and leadership category made up of politicians, area experts and opinion leaders leaving



out the women and those considered to belong to the low class. On the other hand, Robi Koki Ochieng, Teddy Eugene Otieno and Rosetta Mutie directed their study towards Gender stereotypes in Kenya; the *Representative codes of women in print media*. But more specifically, they focused on the impact of messages in print media advertisement with focus on the attitude towards women and their role in society.

These perspectives are definitely important but may not be sufficient to help shed light on the nature of gender treatment by the newspapers with reference to cartooning. The findings of this research will obviously provide a voice of reason in emphasizing that cartoons are not mere drawings or caricatures that are meant to make readers laugh or even cry and thereafter remain silent. Cartoons are serious metaphorical, satirical and ironical depictions of society that need to be interrogated beyond laughter.. This study gives details of the treatment of gender by the two newspapers and highlights the nature of gender portrayal reflected in the two newspapers in the specified period.

This study therefore aims to fill an academic gap. That in addition to what other studies have offered to students and academicians, this particular study provides unique details of how cartoons can either promote gender equality or incremental discrimination and stereotypical overtones.. Cartoons have effect which can be either negative or positive. Then trio dynamism between, the cartoonist, cartoon and the reader is an important framework in communication. Therefore, cartoonists have the responsibility to always think about the likely reactions the readers might have as they develop caricature.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study was driven by three research questions that provided the guideline of navigating this piece of work drawn from the existing gap of knowledge in relation to the gender portrayal in the cartoon world in Kenya. This study has been motivated by the desire to answer the following questions, which are the basis around which the thesis has been built and completed.

1. What is the nature of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons?
2. What accounts for the way cartoonists portray gender in caricature?
3. What are the views of journalists and civil society on gender portrayal in editorial cartoons.

### **1.4 Scope of Study**

I define the scope to mean the extent to which the study goes in addressing the problem that was earlier explained. This extent also covers the research questions. In this case, the scope covers three significant areas namely content scope, geographical scope and methodological scope

In this section, the study provides details in terms of the content, which is extent of the inquiry in to the gender portrayal as reflected in editorial cartoons of the two selected newspapers. At the same time, the study provides the details of where the study took place and why. The first question accounts for type of gender portrayal that emerged from the sampled cartoons appearing in the two dailies. The nature is used to describe the negativity, positivity or whether the depiction is somewhat balanced or has achieved the appropriate reflection of both gender in regard to the roles they are given in particular cartoons. This question is critical in breaking down each and every

sampled cartoon and establishing whether gender portrayal is skewed or balanced in nature.

The second question is designed to reveal why the two newspaper brought out the gender in the sampled cartoons. The why aims to explain what possible reasons for that portrayal as cartoons revealed.. Cartoonist have the tendency to demonstrate or emphasize issues using an appropriate language that aims to generate laughter but while remaining significantly alive with the seriousness that comes with the overriding subject or issue in the sampled cartoon.

The third question was designed to provide the understanding of the gender activists in regard to cartooning and gender and whether there are noticeable biases in the portrayal of gender..

#### **1.4.1 Content**

This study is located in Publishing Journalism and Communication Studies although closely linked to gender and communication. Cartoons are in this case identified within the editorial pages of the two newspapers.

This study set out to establish how gender is portrayed in cartoons of two selected newspapers namely the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers. Analysis of sampled cartoons has been digested through the qualitative approach to this research. Thus, details of the selected cartoons were analyzed thematically to correspond with the key questions and objectives of the study. Furthermore, Key Informant Interviews were conducted with the cartoonists in addition to seeking more information from gender focused institutions namely Federation of Women Lawyers (FIIDA) Kenya,

the National Commission on Human Rights, the Media Council of Kenya and the National Gender and Equality Commission( NGEC).

#### **1.4.2 Geographical**

The study was undertaken in Nairobi Kenya where both the *Daily Nation and the Standard* newspapers are printed and published. The editorial departments of the two dailies is located in Nairobi but they heavily rely on information received and partially processed from the regional offices across the country. In this regard, each newspaper has county level offices where news gathering and partial processing of the same is done for onward transmission. The study took place in research and study rooms of the two dailies namely the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers and this is where data was basically collected before it was subjected to sampling and ultimately analyzed. Beside this data, interviews were done first for the cartoonists in this case two cartoonist one each from the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* were interviewed. These interviews were conducted in an office setting environment where privacy was guaranteed. The interviews were also done in this environment to enable each cartoonist to access and provide some of the sample cartoons that they found interesting in their work.

Apart from the cartoonists, gender specialists from key institutions were conducted in an office-setting environment. Those interviewed were drawn from the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights , Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA), National Gender and Equality Commission and the Media Council of Kenya. Once data was collected, the analysis, interpretation of the same and the conclusion of this thesis was done in Eldoret. This study covered three consecutive years namely 2012, 2013, and 2014 as earlier observed .The selection was deliberate and cast on

assumption that there were a lot of political activities that took place in those three years as the country prepared for the 2013 general elections. Therefore rigorous reporting or pre-election, election and post elections activities was anticipated.

### **1.4.3 Methodological**

The Study was done using qualitative Cases Study method based on interpretivist approach in analyzing data that was derived from the selected samples of cartoons from the two daily newspapers. Out of a population size of 2184 a total of 252 cartoons were sampled using systematic sampling technique. Appropriate parameters were considered to ensure that right data was collected. For example this research was particular about the cartoons that were to be collected and analyzed. I looked for editorial cartoons that were needed for this study. In other words, cartoons that only appeared on the page where the editorial of the voice of the newspaper is written. Each cartoon was analyzed based on the specific framework that was developed. The tone of the cartoon, the message above and underneath, the mascot voice, the nature of the picture that was depicted. Gender that was highlighted in the cartoon and theme or the issue that the cartoon was all about provided the guidelines for analyzing cartoons.

The research also involved use of in-depth interviews as the basis for accessing additional information from specific key informant drawn from five institutions namely two cartoonist from the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers, one representative each from the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya) and the Media Council of Kenya.

### **1.5 Rationale of the Study**

The main inspiration for undertaking this study was the existing inadequacy of the scholarly contribution on the gender portrayal in editorial cartoons. Based on this inspiration there was the opportunity to address this inadequacy using available resources such as the actual editorial cartoons, the cartoonists who were ready to be interviewed and the relevant institutions that were ready to be approached for more information to make this study a success. Cartoons are capable of reinforcing what the society knows about either gender. Previous research has demonstrated that gender portrayal is glaringly missing in action. And yet there is perceived misconception within the general public in regard to the way gender is framed in the media using cartoons.

Indeed previous research works have touched on the aspect of gender and media with revelations that the male gender seems to enjoy media limelight more than the female gender. Tasviri (2015) in his study notes that for the peripheral modernization projects, women have often been the face of a rapidly modernizing nation, shifting it from one civilization to the other. The body of the women, its presentation and limits have always had connotative meanings, circumscribing their individuality within the identity of a nation. These assumptions are also valid for the modernization case in Turkey in which women represented a vast transformation toward a Western and secular society. Granting of the suffrage rights was a historical moment in this process, referring to women becoming public personalities vested with political rights. Yet, this political process was also replete with a social and cultural background in which a new phase of neo-patriarchy endured. The analysis of the editorial cartoons in this study also aims to understand the molding of the public

opinion and the creation of women's image during the granting of the suffrage rights. It covers one month period before and after the declaration of the rights in 1930 municipal elections.

Some scholarly efforts have observed gender and media in terms of placement of the women in the inside pages of the newspapers, as a way of stopping women from getting higher and higher. However, the closest research to the one being undertaken looked at women in politics and how they are depicted by a specific cartoonist from the *Nation Media Group*. According to Mararo and Mberia (2014), female characters that were highlighted in selected cartoons drawn by cartoonist known as Gado, appeared frightening, weak and frowning as if to suggest that most women were not ready to occupy leadership positions. Further details indicated that women also appeared smaller and fearful pointing to the possibility that women live under the attack of the male gender in perceived male dominated society. The research did confirm that indeed the male gender has unfair advantage over the female gender in terms of how they were depicted in the selected cartoons in relation to politics. The research raised serious concerns of gender inequality and the failure of the media to address skewed gender representation in the main stream media. This research therefore comes in handy to address the lacuna that seemingly was left out by previous research works especially in terms of making gender portrayal a critical matter that needs to be highlighted and understood by both the media practitioners and the media scholars.

Based on the aforementioned details, this research has taken yet another step towards academic excellence. This study therefore brings out the nature of gender portrayal by selected editorial cartoons. Further than this, the study also reveals what influences

cartoonists to constantly engage in the caricaturing both the female and male gender. And even more significantly, whether in so doing, cartoonist have joined the bandwagon of perpetuating gender stereotypes of either gender. The study has looked at gender portrayal in relation to politics, corruption, leadership and integrity, education, leisure and land grabbing among other issues that made the headlines in the two selected newspapers. The way both men and women are depicted is so critical in understanding how media frames personalities and whether this has any impact or influence over societal values and beliefs. For example, if a character who has been depicted as corrupt and has stolen millions of shillings and made people die because of lack of medicine or poor road network and the same person seems to enjoy fanatical following particularly from his or her backyard, then it becomes obvious that although the society knows that corruption ruins the economy but faced with two choices of either condemning the corrupt and standing firm to defend integrity they will conveniently choose to defend those who plunder and steal public resources. This study therefore makes a major step towards looking at gender from the perspective of the cartoonist working hard to fill the editorial pages with caricatures that not only make people to laugh but also ask questions why certain issues have to take place in society the way they do. The point is in so doing, could the cartoonists be unconsciously perpetuating gender disparity and gender stereotypical overtones? And this is where the inspiration to undertake this study lies.

### **1.5 Significance of Study**

The significance of the study demonstrates its contribution to the field of knowledge and its relevance to the end users namely scholars, media students, practitioners and policy makers.



Justification is synonymous to the relevance or significance. It majorly responds to such questions as “So What?”, or “Why bother ?” or simply “This study is justified because of the nature of concerns that revolve around gender and media and how gender equality has remained elusive in news generation, packaging and dissemination to the consumers. Editorial cartoons in particular seem to be conduits of gender discrimination and negative portrayal of specific gender. Reactions across the world specifically France, South Africa and even Tanzania seem to suggest that there could be a possibility of editorial cartoonists unconsciously drawing cartoons that serve to generate negative reactions besides being gender insensitive. That is the reason why there is concern among scholars, gender activists and feminists in regard to the way gender is mirrored by cartoons in general and editorial cartoons in particular. The way gender is portrayed in the media ought to be a concern of everybody because of the importance of media in the socialization process for both children and adults as suggested by (Signorelli 1990:59). Thus, realistic and varied portrayals of both men and women has the potential of promoting healthy, and sustainable development but the contrary only stands to escalate stereotypical tendencies leading to negatively influence over young viewers and readers.

This concern has not only been witnessed in Kenya but also in other parts of the world including Denmark, France, South Africa and Tanzania just to name a few. In Denmark for example, more than 250 people were killed in 2005 following protests against the Danish Newspaper, Jyllands-posten publications of cartoons that discredited the “the Face of Mohammed” The cartoons christened “*First Mohammed the prophet and now Mohammed the profit,*” which was outrageous to the Muslim community leading to violent protests. In similar circumstances, more than 10 people

were killed in Paris in 2015 after the newspaper...published cartoons that also discredited Mohammed the prophet and by extension to the Muslim community. Here in Kenya, activists took to the streets in Nairobi after an editorial cartoon labeled women as sex objects in the infamous *Hustler's Jet* cartoon of 2013.

This study offers significant knowledge in regard to editorial cartoons in three ways. First, it highlights how editorial cartoons unconsciously facilitate and entrench gender disparity by skewed representation of both men and women in news. To this end it suggests need to raise awareness among cartoonists in general and editorial cartoonists in particular to appreciate the need to embrace gender sensitivity in caricaturing of news makers. The study specifically speaks to the media owners to take a bold step in ensuring that reporters and editors adhere to gender sensitivity in carrying out their duties. Where necessary, retraining of the cartoonists in particular and media practitioners in general would be an important step to improve quality and gender sensitivity reporting. It offers practical suggestions that could help to reduce negative gender portrayal, skewed gender portrayal and gender stereotypes which in essence only exist to perfect gender inequality. This study further provides a rich scholarly information on gender portrayal in editorial cartoons in addition to highlighting qualitative research methodology that includes content analysis.

The study emphasizes that cartoons occupy critical position in educating, informing and entertaining the readers but even more seriously also can offer a platform for the readers to make suggestions on how to improve quality of drawing cartoons. To this end, this study recommends strong partnership between the media owners, practitioners and the consumers as a step towards enhancing quality reporting. This will enable readers to constantly question articles and cartoons whenever they

misrepresent people or issues that affect society. For this reason, this study underscores the importance of cartoons as news and serious pieces of information that require thorough reflection on messages as they affect the society. The portrayal of gender in whichever nature forms a critical part in informing the agenda setting role of the media. That the media has the responsibility to inform, educate and entertain and that every other time an article is published or news is splashed on the screen it has to be directed towards achieving that objective. Indeed what is highlighted in the news is all that forms the discussions in market places, public transport and social places when people are relaxing, schools and colleges where learning takes place and even at home within and among the family members. The way news is anchored is an important frame that automatically influences the perception of the people. In the same way, every time significance is put on a specific gender through cartooning automatically sends a clear message to the public as which gender deserves better or worse attention and treatment in society.

This message can either be explicit in other words connotative in nature or it can also be implicit which means one must dig further in to the context to understand the message of the cartoon. In view of the argument of Berger (2008), the images seen in magazines, television screens form an extremely complex phenomenon of communication and that factors such as shape, design, dimension and spatiality among others are all avenues of conveying messages. Appropriate gender portrayal is obviously a clear way meant to shape the perception of the society in regard to gender treatment. In the same vein, a cartoon, however well or poorly drawn it may be, has specific components such as placement, size, colour and the content underneath, all contributing to the overall message the cartoonist wants to put across.

This study employed both connotative and denotative interpretations to break down messages for the readers. The connotative and denotative aspects of the sampled cartoon brings out underlying messages based on the appropriation of gender in each case. The connotative part of the interpretation relays information based on the outlay of the details of the cartoons. What literally comes out of the cartoon without having to subject it to any form of interpretation? Efforts were made to ensure the context and sufficient background is accorded to each sampled cartoon. Such background was critical in determining what could have informed the cartoonist to develop and for the editor to finally ensure that the selected cartoon sees the light of the day. On the other hand, the denotative part of the interpretation relays information based on the hidden meanings that have subsequent effect on the society. The denotative information is interpretive in nature and tends to link up what is published with the environment that exists therein. The denotative aspects helps to bring out what is not obvious and yet so important for the readers to know and perhaps appreciate. This study is a significant step towards unveiling knowledge relating to the nature of gender treatment by sampled editorial cartoons that appeared in *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers within the specified period of time.

## **1.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have highlighted the contextual and critical background that makes this study important. Key issues discussed are summarized below. Furthermore, I situate this study in the field of communication besides highlighting the contributions of other scholars about gender, cartoons and media. Background information touching on contexts: geographical, academic and methodological have also been highlighted in this chapter. The rationale, significance of the study with research questions that

guided this study are provided to give the all important reason why this study was necessary at this point in time.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This section is critical to the research problem and the entire research engagement. I provide the basis for conceptualization and highlight what makes this study important at this point in time. Details of the contributions of other scholars in the area of gender and media, gender and cartoons in general and gender and editorial cartoons in particular are the main stakes of this chapter. In addition, relevant theories that stand to support and define the focus of this study are highlighted in this chapter.

#### **2.1 Gender and the media**

What is gender?

Gender and the media

This term refers to Cultural Sex. It means that what causes different perceptions of women and men, femininity and masculinity in society, is not sex (biological) differences but comprehensions within society, which do not relate to our bodies. Different cultures characterize masculinity and femininity differently - what is considered feminine in one culture, during one time period, is considered masculine in another time period or country, or it is not in any way related to masculinity and femininity in another society.

According to the United Nations Report of 2015, Women constitute over 50 per cent of the entire world population. According to the United Nations report on the position of women in media(1979), women hold approximately 40 per cent of the paid employment, while a large portion of the same work in informal sector. But only 24 per cent of the entire population are either heard, seen or read about in news. Which

means that majority of the female gender is left outside the media fraternity. With this percentages playing out, women are likely to be portrayed as victims in the news. Furthermore, majority of the news makers are the male gender. That is why media Scholar Margaret Gallagher in the forward of the UN report stated that unbalanced gender power relations are embedded and validated while gender stereotypes are replicated and reinforced by the world news. Which means news are important and powerful forces that help shape and influence the way people act in various environments whether in school, at home and at their work places. Therefore, very significant contributions to research and intellectual thought on gender and media have come from civil society organizations that work primarily on gender or media and gender. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) serves as a good example. Although not specifically focused on Africa, GMMP findings provide us with the most reliable disaggregated data on how gender is represented in African news media and is widely cited. The 2010 report, for example, contains data on 26 African countries and like other regions of the world provides a separate report on Africa. The GMMP is coordinated not in an academic institution, but by the World Association of Christian Communicators (WACC), a global network of communicators promoting communication for social change. GMMP research is led by Margaret Gallagher, one of the foremost contemporary researchers on gender and media, with the help of a worldwide team of volunteer researchers drawn from both academia and civil society. Billed as the “world’s longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media” (GMMP, 2010), the first GMMP report came out in 1995, and served to underscore the call for action made during the Beijing conference. There have been three other reports since then – in 2000, 2005 and 2010.

Other examples of individual and collaborative research on media and gender by civil society can be drawn from South African gender non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Gender Links (2005), Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA, 2003), Network and media NGOs such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA). Gender Links and MISA conducted the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS, 2003), a comprehensive regional study on gender and media in Southern Africa. They followed up the baseline study by partnering with GEMSA, universities and media advocacy organizations to produce the Gender and Media Audience Study (GMAS), with a gendered dimension, covering 13 Southern African countries. Again in 2009/2010 the three NGOs – Gender Links, GEMSA and MISA – undertook the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) covering over 30,000 news items in 14 African countries.

The *Gender and Media Diversity Journal*, a biennial journal, also contains intellectual articles on gender and media. These Southern African research initiatives are unique on the African continent. There are other regional research initiatives on media content being undertaken by civil society organizations. The Eastern Africa Journalists Association (EAJA), in collaboration with the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) Africa office, has published a study titled “Enhancing Gender in the Media in East Africa,” (2008) involving 10 Eastern Africa countries. Another innovative example of a research initiative located outside academia is the Gender Research in Africa into ICTs for Empowerment (GRACE) project. Initiated in 2005, GRACE is an IDRC (International Development Research Centre) research program for African researchers interested in information and communication technologies (ICTs) and women’s empowerment in 12 African countries. The project encourages



researchers to adopt a critical action research approach using qualitative research techniques. GRACE research articles are accessible through the book, *African Women and ICTs Investigating Technology, Gender and Empowerment* (Buskens and Webb, 2009). The articles interrogate variously the ways in which women in Africa use information and communication technologies (ICTs) to empower themselves, the external, structural barriers as well as the internal factors which prevent or enable them to use ICTs to their advantage, and the strategies they employ to overcome these impediments.

### **2.1.2 Gender Portrayal in Editorial Cartoons**

The visual images have lasting memory with the capacity to reveal anguish of a tormented soul. It can stimulate sexual passion, generate intense feelings and excitement to the level of driving people to bravery and barbaric acts. Images evoke responses in people based on their interpretation of meanings informed by common beliefs and values. Perhaps more recently, the pictures of a woman who lost both of her hands to a brutal husband for what was described as “failing to deliver for him a baby boy” elicited public outrage, sympathy and intense debate in both mainstream and social media making the police and gender activists to act more decisively than ever before (*KTN news at Nine*, August 3, 2016). The culprit was handed outright imprisonment without any option. And the victim was generously supported by well wishers.

On the other hand, newspaper cartoons play a significant role in educating, informing and entertaining the readers through caricature, symbolism and metaphors. Cartoons are created and mediated to emphasize meanings assigned to them. In fact, many communication scholars seem to concur that more than 80 per cent of human learning

is derived from images ([www.hp.com/go/printingimaging](http://www.hp.com/go/printingimaging)). If well utilized therefore, cartoons do serve well as platform for educating, entertaining and informing the public. Beyond this significant role, cartoons can hold leaders and or those in authority to account for what they do or do not do. And to a great extent, cartoons just like the newspapers, radio, television and even the new media, can equally cause people to ask themselves fundamental questions regarding the issues that seem to catch the attention of the cartoonists. In other words, cartoons are equally agenda setting instruments of the media that help the leaders understand what is so crucial to the development needs of the people. However it is not the obvious that what is highlighted makes the agenda of the day or the week. Rather, it is the persistent and frequent observations by the cartoonist as witnessed in the editorial cartoon and the message they pan out over timer which culminates in to an agenda. Consequently cartoons do make the readers ask themselves the most important question *so what?* As they read through the newspapers. Therefore, while playing well educational, informational and entertaining roles, cartoons can at the same time, generate disharmony particularly if they lay emphasis on negative elements of life in a society using animation and comic manner that seem to undermine the social fabrics (Becker, Stephen and Rube (1959). While the specific definition may have changed over time, modern usage refers cartoons to a typically non-realistic or even semi-realistic drawings that portray people and their different world views using satire, caricature and humor. But it is also a form of art which substitute's imagery, provides illustration, persuasion, conviction and beautification (Gowns 1971). Cartoons are critical in providing humor to those who love reading them. But when considered beyond this, cartoons are no more than illustrations that point to specific behavior by individuals found in news. To the contrary, other scholars have simply termed

cartoons as mere drawings meant for laughter because of the way characters are presented to the readers. But the cartoons are not in any way only mere avenues for laughter. Indeed they can make the readers to laugh to some extent but the critical part of reading the cartoon is one asking himself or herself *so what* after laughter. In other words, the *so what* makes one to move a notch higher in questioning what else is there beyond the laughter. What is there beyond the laughter is what can be deduced or simply understood through denotation. This level of looking at meaning and reason beyond laughter is what this study is all about when it offers an opportunity to determine the nature of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons. In this regard, every cartoon has a clear message that lies underneath laughter. Therefore, it is important to note from the onset of this study that people take cartoons seriously in a manner that makes them see other messages beyond the laughter. This study has considered a cartoon as a drawing with an exception in the sense that it is satirical portrayal or reflection of personalities captured in the stories published in the main and social media. Such capture may be so often or a result of single occurrence or multiple occurrences depending on the magnitude of the news coverage that would warrant such capture in a satirical manner. Furthermore, these drawings arise from the continuous interaction of the cartoonists with the daily events as they appear in the news within the newspapers and in the social media as well. It is such interaction that leads to interpretation of news and finally leads to some news forming the basis for generating cartoons. In other words, it needs to be understood from the onset that not every story that appears in the news or covered by the various media make the basis for generating a cartoon. Generating a cartoon involves having deep thoughts and reflections besides serious consideration surrounding key questions such as the impact of the story to the public or the magnitude of the story to the general public, its

proximity to the readers and its timeliness as part of the news values that guide selection and publishing of any given news story. Hence the cartoons are interpretation and analysis of news by the cartoonists for every issue that seem to catch the public eye. They are news in digest which has a direct influence to the readers or consumers of news in the society. Each cartoonist or even newspapers has its own way of interpreting news. This interpretation is guided by the in-house style otherwise called editorial policy. But it is also affected by the larger principles of selecting news such as who, said what, where, when how and why. Beside these basic principles, there is so what and with what impact to the society.

This definition makes the study even more urgent if not critical especially coming at the time after the promulgation of the new constitution that has in black and white spelled out adherence to gender equity in Kenya.

The need to establish different forms of imagery as reflected in the newspapers is critical in understanding the hidden perceptions that are accorded to each gender appearing in editorial cartoons of the two selected newspapers. That such interrogation is valid on the principle of the fact that imagery, substitution or illustrational capacities are weighty matters in regard to cartoons and what they mean to the readers is too critical to ignore at any given time. Indeed cartoons like news stories and the meaning they assign to each gender either serves to promote integration or escalate gender disparity in the affected society. In other words, it is the understanding or interrogation of such assigned imagery or illustrational capacities that further create the perceptions of the readers about each gender that has been highlighted. These capacities that lead to perceptions are critical in telling what the overall society think of a particular gender.

While the overall responsibility of the newspaper is to remain factual, objective and fair in the coverage of news, beyond this, they lampoon characters who are mainly the newsmakers. This partly explains why some cartoonists demonstrate a strong sense of injustice to the newsmaker. And sometimes become unfair so much as to appear subversive to the, absurd, ridiculous within their caricature and yet still relevant in their quest to hold the mighty and those in power to account.

Nzo (1989) posit that the importance of cartoons as instruments of political and social commentary was not confined to Europe alone where this art of communication is said to have originated. Across the Atlantic in America, cartoons were actively used to agitate for the removal of the corrupt political class known as *Tweed Ring* which controlled the government of New York as early as 1870s for this very reason cartoons were effectively utilized. In this regard, cartoons served as a mobilization tool to solicit for support for change in society. With the capacity to influence the mindset of the readers, the changes in the leadership were inevitable in America. as Sooner than later the corrupt and selfish crop of leaders were thrown out of power.

## **2.2 Situating Study in the field of Communication Studies**

The analysis of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons of the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers is a research work that is situated in the media and has relationship with gender and communication. Defined as a social construct, gender basically deals with the roles assigned to either male or female in a particular society meaning it varies from one society to another. Gender and Communication makes a deliberate effort to understand how gender is played out in the personal, inter personal as well as mass communication. Issues of gender equality, the role of women in media, gender aspect in news making and packaging are some of the

critical areas that fall within the confines of media and publishing but also relate to gender and communication. This study therefore rightly falls under this realm with the major focus on understanding how gender is depicted in the editorial cartoons of the two dailies. Such depiction or narrative in regard to gender is important at this age and time where the quest for gender equality in society is of critical importance. This research carries enormous and valuable insights that will inform better policy formulation and domestication of the culture of gender equity making it possible for the mass media to become engendered.

### **2.3 Review of Relevant Theories**

Theoretical framework guides research to determine what things to measure, and what statistical relationships to look for (Defee, Randal, Thomasd & Williams, 2010). Media theories play a significant role in explaining the nature of the communication strategy that may be working in a particular situation. This research is directed towards confirming one or two communication theories that is likely to be at play as far as gender portrayal is concerned. The study was guided by Agenda Setting Theory, Spiral of Silence Theory and Social Learning Theory as discussed below.

#### **2.3.1 Agenda Setting Theory**

The Agenda setting theory as coined by McCombs and Shaw(1972,1973) is critical in describing how the media puts premium on certain issues that ultimately affect the thinking and sometimes action by some of the audience. Lazarsfeld (1944) in McQuail 2000:455) called it “ the power to structure issues,” just like politicians , from their individual and party standpoints go out of way to convince voters what the most important things or issues are. This attempt is what finally makes it possible for some politicians to win and others to loose elections. According to this theory, there

seem to be clear connection between the order of importance given to the media issues and the order of importance and significance to the same issues by the public and the politicians. That in the agenda setting environment there is connection between the priority of the media, that of the public and the priority of the policy makers. But even more importantly, is the fact that it is the media that attaches priority to issues by highlighting them in order for the public to watch, read and listen to them. And as the media constantly attach importance to the same, the policy makers find it necessary to pick them up, elevate them to more important issues that require specific actions. Although the public may not necessarily share same values about news events as highlighted by the media, it never the less get influenced by the same in the final end. That is why scholars argue that the media may not necessarily make people to change, but will make them think about change. Therefore, in agenda setting framework, which is a process by which awareness and attribution of significance. In this regard, the prime responsibility of the media is to make it possible for the public to begin debating on the issues that have been identified as important and deserve attention.

Dearing and Rogers (1996: 15) in McQual (2000:456) say that agenda setting is connected to other media effects theories such as bandwagon, spiral of silence, diffusion of news and media gate keeping responsibilities. Take for example the bandwagon perspective, where majority of the people would follow opinion leaders as long as the issue attracting them has been approved by the same. They further argue that different media tend to agree about the relative salience that seem to be priority. And that media agenda do not closely match real world indicators. Thus in the agenda setting arena, the media attaches importance to certain issues that seem to make sense

to real world of the audience. And as the media does this, there is also a section of the public who would only be convinced to take certain action based on what their friends and contemporaries have decided to do, hence the bandwagon framework that makes people do only what others are doing.

In agenda setting, public debate is represented by a set of salient issues. This agenda originates from the public opinion and proposal of the political class. In this regard, mass media selects issues for a certain level of attention whether full attention or otherwise. But even as the media boasts of agenda setting, the main question that lingers is who actually owns the media. In reality, the media is owned and controlled by largely powerful individuals and businessmen and women. For example in the US, the entire information is owned and controlled by media conglomerates such as the Warner Brothers.. Ultimately the media may rarely cause change independently, but they in most cases provide channels, the means and the platform for playing out of events in which many actors and interests are actively involved in competition with each other. Specific organized groups, elites and even influential minorities as well as opinion leaders and professionals constantly engage in debate either using television, radio and even the social media. Such engagement is all that is needed to make the public attach importance to some of the salient issues that inform the public debate.

Fishman (1980) in McQuail 2000, argues that most researchers assume that news either reflects or distorts reality. And that reality is made up of facts and events which exist independently of how news workers think of them and treat them in the news production process. To the contrary, although to some extent news is manufactured by reporters and editors based on the way they treat them, it is almost impossible to think of fiction in news. In other words, even when treatment may be exaggerated in favor



of certain truths, it is unlikely that facts and events can be created to suit news. In other words, it is upon the reporter and editor to ensure that news that reach the audience is as authentic as possible in order to remain alive with the realities of fairness and objectivity, which sometimes are so elusive to some media practitioners and individual organizations.

This theory is relevant to the current study because in adopting the agenda setting theory, this research is of the view that whatever is published in the newspapers becomes the gospel truth especially to the keen readers, viewers and listeners of news. Indeed it holds the view that what is published, or find its way to the editorial pages of the newspapers or Television screen must be important and relevant to the lives of targeted readers . Therefore in the context of the gender portrayal research, the framing of the key characters highlighted in the editorial pages of the two newspapers carries a lot of weight and makes indelible sense to the reader. That such framing is what makes it easy for the readers to either admire or hate the character in question. And in the context of the questions of this study, such framing is critical in either accelerating gender stereotypes or minimizing the same. Therefore agenda setting theory gives this research a theoretical strength in the sense that it does confirm that what is on the editorial pages of the newspapers is indeed urgent and important to the readers and that is why it is being highlighted. Once it is highlighted, it is bound to impact either negatively or positively to the readers.

### **2.3.2 Spiral of Silence Theory**

Spiral of silence as propounded by Elizabeth Noelle-Neuman (1977) that the media only publishes what is commonly accepted or received by the majority audience suggesting that the minority with the divergent views are shunned or isolated. In this

regard, people who perceive their own opinion as being accepted will express it but those whose opinion seems unpopular will keep quiet, hence the spiral of silence that only affects those with opinions that do not carry the day. Indeed many would fear further isolation just in case they express their divergent views against what the majority hold.

The only limitation with this theory is that it never approves the divergent views that might be equally important and deserve to be adopted as well. It is like democracy in which the majority have their way leaving the minority only with their say. In the context of gender portrayal especially in editorial cartoons, one would be tempted to imagine that most of the cartoons that are published are meant to sell and seemingly majority will like it. It is populist way of doing things. Which means that those who may be offended by the same might be only a fraction of the society. In this case, there could be a significant portion of the readers who feel offended when a cartoon portrays a particular gender in a negative way. At the same time, there could be a significant number of the media practitioners who want to portray a particular gender in a positive way but they fear being isolated because that may after all not sell. It is important to state that the spiral of silence theory confirms that indeed there are two sides of the coin. It is within the purview of this study to emphasize that divergent views count especially when fairness and objectivity values have to be upheld in the news environment. The fact that many editorial cartoons have been published against the will of so many does not mean that the publication has been doing justice to the entire readership fraternity. . That is why this research makes a case for appropriate, equal and balanced portrayal of both gender. This quest is informed by the many incidences where groups of people have stood up against media organizations that

seem to consistently publish news and opinions that annoy them. Most of the details of such outbursts are well conversed in the background and rationale for this study.

This research aims to put the record straight in so far as gender portrayal in editorial cartoons are concerned. The two theories that have been cited are critical in determining the extent to which gender portrayal has been to the advantage or disadvantage of both the male and the female gender as they interact with news.

### **2.3.3 Social Learning Theory**

The social learning theory as coined by Albert Bandura in 1977 is focused on learning that occurs with social context. Which means, , people learn from one another using such avenues as observation, imitation and modeling observation learning-when one demonstrates or acts out a particular behavior. At the center of this learning process is the media which plays a critical role in molding characters or demeaning the same depending on the issue that is at hand. This theory is an important interpretation framework to help determine the nature of the gender portrayal that is depicted in the editorial cartoons. Such interpretation would be necessary to tell how such portrayal would help determine whether editorial cartoons perpetuate gender stereotypes of not. Since editorial cartoons highlights characters in a certain manner, it therefore means such characters can either be admired or hated because readers are bound to observe how their leaders are depicted in the media. For example, if the media creates a particular gender as dominant in regard to a particular behavior for example corruption, the readers may or may not like such depiction. If majority like it, then it means even the minority will have no choice but to like it as well. It is learning through observation and association. This theory has a bearing on this study because,

if majority will like the way a certain gender is portrayed, the minority will also fall suit. Further more, the fact that a particular gender is depicted in a certain manner may not be exactly the true reflection of the situation as it is. The findings of this research have significant value to shed more light on what is indeed the portrayal of gender in the editorial cartoons of the two daily newspapers.

The agenda setting, spiral of silence and the social learning theories provide the framework for interpreting and determining the nature of the gender portrayal in editorial cartoons. While the agenda setting looks at how media elevate issues for the sake of making the public to appreciate and embrace as important in national development, the spiral of silence does suggest that although the minority may fear to speak because they fear to be isolated and therefore would rather keep silent, it is important to listen to those who are not speaking. That is why, although the media may be seen to favor certain gender, it is about time when such scenario was reversed for the development whole to take place. And finally the social learning theory is critical in informing the world characters that are given time and space to be heard and influence the thinking and the behaviors of the rest. Therefore it is important to insist that those who access more publicity whether female or male gender need do so for the betterment of the entire society.

#### **2.4 Review of Recent Relevant Literature**

A study done by Steuteretal (2008), examined process of composing editorial cartoons and the roles they play in society. The findings indicated that cartoons cover political messages. The current study concentrated on gender portrayal in editorial cartoons thus filling both contextual and conceptual gaps. In a separate study, Tsakana (2009), examined language and interaction using multimodal theory of humor, he indicated

that cartoon humor involves different mechanisms of language interplay between verbal and visual details contained in each cartoon to grasp its meaning. In this case, researchers look at cartoons as texts that tell more than the statements they carry. Their visual language gives more ostensive stimuli than even the verbal message, of the intention to communicate. The study had a contextual and geographical gaps. Contextual gap is due to the fact that the study concentrated on language and interaction guided by multimodal theory while the present study concentrates on gender portrayal guided by Agenda Setting, Spiral Silence and Social Learning Theories. In addition, the study was not done in Kenya hence a geographical gap that is being filled by the present study.

In a separate study by Sara Witty (2010), the researcher discussed the structure of the language of the comics. In this study, she used comic artist to manipulate a variety of narrative factors which included sound effects, character and mood. The study was guided by comic and linguistic theories thus presenting both contextual and geographical gaps, which necessitated carrying out the current study. This contextual gap provided the basis for the study on gender portrayal in editorial cartoons in Kenya's two daily newspapers. On the other hand, geographical gap comes in since the study like the previous ones was carried outside Kenya.

In another study, Matthews (2011) analyzed the functions editorial cartoons serve in society; and therefore observes that editorial cartoons make arguments which interest readers.. Editorial cartoonists construct images and language to persuade the readers to understand a specific interpretation of an event or phenomenon that so much affect the people. Therefore by specifically being inclined towards revealing arguments which cartoons generate is enough to suggest that this was not concerned with just

any cartoons appearing in the newspaper. For this reason, , this study raised a contextual gap which this study on portrayal of gender in editorial cartoons offers to fill. Cohn (2012), studied comics, linguistics and visual language. He states that comics (cartoons) themselves are not a language but they are written in visual languages the same way that novels are written in English. The sequential images used in comics constitute their own 'visual language'. Hence, the behavioral domains of written/verbal language and drawing/visual language should be the object of linguistic inquiry, stripping away the social categories like comics and graphics. The study focused on comics, linguistics and visual language while the present study focused on gender portrayal in editorial cartoons becoming a solution to the content and geographical lacuna created by previous studies.

Separately, Thigpen (2012), in his unpublished thesis, looks at visual literacy as communication through visually decoded inscriptions. He states that visual literacy is the ability to decipher images. In order to decipher messages one must be able to perform four processes: access, analyze, interpret and evaluate images. The four steps of deciphering images start with accessing information. The reader must have access to the image itself; however, he must also be able to access his or her long term memory to retrieve stored information that will help decode the image. This brought about the importance of context and world knowledge gaps in gender portrayal in caricature in Kenya, which is the focus of this study.

The use of cartoons as visual tools is perhaps as old as language itself in enhancing communication in the history of mankind. In defining what cartoons are, Becker, Stephen and Rube (1959), considered the form. They described a cartoon as a form of two-dimensional illustration of art that mirrors the society in an animation and comic

manner. While the specific definition may have changed over time, modern usage refers cartoons to a typically non-realistic or even semi-realistic drawing with the objective to portray people and their different world views using satire, caricature and humor. Such cartoons in their present form and utilization are traced in the art of caricature comprising features and humorous tones. It is perhaps in these features and humorous tones that meaning and the impact of the cartoon is hidden. It would be important to note that not all cartoons may have humorous content. Some cartoons have provided clearly non-satirical messages and only meant to render messages in a straight manner.

According to Jegede (1990) the origin and the use of cartoons in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was meant to inform painting as was practiced by the Italians at that time. Meanwhile in the distant Britain, it was William Hogarth (1697-1764) who was a refined cartoonist who used his works to inform the ruling class and the educated. In the neighbouring France it was Goyal (1746-1828) and Daumier (1808-1879) for Spain who used cartoons as a medium to launch vicious satirical attacks on repulsive socio-political practices (Jegede 1990:3 in Adejuwon and Shini (2011).

Adejuwon and Alimi (2011) suggest that cartoon is perhaps the sternest and yet satirical form of visual communication. Their definition of a cartoon is two-fold, first as a metaphorical codification whose meaning can only be implicitly defined and secondly as satirical or humorous genre through which an artist informs, educates and entertains his or her viewers and readers.

As Cohen (1963) noted, while the press has a tremendous responsibility to inform, educate and entertain the audience, it may not be successful in *telling people what to*

*think although it is stunningly able to tell the readers what to think about.* In other words, the media is capable of making the public who are the consumers of the news to think seriously about what is published with the view to asking and demanding for action or change. But in what appears grounding in the agenda setting theory, Dearing G and Rogers E. (1964) argue that agenda setting is a product of public awareness and concern for salient issues advanced by the media based on two assumptions. First, the press and the media do not reflect reality as they filter what shapes what they want the audience to receive. Secondly, the media concentration and focus on a few specific issues and subjects ultimately makes the audience or the public to perceive such issues as significant and more important than others. Therefore, it is the media that creates the perception and apportions reality to each and every issue that it filters for public consumption. In other words, without the media, the public will be left stranded in darkness, not knowing what is going on and what is likely to happen based on the current happenings. The media therefore prepares the citizen to watch out what affects them making possible to demand for action whenever things go wrong. According to Scheufele D, in an article: *Framing as a Theory of media effect*, framing is defined and understood on the basis of this social constructivism. In other words, mass media are constantly facilitating construction of meaning to every communication situation that arises. This construction is meant to feed the public with specific pieces of information that is destined to influence the end users. However, Scheufele argues that people's way of interpreting and processing of information largely depends on pre-existing meaning structures. Such argument will obviously help us to resonate with the relationship between the pre-existing interpretation and attitude as the basis for understanding what is already published in the cartoon.



According to McQuail, the timeline of the media effects from the turn of the 20th century lasting up to the 1980s, as characterized by “social constructivism.” With the description of media and the audience bringing together elements of both strong and limited effects of mass media. On the one hand, mass media have a strong impact by constructing social reality, that is, “by framing images of reality . . . in a predictable and patterned way” (McQuail, 1994). It is with this background and understanding that an inquiry has been made in to the existing situation in regard to how cartoonists originate their ideas before finally coming up with the cartoon or drawings that are humorous in nature but still carry a stinging message. That how they develop and end up with the cartoons appearing in the print media in the two daily newspapers is so critical in this study. This inquiry has been driven by the need to establish whether or not, the sampled cartoons appearing in two newspapers reflect positive, objective and inclusive gender portrayal. Such situation will be reflected in the way each gender is presented to the readers, the level of satire and symbolism that go with each and every sampled cartoon to determine how fair, truthful, balanced and positive cartoons are in showing both the male and female gender to the readers. Therefore the type of gender portrayal reflected in the cartoon within the print media has significant influence on the public in relation to the overall interpretation and attitude of the public.

In this regard, often where the image of the characters are exaggerated gender stereotyping is typically a thorny issue in the world of visual communication. While this may be the case for some of the cartoons and comic strips, it is even more evident that in almost every newspaper globally, cartoons are published to highlight a particular view point and intended to be humorous while at the same time bearing the

burden of being satirical or even serious in tone and spirit depending on the audience, the artists responsible for the cartoons and ideas being illustrated.

American Charles Press (1981) offers a new dimension of perceiving cartoons by categorizing them in to three sets. Descriptive cartoons which convey suggestions of fatalism especially when dwelling on tragic flaws but somehow attempts to maintain the status quo. The laughing satirical cartoons whose focus is to draw their way in to debates of the day calling knaves and fools to account so that society might coherently work together. These types of cartoons are inclined towards agitating for change or reform within the existing non-functional structures that affect effective service delivery. And yet there is a satirical cartoon, which Press (1981) calls “destructive” whose drawing is meant to be cruel and hurting to those that are targeted. According to this category, the creatures or personalities that cartoonists criticize should not be allowed to exist beyond today.. They are the worst enemies of society that deserve nothing short of elimination. Whether descriptive, laughing/ satirical or destructive cartoons are particularly rich in visual images and words that artists use to make this happen. Therefore, their form comprising of symbols, words selectively chosen and the implied impression make cartoons most influential in the minds of the people. Margalies (2010) is more precise with the form and content of cartoons by arguing that cartoons can only be understood when broken down in to the finest units of symbolism which stands for larger concepts and meaning, exaggeration as the tendency to overdo or over-blow characteristics , labeling to ensure objects and subjects remain crystal clear, analogy for comparison and irony for the difference between the way things are and the way they should appear, all having to influence the form and the presentation of cartoons before the readers.

The study has based the interpretation of the cartoons on the discourse analysis and visual communication. In this regard, Julian Hochberg (1970) argues that it is with symbols that people process and transform transient experiences into cognitive models that guide judgment and action. Through symbols, people give meaning, form and continuity to their experience. In view of the literature discussed, it is evident that there is a glaring need to focus on the gender portrayal as reflected in the newspapers through cartooning. The gender connotation of the cartoons is an important direction to take especially if one wants to determine the nature of treatment that is accorded to both men and women in the newspapers today and the media in general. Such framework has also a bearing to determine whether there is an element of gender stereotyping rate and perhaps deliberate attack on either gender propagated by the nature of cartooning that exist in the print media today. This inquiry is informed by what other scholars have done as reflected in literature review, but more fundamentally by what the cartoons have churned out in the selected editions of the two dailies.

According to the UN Report on gender published in November 2015, women make up to 50 per cent of the world population. However, a paltry 24 per cent end up being heard, seen or read about in the mainstream media. Interestingly, the same trend seems repeating itself in the digital media particularly the internet. And because of this imbalance, it was found out that there was deliberate efforts that seem to frustrate female gender from effectively being part and parcel of the media today. The report acknowledges the fact that the way the female gender are depicted in the media has a profound impact on the societal attitudes as well as reinforcing traditional gender

roles. Given this type of environment, it becomes important to narrow down the interface of the gender and editorial cartoons.

On the other hand, report published by the Media Council of Kenya, the *Gender agenda* of 2015 point to the critical areas that need to be addressed in the media fraternity in order to realize equity in participation, contribution to news in Kenya. The Council report equally acknowledges the fact that news forces are normally male driven therefore almost becoming extremely difficult to see the female gender being at the center of the news coverage. That this is motivated by the fact that news and news coverage is often skewed towards government officials, politicians, and experts, most of them of the male gender.

Elsewhere, Koki A. Teddy, O. and Mutie R(20-- ) observed that the female gender was more associated with aspects of beauty and cosmetic products than serious issues that affected society. That is why most of the good things that seemed to interest the male gender were always advertised by the female gender. In their analysis the female gender is more an agent of beautification than a serious contributor to the public debate relevant to the society.

On the other hand, Maina F. and Mberia H. (2014) observed that women in politics were drawn frightened, weak, smaller and fearful indicating that they were living under attack of the male gender in perceived male dominated society. Perhaps this is the reason why Mukhongo L. and Gakahu (2006), argued in their study that the inside pages of newspapers are filled with stereotype roles of domesticity, beauty and fantasy in regard to women present in media today.. They singled out one article “what makes a woman happy, the answer provided by the editor was LOVE, MONEY

AND A HAPPY MARRIAGE” which made them to conclude that themes in women pages which normally appear inside the newspapers are focused on style, beauty, soul and culture as well as your body. This study revealed that there seems to be a deliberate effort by the editors to confine the female gender to stereotypical issues that touch on relationship. Based on the aforementioned research efforts, it now becomes extremely clear that analysis of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons is a step in the right direction as far as establishing the nature of such portrayal is concerned. This study goes beyond telling whether or not there is a dominant gender portrayed in editorial cartoons than the other. Which means this study is more concerned with the nature than mere frequency of appearance and perhaps the dominance.

The findings of the previous research efforts form an important ingredient in the study that is aimed at establishing the nature of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons. One can be tempted to argue that since most of the news are male dominated, so will the cartoons be. And yet what this study is much interested in is bringing out the nature of such gender portrayal. Indeed the news might be male dominated but it will be much more interesting to know how such dominance is replicated in the editorial cartoons. At the end of the day, while the dominance matters to some extent, it is even more important to establish how and why such dominance is played out in the editorial cartoons.

### **2.5 Rationale of Study Based on Literature Review**

The studies of Mukhongo L, Koki O. Otieno E. and Mutie R. as well as that of Maina F. and Mberia H. suggest that there is sufficient academic gap as far as media and gender is concerned and more particularly gender portrayal and editorial cartoons.

Steuteretal (2008), examined process of composing editorial cartoons and the roles they play in society. On the other hand, Tsakana (2009), examined language and interaction using multimodal theory of humor while Sara Witty (2010) discussed the structure of the language of the comics. Elsewhere, Matthews (2011) analyzed the functions editorial cartoons serve in society based on the arguments they generate in the public arena. And Cohn (2012), studied comics, linguistics and visual language, while Thigpen (2012), in his unpublished thesis, looked at visual literacy as communication through visually decoded inscriptions.

Indeed both the United Nations Report on Gender and the Media Council of Kenya reports of the 2015 firmly point out major discrepancy in gender representation within the media in general. Therefore, the reports provide the foundation for further investigation in to the matter at such time as this. And that is why in its conclusion, the Media Council report emphasizes that ” In a society where gender equality is greater with regard to both opportunities and benefits, the result is a better quality of life” Which means that gender equality is a foundation for making life better in the society. This comes by way of both gender enjoying equal treatment which ultimately enhances production. Perhaps that is why former Mozambique President Joachim Chisanno in his wisdom was categorical as to the importance of women and girls calling it the greatest untapped resources that Africa has ever had.

The literature reviewed has pointed to the gap that exists in terms of looking at the gender portrayal in editorial cartoons. This study is not obsessed with seemingly easier option of observing the comparison of female and male gender in appearing in editorial cartoons. It is more in-depth, critical and serious investigation concerned with the nature of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons and how this nature of gender

portrayal contributes to stereotypical tendencies that seem to downgrade one gender and promotes one at the expense of the other. It is a rethinking by design aimed at interrogating the varied attention accorded to each gender in connection to the news. In this regard, both the male and female gender are well covered by this study. Although the frequency in appearing in editorial cartoons may count to a certain extent and even reveal some critical details necessary for observations and conclusions, the study is even more keen to bring out issues against which gender is linked and how frequent it is linked to them. Thus, the nature of the portrayal is very critical that it may have an impact in either establishing or dismissing altogether chances of cartoons perpetuating gender stereotypes as it were.

The first National Policy on Gender and Development (NPGAD) was adopted in 2000. The policy provided a legitimate point of reference for addressing gender inequalities at all levels of government and by all stakeholders. It further provided an avenue for gender mainstreaming across all sectors in order to generate efficient and equitable development outcomes. According to the National Policy on gender equality, (2012), its aim was to ensure that the country attains International and regional treaties on gender equality that Kenya has ratified such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Maputo Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

Despite a progressive Constitution that promotes gender equality and women empowerment, gender inequality remains a key issue of concern in Kenya. The patriarchal social order supported by statutory, religious and customary laws and practices; and the administrative and procedural mechanisms for accessing rights have

continued to hamper the goal of attaining gender equality and women empowerment, which is the agenda of the National policy on gender and equality. Progressive provisions in law have not delivered gender equality in practice raising the need to develop a policy that addresses the variety of manifestations of gender discrimination and inequality (NPGAD, 2012). It is against this background that the current study aimed to determine whether or not editorial cartoonists depict and by extension the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers unconsciously promote gender bias and stereotypical overtones.

This study just comes at the right time corresponding to the political environment that have embraced the new constitution promulgated in August 2010. There have since then been several legislative efforts to engender every institution that matters in Kenya including schools and colleges as well as public institutions such as the legislature and the executive arms of government. Whether success has been realized or not is a subject for another day. Therefore, this study is critical in telling how, gender portrayal is extremely important in informing various institutions of the dire need to address gender inequality that exist today.

## **2.6 Summary**

This chapter has covered gender and the media in general and narrowed down to gender and portrayal in editorial cartoons. Relevant theories for the study are highlighted as agenda setting, spiral of silence and social learning. These are theories that guided the study. The chapter also situates the study in media and publishing and connects it with gender and communication and emphasizes why investigation in to the way gender is mirrored to the society especially by the cartoonists is a such



critical matter at this point in time.. This chapter has also described in depth the contributions various scholars have made in matters gender and the media in general and gender and cartoons in particular from the global perspective to the local perspective. Most of the scholars were alive of the fact that indeed gender is a critical subject in the area of communication. And in specific terms, the portrayal of gender whether in cartoons or general news, politics or social aspects of life is an important subject that is worthy to be investigated. This chapter has also revealed what other institutions have stated through reports and activities on gender and media including the UN report , Media Council report of 2015, FIDA and Kenya National Commission on Human Rights reports.

Furthermore, details of the contributions of other scholars locally and internationally on gender and media are provided in this chapter . This made it possible to identify gaps that are considered an opportunity to carry out this study. Such gaps have made this study relevant and urgent to undertake. Based on the aforementioned, this chapter reveals glaring gap as far as gender and cartooning is concerned. This chapters has advanced the importance of the study in filling the academic void and that this should enable readers, scholars, policy makers and activists to understand why gender portrayal in editorial cartoons is such a crucial matter to undertake.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter is what I call the means by which the study was carried out and concluded. The study into the gender portrayal by editorial cartoons of the two selected newspapers was propelled by the relativist philosophical leaning which always emphasize that there is no one single truth that exist for a particular problem. The world exist in the multiple truths. I have provided the details of the philosophical paradigm that motivated the study, the research approach that was taken to drive the study to the end, research methods that I applied to generate data and analyze it in order to arrive at the conclusions I made prompting the attendant recommendations. This chapter also contains the data sampling techniques and data generation techniques. It also has issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations that facilitated the organisation of the study to make it unique and scholarly acceptable.

#### **3.2 Research paradigm**

In this study, I adopted the relativist-interpretivist paradigm. A paradigm is a framework that is used in research. The relativist-interpretivist paradigm emphasizes the fact that the motivation to reality is only through construction of meanings based on different realities. I used the relativist-interpretivist paradigm because it allows or is embedded in qualitative analysis arising from the interviews and secondary data which were applied in this study.. Weaver and Olson (2006) explains that research is a series of patterns that are used to carry out an inquiry. The research paradigm provides a lens through which an inquiry can be carried out. The paradigms that are

common in any kind of research includes; positivist, post positivist, interpretive, and critical social theory. The quantitative methodology shares its philosophical foundation with the positivist paradigm (Cole, 2006). The positivist philosophy explains that objective realities can be investigated. Therefore, as a consequence, valid research is demonstrated only by the degree of proof that can be made to correspond to the phenomena that study results stand for (Hope and Waterman, 2003). The qualitative methodology shares its philosophical foundation with the interpretive (Relativist) paradigm which supports the view that there are many truths and multiple realities. Additionally, the interpretive paradigm is associated more with methodological approaches that provide an opportunity for the voice, concerns and practices of research participants to be heard (Cole, 2006). In other words, this research framework highly depends on the first hand information arising from the interviews, which allows voices to be heard loud enough in response to the questions and objectives set out in the research.

This research has been grounded in the relativist philosophical paradigm. The relativist/interpretivist philosophical ground postulates that there is no single truth that exist across the people. Instead, according to the proponents, there are many truths and many answers to a single problem or issue. This paradigm strongly considers knowledge as something that exists only in certain conditions and the interpretation of the same varies from one individual to another. That individual interpretation is deeply embedded in a rich contextual web that cannot be readily generalised to other settings. Juan and Ong'ondo (2011) define qualitative research as an inquiry stressing a naturalistic search for relativity in many truths. And that there is always multiplicity of various interpretations, particularity, detail and flexibility. In other words, there is

no objective reality but multiple realities exist in society and are culturally constructed. This ideological consideration not only sees people as primary data in terms of source but also seeks their perceptions or the insider view rather than imposing an outsider view. This philosophical considerations aim at focusing on various possible meaning of subject in its natural setting free from any form of manipulation. But as Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) argue, this qualitative method exploits the relationship existing between the researchers and their respondents. In other words, the respondents or those involved in the interviews have a critical role in supporting what the researcher is set out to investigate.

The interpretivist/constructive epistemology acknowledges that the research and the participants are not only there to co-construct the reality, but also to interpret and construct reality in a systematic way. For this reason, Stake (1995) in Juan and Ong'ondo (2011) argues that the intention of a qualitative researcher is to enhance a subjective research paradigm. However, subjectivity is not a failure but an essential element of understanding issues at hand. This philosophical leaning maintains that a science that must be sure the myriad particulars are well understood is harder to build than a science that can focus on the regularities of nature across the contexts. Stake (1995) in Juan and Ong'ondo (2011). The advantages of the qualitative research have been put in no better terms and form than Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) who argue that "unlike the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach recognizes that anybody is capable of constructing knowledge. This means that the disadvantaged groups, though poor and voiceless, are capable of authoring knowledge if given a chance. And these voices can be heard beyond their sphere of influence. Using the qualitative approach, the researcher or evaluator can assume the role of providing a

voice to the disadvantaged groups...” Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). But even more critical about this approach is the fact that a lot more can be uncovered about people in terms of their experience, feeling, emotions and sadness if any based on the fact that through interviews, people are able to express this, a fact that quantitative approach can hardly attain.

Qualitative approach believes that studying social systems and problems cannot be sufficient without giving voices to those being studied. This forms the strategic ingredient that makes a subjectivist study interesting and even more successful. The voices of the cartoonists, the representatives of the gender focused institutions and the finer details of the editorial cartoons as well as data sample vividly show how characters are framed and presented to the readers making it enough foundation for qualitative interpretation. This thesis is a product of serious interpretation of the hidden meanings in terms of explicit and implicit, connotative and denotative details derived from the selected samples of the editorial cartoons appearing in the two dailies for the three years. It is equally a meticulous product of the interviews that were conducted to inject the finer feelings and personal accounts of the respondents reached out during the data collection process.

### **3.3 Research Approach**

I adopted the qualitative approach to conduct the study. The qualitative approach is a process of inquiry that seeks an in-depth understanding of social phenomenon or happenings in individuals or society and is more inclined towards revealing why things happen in the way they do. This approach was instrumental in my study because it allowed me to interact with the specific samples of secondary data in this case sampled cartoons that were published in the two selected newspapers.

Furthermore, it also gave me a chance to adduce meanings from such samples and inspired me to interpret themes, frames and possible messages that each cartoon conveyed to the reader. It is this research approach that made it possible to understand why some cartoons were biased or skewed towards certain gender while others stood out as relatively objective.

The research approach of this study is qualitative in nature and has effectively utilised specific analysis of the sampled cartoons based on the six-week systematic sampling. Further information has been adduced from the key informant interviews with two cartoonists and a total of five representatives drawn from gender focused institutions at the national level.

The advantages of doing qualitative research include; flexibility to follow unexpected ideas during research and explore processes effectively; sensitivity to contextual factors; ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning; increased opportunities to develop empirically supported new ideas and theories; for in-depth and longitudinal explorations of leadership phenomena; and for more relevance and interest for practitioners (Alvesson, 1996). The use of relativist paradigm allowed the researcher to collect both qualitative data at the same time during the study and then integrated the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

### **3.4 Research Method**

#### *Case study method.*

The research was informed by the relativist philosophical underpinning and therefore has largely utilised the qualitative content analysis of the sampled cartoons from the two main dailies in Kenya namely the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspaper* as a

case study. Selected cartoons formed the basis for analysis, interpretation and eventually the basis for discussion and conclusion of this study. Why case study method. I chose the two newspapers as a case study because I wanted specific data from the two dailies particularly in the way they published editorial cartoons in the study period. The case study preference arose from the fact that the two media houses, the Nation Media Group(NMG) which publishes the *Daily Nation* and the Standard Group that owns the *Standard* Newspaper are both strong in using editorial cartoons to complement their position in regard to issues that are important and affect the Kenyan people. Furthermore, the two dailies are consistent in coverage of issues that matter to the people making it possible to have sufficient data (in terms of the published editorial cartoons) for collection and analysis. In this regard, data from the two dailies was instrumental to facilitate the study to its conclusion.

### **3.5 Justification of choice of methodology used in the study**

The study majorly did content analysis of the cartoons and thus secondary data collection instrument was used. Content analysis of documents in qualitative research goes beyond a rigid focus on word counts to establish frequency of evidence in the text and can be used in a flexible manner to draw inferences from the content by acknowledging the mere presence or absence of certain words or phrases (George, 2009). This form of content analysis is concerned with the text but also with a more holistic dimension. As Kohlbacher (2006) asserts, “context is also central to the interpretation and analysis of the material” ). Furthermore, in a qualitative approach to documentary analysis, there is always a study of the theory base in the form of pertinent literature. This review of theory and research provides a background to

contextualize the text and can be drawn upon by the analyst to probe, not only the text, but also its meaning (Scott, 1990).

The conventional approach is based on the assumption that content analysis is an individual activity acted out by a solo player. I was therefore deliberate about choosing this approach because data was available and could be accessed. The new form of documentary analysis however, overthrows this view because content analysis became a collaborative group activity with several players contributing to scrutiny and identification of text, albeit led by the researcher. The researcher, because he was familiar with the theory base, had prior knowledge of some of the key aspects of the documents to be searched, and the preparation of the focus group schedule of questions ensured that the scrutiny of the participants was directed to specific areas of interest. Yet, the possibility of further areas of interest being identified by the participants was left flexible. In this study, text was identified that fitted with both preconceived research parameters and beyond these boundaries, so there was verification from multiple participants as well as the emergence of surprises in the text. Basically, what Bowen (2009) describes as the scrutiny of the document content to identify categories and themes took place in a *hue* and was enriched by the participation of practitioners who knew and used the documents to analyse.

The beauty of document analysis is that it is cheaper and faster to access, it provides a way to access the work of the best scholars all over the world and given that its secondary data, it gives a frame of mind to the researcher that in which direction he/she should go for the specific research. This research methodology also saves time, efforts and money and add value to the study.



As part of the content analysis, the connotative and denotative interpretation was utilised to ensure that both surface and deeper messages of the cartoons were determined and explained fully during the analysis. In this case denotative messages of the cartoons refers to the direct and open messages that are intended to reach the reader without much interpretation. But the connotative messages refer to the deeper and in most cases hidden messages that requires deeper understanding and possibly connection with the context in which the cartoon was published. Both the connotative and denotative understanding complimentarily supported the analysis of the sampled cartoons to make the study what it appears now.

This study also benefited from the information that was sourced from the key informant interviews of the selected individuals working in gender focused institutions. These interviews helped to illustrate the perception of the general public in regard to gender portrayal in the editorial cartoons. Furthermore, key informant interviews were also conducted with the cartoonists, who develop and finally produce the cartoons for the editorial pages of the two daily newspapers. This aimed at capturing some of the values and beliefs that inform cartooning work. Additional key informant interviews were done for the individuals working for the Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA), the, the Gender and Equality Commission, the Media Council of Kenya and the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights. The selection of these organisations was based on the fact that in one way or another they have consistently been engaged in gender and equality campaigns. They have also documented many issues revolving around gender, inequalities in Kenya,. And particularly because they have advocated for gender equality for a long time.

### 3.6 Sampling Procedures

Sampling is the process of selecting a sample size from the population for investigation purposes. A sampling frame is a list, directory or index of cases, that enables realization of a representative sample (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). A sample is a section of a large populace, which is used for research study or investigation. The sample size is a representative of the large population (Bryman, 2012). This research has utilised convenient or systematic sampling technique, which according to Silverman (2008a) in Juan and Ong'ondo (2011), calls for critical thinking about the parameters of the population under study. Appropriate parameters offered the framework in which systematic sampling was done. For this reason, I settled for the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspaper* on the account of popularity, the coverage and the general circulation that each carry to the audience. The research has utilised the constructed week sampling which according to Caburnay and Cohen (2011) is more efficient than anything else. A sample size of, six weeks per year formed the basis for analysing the newspapers for the three years (2012, 2013 and 2014). Song and Chang (2012) argue that constructed week sampling is more advantageous than the simple random sampling in the account for news variation. It therefore becomes strategic enough to propose six week sampling as the basis for data access and generation. Out of a population of 2184, a total of 252 cartoons were systematically sampled for analysis during the study period. I chose six weeks per year as a representative sample to enable me derive tendencies and consistencies of the editorial cartoon coverage of the issues that were highlighted in the two dailies. In this case, a representative sample would suffice since some of the subject matters were repetitively highlighted in the news and the cartoons in particular. The number of cartoons were a good size that could be analysed one by one to enable me draw

conclusions based on the research questions that were set out in chapter one. As for the study period, 2012 was basically a build-up year for Kenya's political cycle. As was expected, indeed many political activities took place and ultimately many issues came up making it the basis for development of editorial cartoons. As for 2013, it was an election year that was characterised by intense and hyper political activities. Against many issues around land, corruption and politics took the centre stage of the news coverage during the year. On the other hand, 2014 was carefully chosen to reflect what could happen in post-election period. The attendant news stories were equally important to demonstrate how the country reacted to the outcomes of the 2013 general election.

Besides the sampled cartoons, interviews were conducted for the cartoonists from the two Media Houses. In addition, specific interviews were for one individual one each from the Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights, Gender and Equality Commission, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), and the Media Council of Kenya.

### **3.7 Data Collection**

Content analysis of the specific cartoons appearing within the sampled weeks of the study was undertaken. The study was more inclined towards analysing the framing of the cartoons, the content of the cartoons particularly paying attention to the way they depict and represent gender in relation to the roles assigned to them. Specific characters in each of the sampled cartoons were observed with a keen eye on the roles that were given to each gender whether it is single gender or both gender in the same cartoon. Thus, gender of the characters in the cartoons were also identified and noted for reference in the analysis. Furthermore, messages whether single or multiple

attached to the gender were also identified for each cartoon that was sampled. In addition, the *mascot* voice-the little voice of what looks like a mouse or cat normally situated at the bottom of the cartoon was also considered to determine the possible embedded meaning that is attached to the cartoon. Looking at content also included identification of the issues in the cartoon, characters involved, roles assigned to them, levels of exaggeration and recognition of the irony in each cartoon was critical.

The key informant interviews with the representatives from the gender focused institutions was used to demonstrate the likely varied perception and concern of the various readers over the way gender was portrayed in editorial cartoons in Kenya. Thus, institutions with the quest for gender equity were identified and at least one official from each organisation was interviewed to complement the data that was adduced from the sampled cartoons. The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, the Gender and Equality Commission, the Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA) and the Media Council of Kenya were considered in this regard. Efforts to get a representative from the National Cohesion and Integration Commission prove futile.

The key informant interviews revealed the inherent beliefs and possible motivation informing their way of presenting cartoons to the audience or readers. These interviews were directed to informants considered to be knowledgeable about gender related issues and also accessible and willing to provide information relevant to the study. The respondents were perceived to have adequate information on the issue of gender portrayal in caricature and cartoon works. Information collected was qualitative in nature.

It would have been extremely impossible to analyse all the contents of the sampled newspapers for a longitudinal study of three years as proposed in the study. Consequently, sampling was done on the selected newspapers to identify representative editions, days and cartoons running through the three years.

In this case, a day's edition of newspaper represented the strata of homogeneity. This is due to the fact that daily newspapers vary in size and editions with days of the week. Furthermore, there is a tendency that is adopted in the respective media houses to have some issues commonly covered on the specific days of the week. For example, there is a tendency for the newspapers to cover financial and economic issues in the midweek than they would on a Friday and in the weekend where social issues and soft news is mostly covered. However in terms of intense political bickering, newspaper stories would be driven towards politics which seem to gain momentum towards electioneering period. Furthermore, politics is most likely to dominate most of the days of the week overlapping in to the weekends as leaders converge in parties, weddings, funerals and school functions among other social events.

Thus constructed week sampling has been accepted by scholars as superior than other techniques in analyzing newspaper content especially in a longitudinal study. Stratified sampling is also superior in increasing representativeness of sample and the number of units in a study, especially if the types of units make up a small proportion of the population. The proportionate sampling use knowledge about distribution of units to avoid oversampling or under sampling that can occur through simple random sampling hence increasing the representativeness of sample (Riffe *et al.*, 1993).

Riffe *et al.* (1993) have suggested that for a population of six months edition, one constructed week was as efficient and sufficient as content of actual four counted weeks. The estimates exceeded what would be expected based on probability theory. By extension, two constructed weeks would allow reliable estimates of stories in a year. Lacy *et al.* (2000) concur and add that for five year period, a nine constructed week would be representative and reliable. But in this inquiry, I applied six week constructed sampling method targeting 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. This added to 84 cartoons for each year making up a total of 252 cartoons for the entire three years.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

The data analysis was done based on the thematic areas. Cartoons were identified and analysed based on the overall theme communicated by the cartoonist. In this regard, themes that were identified were: corruption, bribery, leadership and integrity, governance, sports, land grabbing. Others were examination cheating which was also linked to electoral cheating, election malpractice. Then were significant others including science and innovations and individual achievement in life. The voice of the mascot was another area that was keenly observed as to determine the message the mascot always brought out whether it was mere riddle, challenge or a question that is meant to challenge the readers and the news makers. These themes were critically observed and analysed in relation to the gender portrayal. Thus, keen interest and emphasis was laid on how gender was framed and presented to the readers in relation to the these themes. This enabled me to break down the necessary key areas of the research findings based on the research objective and research questions. In further observation and analysis of the selected cartoons, it was mandatory to highlight type

of gender that was presented to the readers in each cartoon. Furthermore, the role that was assigned to the identified gender was also highlighted. Another detail was about the frequency. In other words, how many times the identified themes covered by the cartoonist same month or year. Another significant detail was about the placement of the cartoon in regard to how visible or not visible and prominence or otherwise. That the placement was all about finding out the prominence that was given to the gender. Just like pictures receive prominence based on how large or small they appear in the newspaper, so are the cartoons and the characters that are highlighted. These areas were so critical in understanding and linking up every cartoon that was published by the two dailies in the study period. The analysis of the cartoons was also determined by the data that was raised which included among others, issues in focus, the appearance of the cartoons, the type of gender, messages that was depicted. Issues that formed the basis for the analysis included corruption, sexual morality, land grabbing, leadership and governance as well as the specific message from the mascot voice or the small almost silent message that is given by the small mouse below the editorial cartoon. The exaggeration in the cartoon, the adjectives, names and titles if any were also part of the parameters that were looked for in each cartoon. Furthermore, every sampled cartoon was categorised whether it was meant to cause change in the society or was drawn with the intention to hurt and demean the characters that were involved. This kind of framework would later become useful in determining the extent to which the cartoonist were fair in the appropriation of the characters that were highlighted in the cartoons. A seven point reference was used to dissect the selected cartoons for easy of understanding and extracting information that was necessary in responding to the three questions that were set out in the study namely determining the nature of gender portrayal, how gender was depicted, what accounted for such portrayal and

whether there were any traces of stereotypical approach in developing editorial cartoons. The study coded cartoons collected and summary is as shown in ANNEX 8. Units of analysis for the sampled cartoons were based on the following areas of considerations.

Firstly, identification of the issues that the cartoon is referring to. For example is it politics whether good or bad, corruption, mismanagement, poor leadership or good leadership, sexual immorality, insecurity. This was critical in demonstrating which gender was actively mentioned in which issues as was captured in the sampled cartoons. Every cartoon has the specific issue that it wants to communicate to the readers. A cartoon is a news story in itself therefore it carries the message that must be communicated to the readers although in a funny way.

Secondly, identification of the people who were involved in the specified subject matter. This includes names of people sometimes identified by their body structure, dress code, hair style or even their speech characteristics. The people's roles and responsibilities given to each character is also critical in determining the character within the cartoon. Each cartoon has specific issues to relate with such as the people who are mentioned and their connection with the issues that were identified. Further to this, were the roles and responsibilities that were assigned the affected gender. For examples in some of the sampled cartoons, some gender were seen as too gluttonous and irresponsible in leadership.

Thirdly, analysis of the message by focusing on the adjectives that describe the characters in the cartoons. These adjectives described and bring out the emotions within the cartoons if any. This was critical in revealing the emotions and motive of



the artists in assigning those words to the characters in the cartoons. That was significant in considering the rhetorical tag that was assigned to each cartoon. It was important to reflect on the message that was assigned to each character within the cartoon. Words carry the weight and determined whether they are weak or strong as they related with each other.

In addition, recognition of the exaggeration in each cartoon based on the interpretation of the cartoonist and his or her understanding of the theme/s that were communicated. That every cartoon and cartoonist has the tendency to exaggerate facts, figures and personalities. This was necessary in assessing the sampled cartoons in order to communicate the appropriate message to the readers. In this regard, it was necessary for example to look at the facial expressions, parts of the body, understand symbolism which are the place holders for ideas and themes. In so doing, one was able to dig out the connotative and denotative meanings that were assigned to each cartoon. These two levels of interrogating cartoons are critical in reading cartoons beyond the surface level. First the face value states the way things are without adding any pinch of salt. But the denotative level goes beyond the surface to determine what could be the underlying theme or message that made the cartoonist to develop such cartoon and have it published in a newspaper.

Moreover, understanding the labeling. Cartoonists will label certain elements of the cartoon with symbols. Cartoons are never complete without invoking the culture of labeling. This is critical in showing what things or creatures the characters in the cartoons are likened to. For example, can the characters be likened to pigs, wolves, hyenas, dragons or angels. Therefore labeling is part and parcel of making cartoons

whole. Understanding the analogy which is the comparison of two or more things that are not a like. This analogy with determine the extent of seriousness of the message the cartoonist wants reach the reader.

Lastly but not least, recognizing the irony which is the words and pictures that describe the opposite world. I therefore looked for illusions, small details, text bubbles, the caption and mascot. The mascot voice for example provided the necessary and additional information that came with the theme portrayed by the cartoon. The mascot voice adds more juice to existing story by either questioning, challenging the status quo or offering the alternative way of looking at the prevailing situation. In very special ways, the mascot voice always comes out as the voice of reason, the alternative to the existing scenario.

Apart from the sampled cartoons, additional information was sourced through key informant interviews which has been processed through appropriate interpretation, discussion and analysis and conclusions. The data that was derived through interviews in an attempted to answer why the cartoons appear the way they do.

### **3.8 Trustworthiness**

This study was grounded on the principle of trustworthiness with key focus on ensuring that all the data in terms of information was derived from the cartoons through the suggested methodology besides ensuring that originality is the foundation of the whole study. The researcher critically considered each cartoon to see if it contains a real representation of the desired content and see if it measured what it was supposed to measure after considering the research questions that were to be answered. The researcher in view of this determined to establish representation of the

items with respect to research objectives. The information derived from the cartoons was further subjected to thorough crosscheck and further insightful information from reliable and well trusted key informants from reliable institutions. These included the cartoonists working in the two media houses, persons in responsible positions from the selected institutions advocating for gender inclusivity including the Gender and Equality Commission, the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and the Media Council of Kenya.

### **3.9 Ethical Consideration**

A number of ethical issues emerged during this study. The key issues that arose during the study include, privacy and confidentiality as well as informed consent. To ensure a balance between my desire for knowledge and the participants' rights and values, I deliberately took note of informed consent of those whom I interviewed. I also considered need for protection from harm in terms of ensuring that they were fully aware of the objectives and reasons for conducting the interviews and how the information would be finally used. To ensure privacy, these interviews were conducted on one on one basis in secure environments where the respondents felt safe and comfortable to speak. Whenever I needed to record the interviews, I asked for their permission and consent. And most of them granted me the permission to record without any conditions.

In this regard, requisite permission was sought from the media houses concerned to enable me use their cartoons. Specifically these included seeking permission from the cartoonists working in the two media houses were informed and involved in sampling of some of the cartoons. All the cartoonists involved in this study provided valuable information that partly formed critical discussion in this study. Furthermore, I

acquired mandatory permission from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology before I commenced the research. I also conducted persons working in responsible positions in the following organisations to seek support and further information in regard to their perception of the media portrayal of gender in editorial cartoons and by extension news. These include: Gender and Equality Commission, the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and the Media Council of Kenya. Consequently, I did not falsify, or invent findings to meet my expectation or that of my audience. But in truth, through the interpretation of data, I provided an accurate account of each and every information that I came across to make this study a reality.

### **3.10 Summary**

This chapter has provided the details of the research paradigm that was applied in the study. The relativist-interpretivist paradigm was utilized in this study. It was conveniently adopted as it allows or is embedded in qualitative analysis arising from the interviews and secondary data. This study conveniently applied this paradigm. The generation of data for study is grounded in the secondary data (actual published editorial cartoons) and interviews. The study utilized qualitative content analysis coupled with the case study method. These facilitated interaction with the published cartoons within the two media houses in Kenya. A total of 252 cartoons were sampled out of the population of 2184 based on the units of the analysis that were described earlier. I chose six weeks per year as a representative sample from which tendencies and consistencies of the editorial cartoons were derived from. The number of cartoons were a good size enough to facilitate scrutiny of the contents and the messages therein. Interviews were also carried out. One representative each from the

Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), Media Council, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and National Gender and Equality Commission was interviewed. Two cartoonists one each from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* Newspapers were also interviewed for more information.

This study is grounded on the principle of trustworthiness with key focus on ensuring that all the data was derived from the cartoons through the prescribed methodology besides ensuring that originality remained the guiding principle for the study.

A number of ethical issues emerged during this study. The key issues that arose during the study include, privacy and confidentiality as well as informed consent. To ensure a balance between my desire for knowledge and the participants' rights and values, I deliberately took note of informed consent of those whom I interviewed. I also considered need for protection from harm in terms of ensuring that they were fully aware of the objectives and reasons for conducting the interviews and how the information would be finally used. To ensure privacy, these interviews were conducted on one on one basis in secure environments where the respondents felt safe and comfortable to speak.

This chapter lays the foundation for what comes next and that is data findings and analysis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This research sought to establish three issues namely: the nature of the gender portrayal exhibited by the newspapers, the motivation behind the nature of the editorial cartoons in the two daily newspapers, the *Nation* and the *Standard* and whether the manner in which the cartoons have been drawn and published in the newspapers bear any contribution to gender stereotypes that is witnessed in the media fraternity and by extension to the entire society. In addition, the perception of the cartoonist and gender and human rights activists' was also sought.

To accomplish this task, a total of 252 out of a population of 2184 cartoons published in 2012, 2013 and 2014 were sampled using purposive six-week sampling strategy. Each of the sampled cartoon was analyzed and determination made on how gender is portrayed. Each year had a share of 84 editorial cartoons.

Each year had its own uniqueness and peculiarity to add to the richness of the study. For example, 2012 was critical as it was a pre-election year and obviously campaign activities were building up in preparation for the 2013 general elections. Year 2013 on the other hand was equally critical as it was characterized by intense electioneering period. And finally 2014 was obviously critical to determine the extent to which the media and the two newspapers in particular depicted gender in the editorial pages (cartoons) in the post-election period.. The cartoons have been analyzed longitudinally from 2012 to 2014.

The analysis of these cartoons was based on specific thematic areas which also informed the interviews with the key informants. The parameters of the analysis included subject matter, personalities involved in the cartoons and the roles assigned to each gender. The levels of exaggeration, the adjectives, the irony in the cartoons as well as the mascot voice were the main parameters used in the analysis of the cartoons. This analysis was highlighted at two levels namely at the connotative level where the matters as they appeared from the cartoon were looked at and reflected in the argument. Further efforts were made to demonstrate how the media highlighted the issue that was captured by the cartoonists. Denotatively, the study made a deliberate effort to bring out what the cartoon portray focusing on their inner meaning especially in relation to the gender portrayal, how biased, objective or how stereotypical the cartoonists brought out the characters in each of the selected cartoons and in every subject matter that was highlighted by the cartoonists. Some cartoons captured one individual character while others involved a group of the characters. In both cases, the issue of gender portrayal was carefully observed and noted.

The subject matter refers to the theme or the issue that was captured by the cartoonist. The subject matter is an important element of a cartoon as it is around which the cartoonist captures the characters involved or affected by the theme that he thinks or she thinks is critical to the audience.

Personalities involved refers to the people or the characters that are considered the news makers or those affected by the same news as perceived by the cartoonist. . The personalities could be the ones the cartoon is focusing on based on how they have contributed to the news of the day or the week as reflected in the media. The characters could also be those affected by the news. At the same time, characters can

be considered at two levels. Those considered as heroes and those that are perceived villains. And yet in some cases, some of the characters still could be victims while others are aggressors. In some of the cartoons yet, some characters were portrayed as weak while in some cartoons some characters appeared strong. What remains underlying is that despite the position the character occupied what was critical is the nature of the contribution to the news that finally found its way in to the media. The characters are basically the drivers of the theme or the subject matter in the cartoon. They are important because the speech narratives are assigned to them and what they say and do is what constitutes the bigger picture of any particular cartoon. In other words, they are portrayed in the way they speak and do in the context of news. The characters will also tell or communicate by the way they are captured or drawn in the cartoon. For example, smiling or unhappy, responsible or irresponsible by virtue of what they say or do. The words that are assigned to these characters are equally critical and therefore they also contributed heavily towards enriching this thesis by highlighting the underlying picture every cartoon that was selected and analyzed.

The roles of the character was another unit of analysis that was applied in this study. One would define a role as the responsibilities assigned to a particular person in a specific situation. For example one would be assigned the responsibility of supervision in a farming activity that involved both men and women. The roles determine the extent to which the cartoonist appear either accurate or inaccurate in portraying gender in the sampled cartoons. Some roles are perceived to favor or inclined towards promoting masculine behavior while other seemed to demean them. Some roles appeared to support and agitate for women while others vilify and demean women making them lesser characters before the male gender. The roles also capture



the extent of the exaggeration that perhaps the cartoonist gave to each of the cartoon that was published in the selected dailies. The level of exaggeration is critical in the sense that if it is overdone, there is some implicit messages pointing to the sensationalism that comes with such cartoons.

The study focused on specific metaphorical and stereotypical overtones in each cartoon that was sampled for the study. Metaphorical and stereotypical overtones are critical in appropriately reflecting gender position in the society. This unit of analysis served to determine to what extent the cartoonists appeared to be deliberate in correctly or incorrectly portraying gender using their drawings. That in some incidences, some cartoonists could be more biased towards reflecting a particular gender in a certain light compared to the opposite gender. Indeed the study was keen to highlight this aspect of the portrayal as set out in the research questions.

Further information was adduced from the *mascot voice* which is the little voice represented by a miniature cat or mouse normally drawn below the editorial cartoon. The mascot voice is an important part of the editorial cartoons although not all cartoons have the mascot voice. In most of the cartoons observed, it would be important to suggest that the mascot voice was and still the voice of reason. According to the internet details, the word mascot originated from the French term “mascotte”, which meant lucky charm. It was also used to describe anything that brought luck or anything good to the house. The word was first recorded in 1867 and popularized by a French Musician and composer Edmont Audran, who wrote the opera, *la mascotte*, which was usually performed in December. It is important to note that this time of the year is normally characterized by excitement and activities full of happiness. The performance was done to make people laugh and enjoy as they go

through the festive period. Based on this understanding, it would be necessary to argue that when the *Mascot* voice appears below the editorial cartoon in any given newspaper, the reason that informs the cartoonist is to offer a solution to the puzzle that is being presented to the reader. The *Mascot* voice would challenge the reader to think beyond the characters that have been captured. This is the voice of reason where there is obvious lack of the same. The voice of reason is normally drawn or derived from a question or an exclamation depending on the nature of the item and the intention of the cartoonist. In most of the cartoons where the mascot voice is shown, it serves to reinforce the overall message in the cartoon. It varies from one cartoon to another and even from one newspaper to another. Some cartoons however, do not have mascot voice but equally convey the intended message to the reader.

Each cartoon was identified in terms of the day or date of its publication , the newspaper that published it , the theme, type of gender appearing in the cartoon and the kind of words or literature that were attached to each cartoon. Description of the cartoon in terms of the content which accounted for the type of gender portrayal was also considered for further information. This data has been disaggregated based on the information and the analysis for each year. There is a summary conclusion on the nature of the gender portrayal and whether there are any stereotypical overtones in the cartoons that were sampled and analyzed. The analysis of the data from each cartoon has been able to bring out various themes that the cartoonists emphasized in the drawings for the three years. In addition to the content analysis that was done for the selected cartoons, key informant interviews were carried out for six people. Two interviews were carried out for the cartoonists from the *daily Standard* and the *daily Nation* respectively. Another four interviews were conducted with one representative

each from the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), the Gender and Equality Commission (GEC) and the Media Council. The excerpts of these interviews have been attached as the appendix to this thesis. In an attempt to determine the themes that were covered or highlighted by the cartoonists, it was necessary to observe every cartoon that was sampled for this study. Furthermore, the sampled data was broken in to three sets namely for year 2012, 2013 and 2014. The observation is also in ascending order that is from the beginning to the end of the year. And here now comes the details of how cartoons were observed and analyzed from 2012 to year 2014 which is the sampled period of the study.

The study coded all the 252 cartoons that were sampled for further analysis. Various themes were established. The study noted that 63 (25%) of the cartoons were on politics, 29 (11.5%) on justice, 24 (9.5%) on governance, 20 (7.9%) on corruption and 16 (6.3%) on security. Other themes that were exposed though with less than 1% were; constitutionalism, health, leadership, immigration, economy, integrity, tribalism/ ethnicity, religion, education and sports. On gender portrayal, most cartoons were dominated by men (127 cartoons or 50.5%), followed by both gender (98 cartoons or 38.9%) while women were 11 cartoons (4.4%). This implied that male gender dominates in most aspects in the country.

On how gender portrayal is depicted, the study established out that most men are perceived in the negative. Out of the 252 cartoons that were sampled, there were only two incidents where men were positively perceived. The first incident where men were portrayed positively was in *standard* newspaper on Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> December, 2013. The cartoon covers funeral of Nelson Mandela. All sorts of people attended including

presidents, Bishops, sheikhs and political class. There was a pair of big shoes written *Madiba's humility* which was representing Mandela, a leader whose legacy would be remembered for many generations. Here male gender is depicted as capable of doing good. The second one was in the *Standard* newspaper, on Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2014. The cartoon was for former senator for Homa Bay the late Otieno Kagwang, singing “*malaika msilale bado mapambano*” seemingly in remembrance of what he used to do so well when he was alive-exciting the crowds in his speeches which he would always conclude by leading the charging crowds with *bado mapambano* song. The summary of the coded cartoons is as shown in ANNEX 8.

#### **4.1 Selected Cartoons for year 2012**

In year 2012, a total of 84 cartoons were sampled and analyzed from the two newspapers. The sampled cartoons focused on several thematic areas. Each cartoon was described the way it appeared in the newspaper for the purpose of easy conception and reference. Dates were revealed for the certainty reasons also. The analysis revealed that most of the cartoons focused on politics, security/insecurity, governance, leadership and integrity as well as development. Other areas covered by the selected cartoons included justice and administration, medical health, public health, justice, *Wagalla* massacre (the mass killings that the government is said to have committed against the people from North Eastern region for allegedly being involved in what was called *shifita* war), immigration, corruption, taxation, immorality, terrorism, tribalism, elections and voter registration. Some of the cartoons also focused on disaster and youth-related issues such as drugs and alcoholism. The sampled cartoons were analyzed and discussed concurrently.

In the *Daily Nation*, a total of 42 editorial cartoons were analyzed out of which 18 mainly highlighted the male gender which is 42.8 per cent of the total number of the selected cartoons the year. But 38 per cent of the selected sample cartoons covered male-female dimension. However in this 38 per cent prominence to both gender, the male gender was accorded a dominant role. A paltry 4.8 per cent of the sampled cartoons focused on female gender. In other words, the findings revealed that most of the themes that were captured by the *Daily Nation* cartoonist, majorly brought out men as the key news actors regardless of the whether this was negative or positive way.

As for *Standard*, 52.4 per cent of the sampled cartoons reflected the male gender, 35 per cent took male-female dimension and 7.1 per cent of the sampled cartoons focused purely on female gender. But another 7.1 per cent of the sampled cartoons appeared neutral. Neutrality in this sense means the cartoons did not focus on either gender.

On the scale of ten, the analysis of the sampled cartoons for the two newspapers revealed that politics received the highest percentage of the attention by the cartoonists during the year than any other theme. It is plausible to argue therefore that politics played a significant role in the generation of news than other subjects sampled out in the selected cartoons. This was the focus and the concentration by the actors as were captured in the cartoons for the two newspapers. Both gender were highlighted in the news although they were captured in the cartoons in different forms and proportion. According to the statistics that are availed (2016), politics play a critical role in influencing behavior in society. On the other hand, security/insecurity was ranked second in terms of the focus of the cartoonists in the course of the year.

Security is a critical element that determines how poorly or well the country is managed or administered. That in the absence of security which is insecurity, there is anarchy. Based on how crucial security is in society, both female and male gender were portrayed in a certain light, which could be negative or positive. That both gender have a stake in matters security. This study has made deliberate efforts to bring out in the discussion and even at the conclusion the role assigned to both gender in either reinforcing the rule of law or promoting the culture of peace and harmony among the people.

According to the information from the cartoons that were sampled, it was evident that the actors that were involved in the news had to do with security and insecurity matters. This means that characters that received limelight were seen in either the light of insecurity or security.

In the third level was the governance. How well managed or poorly managed a country or state is determines either the growth or stagnation of the same. Another key area that was highlighted in the cartoons was leadership/integrity and development. The cartoonists also highlighted religion and terrorism. Other areas that were captured by the cartoonists included corruption, public health, taxation and immorality.

Focusing on issues specifically, politics took the center stage as the year began in earnest. I now highlight some of the outstanding cartoons sampled in this study. The first cartoon of the year appearing on January 2, 2012 focused on both male and female gender talking about examination cheating. The male gender in the cartoon makes three statements while the female only makes one but very significant: *Our*

*society will never be short of politicians.* This statement obviously adds credence to the fact that most politicians rise up to leadership positions through dubious means. Could this be the reason why there are many electoral disputes in Kenya compared to other East African countries in the recent past? For example from the 2013 general elections, a total of 188 petitions were filed in the High Court of Kenya. Three petitions were filed at the Supreme Court but they were later consolidated in to one, Odote and Musumba (2013). But in comparison with the neighboring Uganda, it was noted that following the 2011 general elections, there was no presidential petition that was filed at the High Court of Uganda. However, according to the Journals of Eastern African Studies of 2013, there were more at least 100 parliamentary election petitions that were filed at the High Court. Many of the High Court judgments on 2011 election petition gave a degree of optimism that due process was followed since a number of petitions were upheld and MPs removed from their seats.

The analysis of the data that was sampled took specific accounts of the cartoons that were published, when they were published and in which paper they were published. This approach was relevant in helping the research to interact more closely with the specific information that was published in specific cartoons. Through this approach, it was realized that cartoons provided important and critical pieces of information that required sufficient time to reflect upon before making any judgment on the way the characters were portrayed in the cartoons. The study took an ascending approach in analyzing the sampled cartoons. Thus, interacting with data started with 2012 and finished with the information from 2014. Further comparisons were however made to the occurrences that happened outside this context.

For the purpose of discussion, some of the cartoons have been highlighted to propel this study. For example in the beginning of 2012, a cartoon on examination cheating was published soon Kenya Certificate of Primary Education results were released. It likens examination with politics and at the very end the message is that Kenya will never lack politicians.

In connotative context, examination cheating has dogged Kenya for many years. To the very worst, examination cheating has been responsible for erosion of good morals in society. The culture of unfair means obviously breeds unfair results hence mediocrity in all spheres of life such as trade, governance, leadership and management of public affairs whether in schools, colleges or any other higher learning institutions. The cartoon on examination cheating was published on the backdrop of so many cases of examination malpractices in schools and even cases of leaders forging certificates and people having fake degree certificates being printed on the streets. The cartoonist brings out a worrying situation that requires urgent intervention. The cartoonist likens cheating in examination to politics, hence *our society will never be short of politicians*. It therefore means that as long as cheating in examination continues, the society will be producing leaders who will even excel more in electoral malpractices. Therefore, cheating in examination can be linked to cheating in elections. Once this vice is left to thrive, the society will have poor leadership because it will encourage many to use unorthodox means to ascend to power. In many cases, politicians want to have their way especially when they want to protect their interest. But for democracy to thrive, there must be transparency in elections of leaders so as to make such excise credible. According to the cartoon, if the society allows cheating to continue in schools then there is no way you will stop



politicians from winning unfairly because they would have perfected the art of cheating right from schools. In this cartoon the person raising the concern over cheating is a woman. This raises a critical question whether it is only women who are affected by this vice or not. Could it be possible that the male gender is not concerned because after all, it is the men who are the greatest beneficiaries of cheating and by extension cheating in elections?

On the other hand, according to the *Standard* of January 3, 20012, the cartoonist gives the readers a scenario of a football match where Uhuru Kenyatta of Kanu, Kalonzo Musyoka of Wiper Movement and the late George Saitoti of Party of National Union (PNU) are all in a football contest in a bid to show which party is more popular than the other. The crowd is cheering but some of the fans are asking “I’m not sure- are we in PNU Alliance, Kanu, Wiper or United Democratic Forum (UDF)” This statement alone is a pointer to the possibility of confusion seen on both the pitch where parties are trying to undo each other and their supporters. This cartoon was published at the time when parties were involved in push and shovel in a bid to outshine each other.

In a denotative context, the cartoon is reflective of the biased gender approach in showing the nature of political landscape that exists in Kenya. All the players are of male gender and perhaps the nearest we can see the female gender is in the stands where the cheering squad is located. Each of the players is fully concentrating on his own dance to lure the spectators. This means the female gender is only best suited to the spectator position especially when it comes to matters of politics. The male gender is therefore depicted as strongly inclined towards participating in politics as the female gender. From this cartoon, we are confronted with the stark reality of the male gender getting more responsibilities of leadership and popularizing parties while the

female gender is reduced to mere spectator in the stands with the sole responsibility of cheering the male gender.

On January, 3, 2012, the cartoonist captures a very interesting conversation between a man and woman about cheating in examinations. It is the man who begins by saying that the *rate of exam cheating is alarming*. He adds “*new ways are coming up every day.*” He goes on to ask “*Why are young minds being taught to cheat their way to success?*” After listening to all these, the woman retorts “*It proves our society will never be short of politicians.*” This particular cartoon resembles the previous one that involved the girl and the boy apparently in similar conversation that concludes in the same way as the latter.

This cartoon was published on the backdrop of many cases of examination cheating that had infiltrated schools all the way to colleges and universities. In fact they were cases that were reported where people were arrested for being found printing fake degree certificates (Citizen Television News At Nine, April 12, 2016). The linkage with the politicians is what is most interesting. Continued cheating in examination means that the society will never be short of having politicians who cheat their way in to leadership.

In denotative context, the cartoon has fair representation of both gender raising concern for increased cases of examination cheating among the young students in primary, secondary, colleges and even at the University level. The cartoonist has in a way emphasized that the society is affected at all levels and perhaps it is not only the male or the female gender that finds itself in this awkward situation. However, it is the connection with the politicians that sends a pinch of salt to the society in regard to

the way it will never be short of politicians if examination cheating is to be left unchecked. Cheating in examination sets the culture of succeeding using unfair means. There have been several cases where politicians have resorted to rigging in order to win the elections. Therefore the cartoons links cheating in examination with the increased number of politicians who are likely to use unfair means to either get their nominations or win the elections altogether. The case in point is the party nominations held in May 2016 r in readiness for the general elections of August 2017. It was noted that a number of politicians were denied nomination certificates because of fear of having cheated or faked the certificates or were involved in rigging of some sort.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 2012, the cartoonist likens 2011 to an old man and 2012 to a young boy carrying an envelope inscribed *Election Date*. As the old man exits from the stage, he says “*Make sure you get that right young man*”. This cartoon was ushering the New Year 2012. As a tradition, many come up with resolutions or promise to do what they would not have done in previous years. One of the significant issues that was bound to be determined was the time and the date the general elections for Kenya. That is why the old man which is 2011 tells the young man in this case 2012, to ensure that the date is gotten well. This election was crucial because it was the first ever election to be held under the new constitution promulgated on 27<sup>th</sup> August 2010. In connotative terms, 2011 is old, and out of date and fashion. Therefore, must exit but with all the baggage made of unresolved economic, social and political issues. The old denotes the past, things that already happened. These things could have some relevance to the future but may not come back in the same form and magnitude. As the New Year, the wisdom that the old man

leaves for the young man is to ensure he gets everything right and especially the election to suggest that daunting task lay ahead and required commitment to deal with it.

In denotative manner, 2011 is represented by the old man. The old man is tired and holding a walking stick as he exits the stage. But the old man has a message for the young man who is already faced with the challenge of determining the election date in Kenya. The cartoonist is flat out to portray gender bias against women by likening 2011 and 2012 years to an old man and young man respectively. To the critical analysts of the cartoons that carry a heavy message such as the election year, the cartoonist has shown outright favor to the male characters in the news as the one that have the powers and perhaps the ability to carry out major decisions and provide leadership in such critical times. The cartoonist unconsciously puts emphasis on the male gender forgetting that the female gender can equally carry and deliver the message that is in the cartoon to the reader.

What if the female gender could be used? The meaning and the intensity of the cartoon could still be there and make sense and perhaps deliver the same message that the male gender delivered in this particular cartoon.

The lessons of the 2011 is transformed in to the message for the 2012, *ensure you get the election date right.*

On the other hand in a carton almost carrying similar message, appearing in the *Daily Standard* of January 2, 2012 was categorical. It is a young man emerging from a heap of issues afflicting Kenya. The heap is made up of corruption, tribalism, nepotism and land grabbing among others. The year 2011 is equated to a heap of these issues that

afflicted Kenya in the past. Indeed the old is a great burden that needs to be forgotten almost immediately because of the havoc that it inflicted on the innocent tax payers. Obviously, the old man is completely worn out by the heavy burden of the issues he is carrying.

In terms of gender perspective, the New Year is likened to a boy just like the one that appeared in the *Daily Nation*. Both cartoons have some concurrence on the use of a boy to represent the new year. The boy has a bright future given that he is just emerging from a heap of issues. This means that according to this cartoon, 2012 appeared to come with the goodies that it deserves. But then, this good New Year is just emerging from the previous one that was characterized by a heap of problems, some of them still unresolved.

Denotatively it emerges from this cartoon gives the male gender unfair advantage over the female gender by unconsciously demonstrating bias in the cartoon. What about the heaps? Perhaps it would have been much more interesting if the male gender was also associated with the heap of issues that seem to be connected with the so called trouble-ridden 2011. The cartoonist want to associate the male gender with hopefully promising new year. The gender portrayal just like in the case of the *Daily Nation* is skewed towards the male gender and could be described as biased towards the female gender.

In related situation, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of January 2, 2012 shows a man running away from heaps and heaps of garbage that constitute several things among them *Syokimau demolitions*, *Sinai Mission* tragedy that claimed more than 120 people when a pipe transporting fuel caught fire ravaging the entire Sinai village in

Nairobi. The heap also have Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), high cost of living, high fuel costs, steep energy costing, inflation, stumbling of the shilling and terrorism attacks among others.. This heap is scaring enough for the man to take to his heels and as he runs towards the incoming 2012 hoping that it will offer some reprieve.

In connotative manner, the heaps and heaps of the garbage that have been captured in the cartoons is the mess through which Kenyans went through in the previous year. Indeed 2011 was dogged by many issues that affected the livelihood of ordinary Kenyans. There was high cost of fuel that precipitated increased transport costs for those using public means. Apart from the inflation, there are incidents that took happened which brought untold suffering among the citizens such as the Sinai fire tragedy that claimed more than 120 people. But there was also increased threat of the terror attacks that claimed several lives. Indeed this must have been the reason why the Kenyan was running very first perhaps to catch up with 2012 and yet he was not sure whether the situation would remain the same if not worsen. The heaps are littered around which means they were unattended to and perhaps that was why the Kenyan was running away very fast. The fact that dirt was littered everywhere was indeed a pointer to the fact that many of those issues remained unresolved and must be resolved anyway if the Kenyan has to remain safe and secure in 2012.

In denotative context, it is obvious that the cartoon decided to focus on the male gender appearing in tattered cloths and running very fast to escape the wrath of many problems that have been left unattended to in the previous year. The cartoon is skewed towards demonstrating that the male gender is representative of the society which is far from the truth. Both the male and female gender are equally affected by inflation, Sinai fire tragedy, Al Shabaab, high cost of living, increased fuel prices and

both gender were part of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) that were left unattended to in the previous years.

On the other hand, the *Standard* of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2012 shows former Prime Minister Raila Odinga sitting on a sofa set with the newspaper headline on *Raila and Miguna*. Another man, permanent secretary fights a fly which keeps making the buzzing noise and wonders why the fly can't just go away. In connotative terms, Raila sitting on a sofa set is an environment that does not require disturbance. Indeed, when one relaxes on a sofa set, requires minimum distraction and disturbance. But there is disturbance coming from a noisy fly hovering around him. Good enough, there is someone to chase away the fly.

Denotatively the cartoon is confined within the purview of the politics of Kenya, which is male dominated and male centered. Apart from being male dominated, the Kenyan politics is also characterized by a lot of noise. The buzzing fly is a representation of the much noise and misunderstandings and the backstabbing that form part and parcel of the Kenyan politics. In this case, Raila Odinga, who is one of the Kenya's refined opposition leader faces a lot of challenges. The flying making noise is the opposition that comes from his detractors. And that he is constantly disturbed by this unrelenting noise from his critics.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of January 4, 2012 does carry a message of having to face stringent lives arising from the hard economic times that most Kenyans experienced in 2011. This time round, the Kenyan (male gender) with all his pockets out is sandwiched in a crossroad where he has to make decisions in terms of what to attend to first. On his left, he has a list of the issues that

he has to deal with. He has a loan to service, household goods must also be bought, He has to purchase food specifically *Unga* which has gone missing in the supermarkets, he has also a list of text books that he must purchase for his children. On the other hand, school fees must be raised, he has to pay rent, water, electricity and telephone bills and worse still relatives must be supported in one way or another. This Kenyan is really in a fix.

This cartoon is typical of a Kenyan situation in which an ordinary working citizen struggles to survive all the time. With the meager salaries, many people find it difficult to make ends meet. They operate on shoe lace budget and constantly are operating in negative profit circles. That is the connotative context in which people earn so little and yet they have to meet so many financial obligations around them.

In denotative context the cartoon features a male Kenyan who is faced with financial pressure that surrounds his obligations perhaps as the sole bread winner. He has to really juggle with the little finance that he has to distribute to almost all the areas that seem critical. This cartoon falls short of realizing appropriate gender portrayal where such economic hardships affect all and sundry. The fact that life is hard for men does not suggest that the female gender is any better.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing on March 2, 2012 in the *Standard*, shows a tug of war that existed at that time between the executive and the legislature in regard to the position of the provincial administration in the new constitutional dispensation. While the executive insisted to retain the provincial administration by introducing what has been termed at County Commissioners and Regional Coordinators, the MPs were categorical insisting that there was no provision for the provincial administration and that it was important for them to be completely removed from all the levels. This



tug of war is what makes the *mascot* voice to ask whether they are both reading from the same constitution or not. The *Mascot* voice is lowly executed but contains a major message to the readers. In this regard the main concern for the mascot voice is whether the politicians or the executive are reading from the same script or not.

The cartoon was published at the time when there was a struggle to retain or remove the provincial administration altogether. The constitution is very clear that within five years after its promulgation in August 2010. According to the new law, the provincial administration was bound to be changed. But the President resisted the move and instead went head to create new positions of the County Commissioners and Regional Co-coordinators which was interpreted as creating a parallel system of governing the country contrary to what the constitution. According to the new set of laws, there shall be only two levels of governments namely the central and the county governments. These two levels shall be inter-dependant of each other in the sense that the central government shall provide financial support to the county government through the devolved ministries and departments such as health, and natural resource management.

The cartoon zeroed in to three men namely the President on one hand, Member of Parliament on the other hand and the provincial administrator in the middle being pulled on both sides. Each side wants to have the provincial administration. It was really a tug of war over the inclusion or removal of the provincial administration in the administration of Kenyan affairs. In the denotative terms, the cartoon is biased towards the male gender only showing that first the chief executive is a man, the provincial administration is represented by a man and obviously the Members of Parliament are represented by a man. This of war was reduced to a male gender

affair. In this regard, the cartoon can be interpreted to mean that its impression is skewed towards the male gender which means the female gender is given the backseat

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing on March 5, 2012 takes us to the casualty section of the provincial general hospital. A patient is brought in on a stretcher by two men. The patient is very sick, it is at night and needs help otherwise all is not alright for him. The female nurse sitting at the counter stuns them by telling them “sorry, we are on strike come back next week” Indeed the nurses strike has been there for a while. The efforts by the Central and County governments to address their plight has failed to bear fruits. The patient although very desperate for help is told the hospital is not working, the earliest he can be treated is next week. In other words he was being told to postpone the suffering till next week!

The cartoon was published at the time when the nurses were on strike demanding better pay and improved working conditions. The strike persisted for long time forcing people to take their patients to private hospitals for treatment. But those who were unable lost their loved ones. This is a crisis that has been recurrent for the last three years without any solution being found. Even as late as June, last year, the nurses strike has been going on for some time. Both the national and county governments have been unable to resolve the matter. Although the Comprehensive Bargaining Agreement was agreed upon. But it took so long before it was signed by the affected parties namely the National government and the County governments where the health services have been taken through devolution.

The cartoon has three people of the male gender and the one manning the desk is of female gender. In doing so, the cartoonist does suggest that because it is the nurses

striking the one at the counter must be of female gender. But if one would ask, can men also be called nurses or the name nurses is strictly applicable to the female gender. The answer is true. The name nurses can apply for men and women. We have some men that have been employed specifically to carry out nursing services to the patients. The cartoonist has attempted to portray gender balance especially by demonstrating that those affected are both men and women. But he could have chosen to show that the patient who is unable to walk or stand can also be of female gender.

According to the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of Mach 6, 2012, the readers are taken to the Immigration Department, international arrivals' section, Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, Nairobi. Three men with briefcases stuffed with money arrive in the country. They are identifies at Kabuga, Banda and Biyanga. The Immigration officer stands up and salutes them with honour, telling them "Welcome to Kenya, Gentlemen please do enjoy your stay with us" And behind him, there is poster with words "*Karibu Kenya, Hakuna Matata, Foreign Investors Welcome*" But there two mascot voices. One of them says "*Shi, we prefer calling them foreign investors*" But the other mascot voice says "*But these are crooks*" meaning that they are suspected criminals who have committed crime in other countries and that they are seeking protection from Kenya.

Media reports have it the three "investors" have been on the run after they committed atrocities in their own countries and they think Kenya is safe enough to protect them for a little while longer. Kabuga is a key suspect in the Rwanda genocide of 1994 in which close to one million people were killed. But they seem to have found refuge in Kenya after the Government appeared to protect them from being arrested by the International Criminal Court in the Hague, the Netherlands.

Accordingly, the Mascot voice says these characters are crooks. On March 7, 2012 in the *Daily Nation*, the cartoonist captured a scenario where the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission is captured asking the retired President Daniel Arap Moi to appear before it to clarify and confirm or deny the existence of the so called torture chambers at Nyayo House in Nairobi. Now, Nyayo House is located near Uhuru Highway in Nairobi and for a long time, it served as the seat for the Provincial administration. Currently, it houses ministries such as Immigration and Registration of Persons. The TJRC was categorical that the former head of state could be having some important information that could shed light on the existence of the torture chambers that were meant to subject government critics to inhuman and unlawful torture that included beating by special police. According to the cartoon, the person confronting the former president is a woman perhaps whose husband may have been a victim of the torture chambers and whose determination is to ensure that truth and justice is availed for those who were victims of the state sponsored torture.

On March 8, 2012, according to the cartoon appearing in the *Standard*, the party leader shall be the presidential candidate. Therefore the battle for presidential candidate between Mudavadi and Raila begins in earnest. Mudavadi claims foul in the football match but referee James Orengo tells him, it is part of the game. This cartoon was published and obviously heightened political activities in the parties in Kenya especially political activities that revolved around party nominations for the various positions especially the presidential contest. The cartoon was published at the time when there was heightened political activities of both Raila Odinga, former Prime Minister and Orange Democratic Movement leader and Musalia Mudavadi, the

deputy leader of the ODM who later decamped from the party to found his own African National Congress (ANC) and now he is associated with the inception of yet another political outfit namely National Super Alliance (NASA which was wound up.. And so, Raila and Mudavadi were battling it out for the Orange Democratic Movement nominations. All the characters drawn in the cartoon are men perhaps to demonstrate the gender gap that exist in the political class of Kenya.

There is no female candidate in the contest. The football match is therefore male dominated which means women have been overshadowed or simply been pushed to the back seat by their male counterparts in political leadership. But this scenario is not new to Kenyan politics as witnessed when both the national parliament and the senate failed to beat deadline on gender rules. (*Daily Nation*, May 30, 2017). Justice Mativo had on March 29, 2017 ruled that if parliament does not legislate gender rules within 60-days window, the petitioners or any other person shall be free to petition to the Chief Justice to advise the president to dissolve parliament. The session of this parliament ended without accomplishing this task.

On March 9, 2012, it was Prof Anyang Nyong, was captured in cartoon published in the *Daily Nation*, as he visited hospital wards to assure the patients that all was well and the government had sacked all the striking nurse and the government was willing to employ more for the sake of completing the work on time. Bu the whole professor needed to be reminded that there was nothing the new nurses could do to help the ailing patients. In connotative context, indeed Prof. Nyong'o may not have been aware that mere promises that nurses are on the way coming, may not do much to change the situation for the ailing patient who were then almost dying. This cartoon was published at the time, the nurses were on the strike demanding for better pay and

improved working conditions within public hospitals and health centers. In fact in the following day, the cartoonist appeared to focus on Prof Nyong'o struggling to carry out physiotherapy on the patient gasping for breath.

In related circumstances, the cartoon appearing on the same date in the *Standard* has an interesting scenario where the Government is deliberately hiding from the striking workers. First we have the nurses on strike, teachers and members of Matatu welfare who are also on strike and waiting to engage the Government for a way forward. While these groups are queuing to engage with the Government, the representative of the government has hidden under the table. In other words, the government is not ready for any engagement.

As stated earlier, this cartoon was published at the time there were many industrial conflicts about salary increase and need for improved working conditions for nurses and teachers as well. In this cartoon, there was a deliberate effort to engender the characters and their roles. For example the nurses are being led by a female, meaning both men and women can lead. In this particular cartoon in fact women are more agitated than anyone else. Then the teachers are being led by a male teacher perhaps demonstrating that indeed it is the leadership of Wilson Sossion that is at play. On the other hand, the Matatu Owners Association are being led by a man, in this case Kimutai is the Chairman of the Association. And there are several other leaders among them women representatives. On the other hand, the Government representative is a man, but hiding under the table probably for being unable to face the striking workers is an indication of the government unwilling culture to engage with the workers for dialogue.. Even more striking in this cartoon is the government motto: *“Always Put off for Tomorrow what you can do today”* This motto speaks

volumes as regard to the way the Government handles very important and critical issues that have to do with workers' rights. According to the motto, the industrial action undertaken by the three groups can after all wait until tomorrow. The case in point is the nurses strike that has been so recurrent to the extent even now the strike has been going on for since January this year.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of March 10, 2012 is focused on the Kenyan Member of Parliament. First the MP has a big belly with extra large coat suggesting that he could also be carrying a lot of money. But the most interesting thing is that he has a score card in his right hand while in left he has a card for shillings' crisis. Since he is standing in sunshine, his shadow has a tribal and political card. The Member of Parliament is of male gender and seems to be having mixed identity. In other words, for which card can he be trusted with? The member is more represented by tribal and political card than the performance which will ultimately determine re-election. But as for the card that he is holding. The MP has very little impact to reduce inflation. and increased cost of living burdening citizens.

This cartoon was published at the time when Kenya faced serious economic times leading to the devaluation of the Kenya shillings against the dollar and sterling pound.. For the first time in history, Kenya shillings drop to the low of 140 against the pound and 105 against the dollar respectively. While that was happening, the Members of Parliament were busy politicking and failed to protect Kenyans against hard economic times. At the same time, there was a lot tribal politics hemorrhage working against service delivery to the people.

On May 14, 2012, a cartoon of the former President Mwai Kibaki and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. Odinga tells Mr Kibaki that he would serve for only one term

if elected. Kibaki laughs it off perhaps to demonstrate how he does not trust Raila Odinga on anything. The cartoonist chose to focus on these two leaders who were political nemesis. The cartoon was drawn and published at the time when there was increased political campaigns on what was called Kibaki succession. And so Raila Odinga, then Prime Minister and co-principal in the second Kibaki administration proposed himself as the most suitable candidate to succeed Mwai Kibaki. But the former president seemed not interested to support Raila for the top seat in the country. In a more subtle way, the cartoonist seems to suggest that Mwai Kibaki was not willing to support Raila Odinga for the presidential bid and that he wished someone else other than Raila to succeed him as the Kenya's fourth chief executive. Again like it has been observed before, major decisions that touched on the politics of the day are made by the male characters. There is an obvious effort by the cartoonists to paint the female gender as mere spectators and consumers of the decisions made by the male gender. Although this is not explicitly demonstrated in the cartoon, but is implicitly shown how such important decision affecting the future of more than 42 million plus is left on the shoulders of only two male adults. But there seem to be no alternative means to ascending to leadership except by sheer domination of others. The most affected gender in this regard being the female.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Standard* of May 14 2012 has a scenario where a section of Kenya has been submerged in water. The cartoonist captures a very disturbing situation where people have decided to climb on the roof tops to escape the wrath of the raging water. Majority of the people affected are children and women, which is the more reason one of the woman says "Water, water everywhere but not a drop to drink" This scenario is typical of the Kenya's country side of Nyakach in



Kisumu County, Budalangi in Busia County, Mombasa in Mombasa County and Kwale in Kwale county where rain has been causing havoc in the past.

The cartoonist was deliberate in being biased towards the female gender. Majority of those captured as victims of flooding are of female gender. The question that begs is whether this situation only affected women or even men were hit by the raging water?

According to a cartoon appearing in the *Daily Standard* of May 16, 2012, the public is daring politicians to face the leadership and integrity test. The integrity test is in form of sharp spikes. And for the politician to go through the test, he/she has to remove the shoes and step on the spikes barefooted. What is interesting in the cartoon is the message coming from the members of the public. "If you are a saint as you always claim to be, then there should be nothing to be afraid of." The members of the public are daring politicians to go through the leadership and integrity test without any fear.

This cartoon was published at the time when chapter six of the constitution was operational. This chapter strictly focuses on the need for those in leadership to pay attention to integrity issues (Constitution of Kenya, 2010: 73). In other words one must pass the integrity test before serving the people. Integrity test would constitute honesty, truthfulness and non-corruptibility. Now the members of the public represented by a man and a woman are telling the politicians and those in leadership not to worry so much but just go through integrity test since they claim to be saints. Saints is used here to mean that those in leadership have been claiming that they are blameless and are fit to lead. Therefore they should not worry to step on the spikes however painful they may be.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Standard* of May 17 2012 is focused on the Members of the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament as they awarded themselves 15 million each as a sendoff package. But according to the cartoon, the exercise is no less than looting the public coffers because of the way the legislators behaved. First there scrambling, then open assertion that indeed they are eating as never to come back to the leadership position again. In the cartoon one of the MP is seen telling the rest “Brothers and sisters, let us **EAT before we ALL go home**” And another one adds “**Yes, we may never see the inside of the August House Again**” And lastly the leader of the women parliamentarians added her voice “**Hey, don’t finish for me**” As these statements are being made, there seem to be a really scramble for the public coffers and it is like free for all. Everyone for himself, God for us all syndrome. It is really chaotic as the MPs literally loot the money as in anticipation of their defeat in the election.

The cartoon situated in an environment of public plunder appearing at the time when the MPs were preparing to finish their term. According to the cartoon, the MPs are on the looting spree after some suspected that they could not make their way back to the Parliament after the elections. This cartoon is all about plundering state money by those in high authority.

On May 20 2012, a cartoon appearing in *Daily Nation* shows Uhuru Kenyatta with TNA party ahead of 2013 general elections. He rides on a missile called ICC charges. From the onset, it was obvious that when Uhuru Kenyatta decided to run for the president he was aware of the impending forces coming from the International Criminal Court indictment. This cartoon was drawn and published at the time when Uhuru Kenya together with William Ruto and radio presenter Joshua Arap Sang were

accused of having been behind the eruption and escalation of the 2007 /08 post-election violence that rocked most parts of Kenya because of the disputed presidential results that pitted Mwai Kibaki, the incumbent and his main challenger Raila Odinga, who later became the Prime Minister in the coalition government.

According to the cartoon, Uhuru Kenyatta was destined for the Hague in the Netherlands where the International Criminal Courts sits. And so he had to work extra hard to win the support of the majority Kenyans in order to get a lifeline. And so Uhuru Kenyatta turned the ICC missile in to a strong campaign tool that would push him to the State House as Kenya's fourth President. This is to mean that for him to win, Uhuru needed the ICC case that would generate sympathy and make the members of this community to turn up in large numbers and prove to the ICC that despite having had a case to answer, he was still popular among the Kenyans. And more often than not, Uhuru Kenyatta utilized the ICC as a campaign vehicle by constantly appealing to the Kenyans to save him from the gallows of ICC by voting for him. This sympathy was generated by the obvious fear for prosecution and eventual sentence. And indeed majority seemed to have been convinced and decided to rally behind him on sympathy grounds.

In connotative terms, Uhuru Kenyatta was accused in the Hague for facilitating or aiding attackers during the 2007 post elections violence. Uhuru Kenyatta was accused together with William Samoei Ruto and Radio journalist Joshua Arap Sang who were later set free by the same court after a long struggle to wriggle out of the case. According to the cartoonist, the ICC case was an important opportunity for those that were accused in the Hague to rally support and sympathy from the Kenyans and particularly in their political backyards so that they win the elections.

On July 4, 2012, the cartoonist takes the readers to a scenario where terrorist have attacked what seems to be a church and inflicted heavy loss of life and maiming the innocent people. Those hit have been littered on the floor. Some injured and some killed. The cartoonist comes in with a message ....*and like a coward that it is Al Shabaab puns in to hiding again.* This cartoon was published at a time when terrorist attacks were happening all over the world. In Kenya and particularly in 2012, a number of churches suffered terrorist attack. For example on Sunday April 29, 2012, an attack took place at *God's House of Miracles Church* at Ngara Estate in Nairobi (*Daily Nation*, April 30, 2012). Other churches that were hit by terrorist included the Central Catholic Cathedral and AIC Churches in Garissa town. Since then, there seems to be well coordinated strategy to hit at the innocent on religious grounds, a situation that was also witnessed in Wajir and Mandera among other areas in Northern Kenya.

In connotative context, the cartoon has brought out a typical environment where terrorist have been targeting civilians and people frequenting social places like it happened in France after a music concert in May last year. Terrorism has brought about devastating effects to the people and basically eaten in the development agenda of the countries and cities that have been affected. In this particular case, it is the church that was attacked and there so many people mostly women and children who have been affected. What is critical at this point in time is the extent the female gender has been highlighted in the cartoons and therefore by extension the newspaper. Majority of those seen in the cartoon are women and children looking very desperate and perhaps wondering where the help will come from. The question that begs is whether this s representation of the attack is appropriate scenario especially as it

pertains to the many other incidents of attack that have been witnessed before. On this account would argue that in many similar attacks, both the male and female gender have been affected by the attacks. In fact in some incidents, the male gender who are also Christians were singled out for example the attack at Garissa University in which more than 140 people were killed and the attack on Mandera Bus where Muslim passengers had to shield the Christians travelling on the same bus (Media reports Dec 21, 2015). According to the cartoon, the attack singled out women and children. Indeed the women appeared left helpless with their children strapped behind their back. There is no one to help. The gender issue is highly captured to suggest that most of the victims of terror attacks are women and children because of the vulnerability. But to the contrary, terror attacks have affected people in all cadres, some elderly, youth, men and women sometimes in equal proportion. In this particular cartoon, the cartoonist seem to be inclined towards insisting that more women and children have been affected by the terror attack. But the cartoons also goes ahead to suggest that women and children are weak as most of them were captured lying on the ground. The female gender is an endangered species. They have been subjected to untold experience of having to be framed as weak and helpless in the eyes of the readers and the viewers.

An interesting cartoon appears in the *Daily Nation* of Jul 8, 2012. There are twelve bishops, just like the twelve tribes of Israel conversing but one of them supposedly their leader asks this fundamental question. The two-thirds of our congregation today are women...*those who support the ordination of women bishops, please raise your hand.* Stunned and surprised by this question, none of them carried up his hands.

Instead they were wondering why their leader should have left other duties only to ask such an obvious question to an obvious congregation. And so nobody raised his hand. In connotative contexts, the cartoons has simply brought out the number of bishops who are willing and not willing to support the two third gender requirement. Although majority of the faithful seem to be women, those who are in leadership and particularly the men are not willing to support the ordination of the woman as a bishop.

Moving on to the specific area of politics, on September 10 2012, a cartoon was published in the *Daily Nation*, showing a person called an *unidentified former civil servant*. This former servant like many would do, could have resigned or retired from the public service. But he seems interested in an elective position. According to the person, leaving civil service was motivated by the need to influence society through politics. And so, as this former civil servant who seems charged with the burning desire to enter politics however murky the waters might appear. While walking on the street, he comes across a billboard with the inscription “*Fanatics for hire*”. This billboard is loaded with details such as...*seeking any elective position, need cronies to look formidable, look no further call....., charges are negotiable. We hurl stones at discounted rates.* A fanatic can be equated to a zealot or bigot who is more than else convinced to follow or profess certain ideological beliefs. But it also applies to politics. In this context, the cartoonist is referring to political fanatics. Just to illustrate how fanatics would behave is looking no further then the local football rivalry that has of recent past been nicknamed *mashemeji* derby.

In this cartoon, the former government official walks closer to a billboard with details of the fanatics. Behind him there is a man that has stuffed money in the briefcase and some of the money is just falling off. That means that the details that are available include the telephone and where the fanatics can be physically found. Other implicit details include their price for the hire among other terms and conditions of hire to make one look formidable. The details of their work is also cut out and is described as specialized in hurling stones at discounted prices. Fanatics for hire would mean that hooligans are available to be used by politicians especially during the electioneering period. The former civil servant is introduced to the culture of violence so he can survive in the difficult and more often slippery political terrain that there is in Kenya. The person seek the elective position is of the male gender. More often that not, politicians desperately seeking political offices resort to use of violence to intimate their opponents. The case in point is the recent party primaries that were characterized by violence and even killings. In this cartoon, fanatics are available and ready to be hired at discounted rates and to do among other things making politicians look formidable even when they are weak, engage in shouting matches and hurl stones to the opponents during the political rallies. According to the *Reuter* of May 3 2017, 62 people appeared before the court for bribing and causing violence during the party primaries. According to the prosecution, among the 62 were one sitting member of parliament and a gubernatorial aspirant. Political violence was witnessed in Migori and Busia Counties among others. Fanatics are stone throwers. They would be used to throw stones at the opponent. Sometimes they are special squads for causing mayhem among the people especially those who are of different political persuasions.

In a more obvious way from the cartoon points to the possibilities of use of violence inherent among the Kenyan politicians aspiring for leadership at the grass root, county and national levels regardless of the means used to achieve this end. In a connotative sense, the cartoon depicts a male politician who is desperately looking for leadership. In reality, this context has been witnessed and experienced in many African countries including Kenya, Uganda and Burundi among others. As it would be their case, Kenya has preciously suffered a bout of skirmished that were ignited by the unresolved presidential votes. The skirmishes partly escalated due to many ethnically radical groups who were quickly and easily mobilized to fuel tribal tension (*Daily Nation* January 1, 2, 3 2008, *Daily Standard* January 1, 2, 3 and 4 2008) , “*The World Looks Away as Blood flows in Burundi*”, wrote Emma Graham-Harrison in the *Guardian* on April 10, 2016. In this regard, politicians are known for being part and parcel of such political environment where violence is used to determine who is more powerful and influential to the people than the rest. A male politician is the one seeking the intervention of the fanatics to win the elections. Therefore, there is every possibility that more men than women would love to actively take part in political mayhem.

According to the research finding by the civic actors in Kenya, more than 90 percent of the politician seeking electoral positions have been engaged in violent activities which include hiring of special gangs of the youth ostensibly to main and terrorize opponents. Such gangs include *Chinkororo* of Kisii county, *Angola Msumbiji* of Kakamega and *Baghdad Boys* in Kisumu county among others. The politicians also engage in smear campaign activities such as name-calling and blackmailing to gain political mileage. Further details of the research also have clearly mapped out specific



areas in the country as prone to violence. In the gender perspective one is however left to wonder whether hooliganism is synonymous with male politicians or it is simply by chance that majority of the male politicians seem to rally behind violence especially when their survival is under serious threat. So in this regard, one may ask whether this suggests that hooliganism is only confined to the minds of the male politicians or this is something that could go either way. Is hooliganism meant for men only or even the female gender especially those involved in active politics can and some have in the past engaged in violent politics to ensure that they get or retain power. These are some of the salient questions that this study seem to generate especially as one seriously thinks about the gender portrayal in the media today. The fact that it is the man who has been captured by the cartoonist as one seeking the intervention of the fanatics to pursue his political ambition does portray men as generally prone to violent and political scheming. The question that begs, does it mean that the female gender does not engage in any acts that seem to promote political violence? If the recent political primaries were anything to go by, then the female gender is equally prone to violence. That is why nominated Senator Elizabeth Ongoro was summoned by the Orange Democratic Movement leadership for participating in violence. Furthermore, *Joho, Obado, Ongoro among 14 summoned by ODM over violence* (Star April 7, 2017).

At the international marathon of accessing leadership, the leading US presidential candidate Barack Obama and Mitt Romney are captured competing in the same race and Obama is leading. He reminds Romney that he has “Kenyan blood” which means he is good at long distance running. Men are dominant in politics no matter the continent. The Kenyan blood can be interpreted to mean the real athletics fame that Kenya is known for. Although it could pass to also suggest that Kenyan blood simply

means how badly managed the elections could even be so as to influence the final tally of the elections.

But it can also point to the political maneuvers and tricks that are known to exist among many politicians in Kenya. The question of the “Kenyan blood” cannot be left to pass without interrogating the nature of political landscape existing in Kenya.

November 13, 2012( *Daily Nation*), political alliance a woman and a man appear in the same cartoon. The first part of the cartoon has the two shaking hands and declaring that they have likeminded parties. The two are operating under the auspices *Alliance Networking*. Alliance networking would on the onset suggest that indeed people are yoked together and faces with so many challenges, some of those challenges must be addressed But on the flip side of the cartoon, the two appear to be operating under the auspices of *All-liars Networking* “The two are tossing power and sharing and each declaring “ *I can trust you with my interests*’. In a connotative manner the cartoon is about the both gender- male and female engaged in a political discussion regarding the manner in which they have to collaborate in order to achieve their dreams. Bu the question that needs to be dealt with at this stage whether this type of networking is beneficial to both parties and it is negatively skewed towards aiding and enhancing the interest of one gender against the other.

In the first incidence the two characters seem to embrace each other emphasizing that all is well and that they can as well be described as like minded parties brought together by common concerns. In the flip side though the power sharing arrangement seen to favour one party. In this case the male gender seem to receive a bigger bowl meaning that it has received a lion’s share of the resources compared to the female

gender. According to political analysts, this cartoon was drawn at the time when there were some squabbles involving two political parties namely The National Alliance (TNA ) and United Republican Party (URP).

Special reference is made to the many times legislation on the affirmative action has been brought and defeated at the floor of both the National Assembly and the Senate Houses. Can the female gender really trust her interests with the male gender especially when for example the composition of the cabinet is skewed towards the male gender? It is doubtful and perhaps to the very best worrying to notice that in Kenya only 25% of the entire team of 16 men among them the Attorney General are the female gender. There has been numerous efforts aimed at passing affirmative action legislations that guarantee gender parity but to no success. To the contrary, in Rwanda there has been a lot of progress in realizing gender equality. For example in 2013, Rwanda succeeded in having at least 64 per cent of women in elective seats. On the other hand, Uganda has also given prominence to women by ensuring that women have special seats in Parliament to guarantee their participation in nation building. It is only by adhering to the principles of inclusivity and non discrimination of people based on gender that equal participation and sharing of resources can be achieved.

The *Daily Nation* has a rather interesting cartoon of the third President of Kenya, Mwai Emilio Kibaki. He is captured listing the legacy he wants to leave as he retires from politics. So Kibaki legacy has the following: Thika Highway, Lamu Port, Syokimau Railway, Economic Growth, Vice President House among others. But “Wanjiku” accompanied by her son says “Yeah, Yeah... We know all that! In the end, your legacy will be determined by how you manage your succession...”

The cartoon was published at the time when retired President Mwai Kibaki was preparing to leave office at the end of his two terms. He seemed to have focused on significant issues but ignored what was the most crucial one and that being how the succession would be managed.

Looking at the sampled cartoons of 2012, it seems politics took the centre stage. Thus, it was evident that most cartoons touched on matters politics. This type of news segment seemed to dominate the two dailies. Critically looking at the period under focus, it was evident that much politicking was an attempt to gear up for the general elections that were due for March 2013.

Incidentally, much of the politics portrayed the male gender as strong, dominant and active in most of the cartoons that were sampled. Politics further portrayed the male gender as violent and always ready to engage in violent acts to gain power. But at the same time it was observed that the male gender was mainly responsible for the insecurity that dogged many parts of the country. That in every situation that was identified, it was revealed that the hand of the male gender was felt in some cases from a distance and in some very close to what was happening. On the other hand, it was observed that in the cartoons in which the female gender was highlighted, it was noted that the female gender was linked to weak characters especially in matters of decision making and leadership responsibilities. When such issues were highlighted, the female gender was given the back stage to operate from. However it was also noted that poor governance in the name of power sharing is normally propelled by both gender and is not about the people but about individual interests that must be protected all the times and at all costs. According to the cartoons that were sampled, whenever the male gender was in conflict with the female gender, the male gender

took the upper hand relegating the female gender to the second fiddle. Not only in Kenya but indeed in the whole world, male gender is a dominant factor in politics. That is why even in the United States of America, it was revealed that there were more men associated with leadership than was the case for the women.

The scenario seems to have moved from Africa to America. Indeed, until recently, most of the presidential candidates in the US were characterized by the dominant male gender. It is on record that since independence, the US has had a total of 47 presidents, all of them men. It was hope against hope that the Americans could have again written a new chapter in their political history had they decided to vote for Mrs. Hillary Clinton as the first woman and 45<sup>th</sup> American President on a Democratic ticket in November 2016. But contrary to the expectation of many, Donald Trump was elected and succeeded Barrack Obama on January 20, 2017.

Back in Kenya, it was observed that in the satirical language, men were mostly perceived as the drivers of the political wheel than women. They actively played part in the politics as news makers and of news sources. In a more critical manner, the cartoonist portrayed the male gender as liars, and who lacked integrity in their dealings. There were notable cartoons that seem to portray the male gender as liars. For example on March 9 2012, it was “Dr” Nyong’o who appeared in the cartoon telling the sick patients that the government had fired all the striking nurses in the country and hired new ones who would be with the patients in a short while. While this could have been true that indeed the government fired the nurses, it was purely untrue that it had hired new ones who were to attend to the patients in a shot while. Dr Nyong’o (in the real sense Prof Nyong’o) who at that time was the minister in charge of health, was merely lying to the patients, majority of them who died for lack

of medication due to the strike. In the subsequent cartoon appearing on March 10, 2012, Prof Nyong'o appeared to be busy carrying out a physiotherapy to a dying patient. The effort of trying to help the sick and dying patients was indeed too little too late effort that could not improve the ailing situation. The cartoon appearing on September would in a sense provide clear evidence of the political class that not only lies to the citizen but also rob them of the little resources they have. Coming soon is the cartoon showing how the government tries to lure the Kenyan workers in to report back to work by giving them some little coins while at the same time digging deep in to the revenue basket. The government is represented by the male gender while the Kenyan worker is of female gender who is blindfolded and is even weak enough to resist the government action.

As far as the sampled cartoons of 2012 are concerned, the male gender suffered the tag of being associated with violence, insecurity and agony that afflicted most of the citizens, the members of public still found it inevitable to support the male gender. Thus, although negative tag hung around their neck, the electorate still found the male gender lot a better option to be trusted with leadership and decision making responsibilities. In other words, it was evident that most of the male gender were associated with major responsibilities of making decisions. They were charged with superior work ethics that included leading and making pronouncements that affected the female gender.

Thus, most Kenyan folk would rather deal with such category of leadership than trust a honest individual interested in serving them selflessly. Which means, most of the cartoons analyzed revealed that more women could even do well in leadership but the only impediment they faced is that majority of the Kenyans still considered them as

weak and lacking the capacity to deliver. On the other hand, most of the cartoons depicting the female gender in relation to leadership, demonstrated how they can be honest and perhaps reliable.

On the other hand, the female gender was portrayed as critical in their judgment. In this regard, women were in most cases portrayed as the voice of reason that counts in critical times. The case in point was about cheating in exams where it was the woman who said the society will not be short of having politicians. If the examinations are stolen and people cheat a lot in order to pass their examinations then it follows that the culture of cheating will filter all the way in to the society.

The cartoonist used the female gender to inject a sense of sobriety in the public by emphasizing that the society will not be short of having politicians. In other words. If cheating is allowed to continue, then politicians will keep on increasing. This is a clear pointer to the fact that the male gender involved in politics survives on the principle of manipulation and use of propaganda.

It is therefore no wonder that politics in Kenya is perceived to be driven by mischief, tribalism, nepotism and propaganda among other tricks which are the various forms of inappropriate means for specific ends results. In view of this, one could be tempted to ask whether this could be the reason why very few female politicians are able to withstand the pressure and overcome leaders of their own. Well, as cartoonists argue, the female gender have to literally work perhaps the effort to compete favorably with their male counterparts. Working double the effort of the male gender would in a way suggest that the society ordinarily expects the male gender to succeed more than the

female gender. And if the female gender has to succeed, then it must cost her double the effort.

The other subject matter that received the attention of the cartoonists was security/insecurity. Security was portrayed in terms of increased attacks to the people and the role of those responsible to protect the rule of law and ensure that lives and property were secure at all the time. In this regard, the cartoonists majorly focused on political related issues such as screening for security reasons, the *Wagalla* massacre, terrorism, cattle rustling and increased insurgency in various part of the country especially in Tana Delta.

Wagalla is in Wajir County and is a name used to refer to the major government operation that targeted the Degodia community for allegedly fanning insurgency that was meant to undermine the security power of the Government at that time. Thousands were indiscriminately attacked and killed by the Government security apparatus. On the other hand, Tana Delta is located in Tana River County neighboring Kilifi, Mandera and Garissa counties. In the context of security, cartoons likened to vultures, always looking for an opportunity to benefit from. The male gender dominate the insecurity/security matters. In most of the cartoons that were sampled it was noted that the male gender was actively involved in security matters. But they were equally vulnerable and affected in an insecure environment. According to the cartoons that were analysed, the male gender was seen to be part of insecurity that continued to affect many citizens. In other words majority of them were not keen at offering solutions that could help end the menace. In this regard, the male gender was likened to a vulture eating from what has been left desolate and scattered in the same way, majority of the politicians benefit from the insecure situations in which many

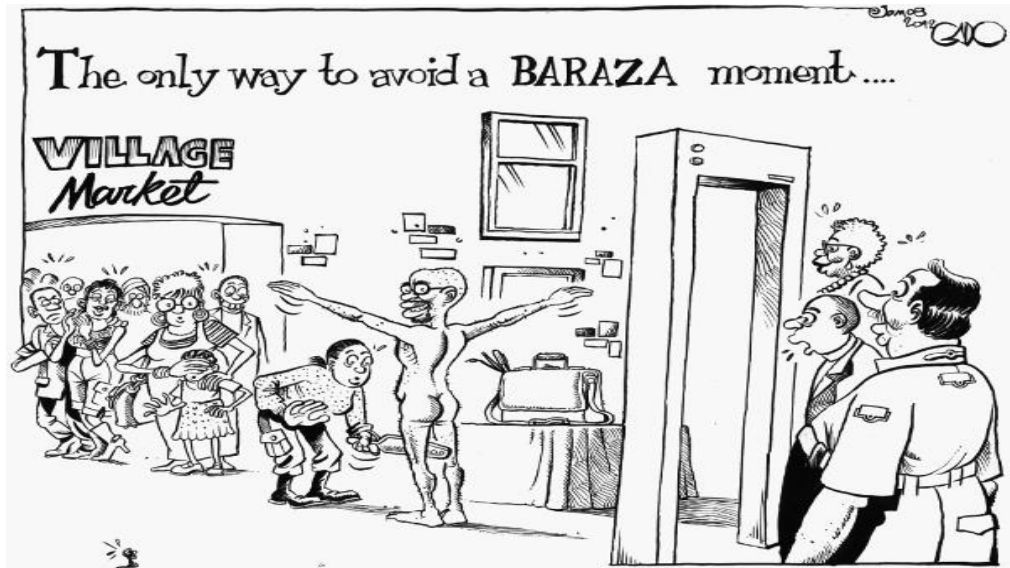


suffer. The vulture is always scavenging around for the remnants in situations of anguish and misery. Many politicians gain from such situations where people are hungry and caged by misery.

In the eyes of the cartoonist on the security or insecurity matter, female gender is depicted as vulnerable but also depicted as the face of Kenya. Indeed the female gender may be vulnerable but to what extent are they innocent when it comes to fermenting and promoting the culture of violence?

In specific terms, (*Standard Jan 14, 2012*) Security check point-female security guard and the three women on the queue ready to be screened. The guard asks the first woman whether she is Nancy Baraza or somebody like that. Women are skeptical. They are used to denounce their fellow women leaders. Nancy Baraza is the former and first deputy Chief Justice in the new constitution who was forced out of the office because of misconduct. In related cartoon, this time at Village Market, (Nairobi), men, women and the children are on the queue ready to be screened. One man completely undresses to avoid “a Baraza” moment. Women and children cover their eyes so as not to see what is happening and yet the female security guard keeps on screening the body of the man. This was the “Baraza moment” The man undressing completely means that the man has nothing to hide and that the female guard is able to search and screen properly. But the true fact is that the female guard checking the man raises an ethical question in the cartoon. Is it really true that female guards can screen and search men to this extent? Such portrayal of both gender may therefore require serious discussion and perhaps deep reflection to determine the extent of the reality that is reflected in the cartoon. In fact even in the cases where such portrayal is highly exaggerated, it would be done with a lot of attention towards reflecting reality

in the day to day situations. Such reality will for example not make a mistake of mixing the gender the way the cartoonist responsible for the drawing did in this particular case



***Plat 3.1: The only way to avoid BARAZA***

This cartoon on screening is extremely exaggerated. Since when did women begin screening or frisking men or vice versa in the security check?. The Cartoonist even goes to an extent of portraying a man who is completely naked but still has to appear before a woman for checking and the lady gladly frisks him without much ado. This cartoon was presented in the context of how the security went a notch higher to screen the former deputy chief justice Nancy Baraza, an incident that since then generated a lot of debate in the country at that time. It however falls short of tradition when the cartoonist demonstrates how a women is screening naked men in the name of the *Baraza* moment. The screening cartoon is an outright onslaught to both gender and fails to reflect reality as it were. Although the female gender is given prominence, it is in the light of doing the job that is misrepresented.

On other hand, the cartoonist for *The Daily Standard* Newspaper choose to be mild with the happenings surrounding the then deputy chief Justice Nancy Baraza by simply highlighting a picture of a security check with the words “ *Excuse me, you are not Nancy Baraza or somebody like that, are u?*” These words were meant to erase any doubts or remove any confusion that would have arisen just in case the person being asked happened to be Nancy Baraza. But then in subsequent coverage of the same saga, the cartoonist decided to be more categorical with what happened at that time in regard to the former Deputy Chief Justice Nancy Baraza. According to the cartoonist, Nancy Baraza is shown as the officer under siege with her head being hit a stick written on *the rule of law* coming all the way from the Kenyans. But she is profusely apologizing what happened at the Village Market on that fateful evening. The cartoonist showed that the rule of law was ruthless and unsympathetic to the people who have the habit of abusing their offices. The question that begs at this point in time is whether the same rule of law would have been as such intense, unforgiving and relentless as was the case of Nancy Baraza if the person involved would have been of the male gender?. In other words this incident and the subsequent actions that followed should be a wakeup call when it comes to fair play in the execution of justice both gender.

The cartoon appearing in *Daily Nation* of March 8, 2012 depicts a scene happening in *Funga Chips* Lodging christened PROSTITUTION MADE IN KENYA where a Member of Parliament is captured while in bed with a woman. According to the cartoon, the two are in a discussion perhaps after finishing the first job and so they are in some sort of a breather. The lady pops up with this argument that seems to catch the ear of the politician. That the only difference between the MPs and those engaged

in prostitution is that commercial sex workers are ready to pay the tax with the Members of Parliament are not willing to part with any money as tax. The question is how to the two belong to the same prostitution?

Arguably, the two indeed belong to the same profession in two ways. First, they are all engaged in prostitution. Thus, both of them are practicing prostitution! But the two can also be yoked together perhaps because of the way they behave. Prostitutes by nature keep on roaming from one man to another and vice versa. They do not have any fixed abode. Therefore it is the highest bidder who carries the day. But in the same vein politicians have no permanent friends nor enemies. They can change positions as long as it is convenient for them at that particular time, In other words, they are after what suits them at a particular time. They can sever relationships and create new ones based on the interests at hand. So like the politicians, prostitutes would shift alliances based on what is at stake. They are ready to go with anybody as long as it is the highest bidder. Basically the MPs and prostitutes belong to the same profession. But there is a difference, whereas real prostitutes are ready to pay tax, the MPs, who can also to some extent be described as prostitutes are not willing to pay tax at all.

This cartoon was published at the time when there was a hot debate involving the general public on one hand and the politicians resisting the Salaries and Remuneration Commission (SRC) bid to have their salaries be subject to tax. They resisted and even threatened to throw the chairlady Sarah Serem out of office in case she continued to push them in to the tax bracket. The MPs used all the means to intimidate those who were supporting the SRC including other commissions and parastatal chiefs They stood firm and have not since then given in the idea of paying tax like any ordinary

Kenyan. But the fact that real prostitutes were ready and willing to pay their tax is a mockery on the Kenyan political class. The prostitutes seem to be ready to sacrifice the little they get and support the national budget. On the contrary, the MPs are not willing at all to release a single coin from their package in form of a tax. They are selfish and would want to use every opportunity available to fill up their bellies.

In denotative context, the fact that the cartoonist has brought out the lodging situation is itself an affront to the female gender. But then it takes two to tangle. It could be true that indeed the prostitutes were willing to pay the tax at that time, but they could have been captured in a better way than having to be captured in a lodging scenario. That in itself was a clear indication how the female gender can be reduced to a sexual object especially in a crucial debate of the tax caliber.

Indeed tax evasion is a serious crime to humanity that deserved better treatment than merely reducing to a discussion between two types of prostitutes. Members of Parliament are honorable. They are also rich and always loaded with huge salaries and allowances. And yet they are not willing to pay tax!

Moving on to the another area, the cartoon on *Wagalla* massacre of 1984 was published on March 5, 2012 in the *Daily Nation* and shows the late Bethwell Kiplagat who was then Permanent secretary in charge of security, has a peak instead of a mouth with an enlarged throat written on *Wagalla Massacre*. The fact that he has enlarged throat means that he could be having a lot of information that needs to come out and be known in the public domain in relation to the massacre that happened in North Eastern. According to the cartoon, the late Kiplagat can never be settled unless he says what he knows about *Wagalla* massacre which took place on February 10,

1984. This massacre was said to have been committed by the government of Kenya at that time headed by President Daniel arap Moi against the members of the Somali community who at that time lived in an area that was called Northern frontier. According to the *Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Report*, submitted to the President in May 2013, close to one thousand people most of them from the Degodia ethnic group were mercilessly rounded up and indiscriminately killed by the government security officers. The Degodia clan living in Wajir County were at that time suspected to have acquired guns which they allegedly and persistently used to instigate internal insurgency and relentless ethnic attacks.

According to the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation*, the cartoonist depicted the former permanent secretary in charge of security, at that time Bethwell Kiplagat as a man with more than two faces. He is both a human being and a bird. The double faces could mean that he was neither for the Government nor for the public. But even more fundamentally, the character of Kiplagat that has been captured shows that he had a lot of information about Wagalla that did not come out. So his throat is still enlarged to date. The cartoon shows that Kiplagat would for a long time be haunted by the failure to reveal to the public what he knew about the *Wagalla* massacre. From this portrayal it would be possible to suggest that the male gender that are involved in security matters seem to be either complacent or actively involved in the exacerbation. The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of July 3, 2012 does not provide any less of this account of the male gender role in security matters. In this particular case, the cartoonist is bold enough to suggest that the male gender are not only complacent but are sympathizers of terrorism and hooliganism.

In related incident, a police officer in Somalia cuts the stem of a tree bearing Al Shabaab. The tree falls on Kenyan soil. In this cartoon, the police officer is a man. The means of cutting this tree-in the name of an axe may also suggest the crude and old traditional way of dealing with the an enemy especially in a war-ravaged country such as Somalia. Because of using the axe, the police officer uses a lot of energy and takes long before he fells the tree. Interestingly, the tree falls on the Kenyan side ostensibly with a loud pang! The large pang is what is critical in this cartoon as highlighted in the subsequent areas.

According to the cartoonist, such destruction would come in the form of fear, uncertainty, killings and maiming of the innocent Kenyan citizens. The police officer cutting the tree is a man. The male dominance is a replica of the societal expectation that indeed suggests that most of those involved in terrorism as well as those dealing with the menace are mostly men. The cartoonist also suggests that terrorism is majorly brought about by men although in some critical cases, the female gender has been actively involved. In fact in some more obvious and perhaps unsuspecting cases, women have equally featured and perhaps played a more significant role in the attacks than men. In some of the cases, women have been the key actors for example on Saturday 21 September 2013, suspected gunmen among them women attacked Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya in which 71 people among them four attackers were killed. According to the reports appearing in the dailies the key mastermind behind the Westgate attack was actually a woman. It has turned out to have been one of the most successful terror attacks in which the few of the attackers were either killed or arrested. And yet on the other hand, it took more than three days for the Kenyan security officers to bring order at Westgate.

But perhaps a more interesting cartoon appeared on July 7, 2012 focusing on what was then happening in Tana River County. In this cartoon, there are two vultures: *Impunity* and *Negative ethnicity*. The impunity vulture asks the *Ethnicity Vulture* whether it is scared in any way but it retorts back-“Of what or by who? This is the kind of conversation that place between the underlying causers of increased attacks and killing in Tana River County.

Tana Delta is located in Tana River County in the former Coast Province with a population of 240, 075 people according to 2009 National Census Report, It was realized that at that time, Tana River was a hot bed of insurgency and relentless tribal animosity in which many people lost their lives and thousands while others were displaced from their homes. Majority of the people also lost their mainstay income activities including farming and fishing ventures around River Tana River. Interestingly leaders particularly politicians have taken sides leaving local communities to suffer with bitterness. Tana River and its environs have been a hotbed of insecurity for a period of several months without a lasting solution being found. Elected and administrative leaders have taken sides, some openly supporting their own ethnic groups while castigating their opponents. The intermittent clashes between the Pokomo and the Orma have pitted the pastoral against the farming communities and have been blamed on ethnicity and impunity. Despite the many ceasefire agreements, the leaders continue inciting their communities. Impunity and negative ethnicity have indeed proved to be vultures. By definition, a vulture is type of a bird that constantly feeds on dead animals and human beings. So they are mostly found in Game Parks and near hospitals. In the case of Tana Delta, the cartoonist is categorical and decides to be blunt enough to call the drivers of the clashes are vultures who are



out to devour the innocent communities in the Tana Delta region. These vultures demonstrate that the clashes have exacerbated because of major concern over ethnic backgrounds rather than focusing on how tension should end. The communities who bear brunt are equally to blame for allowing politicians to manipulate them needless to say that even with many declarations and pronouncements the local leaders made before the Central Government, it has not at all been easy to take action against suspected perpetrators. So impunity among the leaders took a centre state in igniting and sustaining the conflict. But while the leaders may have taken their portion of blame regarding this conflict, the members of the public were also to blame for cultivating ethnicity and the culture of intolerance among various groups.

Vultures are birds which feed on remnants. Many lost their lives and others were displaced in this part of the country due to ethnic tension between the pastoralists and the farmers. Thousands also lost their property as other were rooted out of their homes due to raging tension.

According to the newspaper reports, conflict started in August 2012 and affected two communities namely the Pokomo (farmers) and the Orma pastoralists). More than 100 people were killed in the skirmishes that also made thousands get displaced from their homes. A significant number of families were also pushed in to poverty resulting from continued loss of their livestock through raids. The attacks were reportedly fuelled by two factors. First was the political incitement that was based on realignment in readiness for the 2013 general elections in which six positions had to be voted for in every county. The second factor according to the newspaper reports, was the question of access to land and land utilization generating competition between the pastoralist and the farmers. It was argued that while the Orma preferred free hold that was

necessary for pastoral life, the Pokomo were keen to settle on specific parcels of land and begin farming. These opposing interests were therefore a major contributing factor to the conflict although if the struggle over access to land resource was left alone perhaps it could not have been sufficient enough to cause the mayhem of that magnitude. To this end, the political incitement played a major role in fuelling and finally sparking off the raids between the two communities. These two factors therefore fit in well to explain perhaps why the cartoonist had to choose highlight impunity and negative ethnicity as the driving forces behind the clashes.

As if to confirm the activities of the two vultures, somehow in a related context, the cartoon of September 12, 2012, is in fact more blunt. The *Daily Nation* did come out with a strong editorial urging the Government to stop the menace in Tana Delta. And to add more voice to this position, the cartoonist had a woman carrying a newspaper with the headline “*Tana Delta Burns*”. She is standing near parliament and is keenly watching what is happening inside as she desperately and anxiously wait for not so possible intervener to stop the menace in Tana river. But to her amusement and disbelief, a voice from Parliament where she is looking for a help becomes the theatre of the absurd when she hears a loud voice saying, *Mr Speaker Sir, Tunaomba serikali*. It should be understood from the onset that it is the female gender that seem to be on the forefront demanding for an immediate action to the Tana Delta conflict. The woman in action carries the newspaper clearly suggesting that all is not well in Tana River and that the Government must act now and not later.

To the surprise of many, there is no enough activities in Parliament to cause immediate action from the Government. Meanwhile the MPs are busy engaging the Government through the speaker first to acknowledge the fact there is trouble in this

part of the country. The MPs are merely pleading with the government to stop the menace hence *tunaomba serikali!*

Accordingly the cartoonist gives prominence to the female gender in raising concern over this conflict. And in incidences where the female gender is not directly targeted, it is indirectly affected together with children and the vulnerable and most innocent in the society. According to the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights report of 2007 it is evident in violence related cases that were reported as violation of human rights in Kenya, women and children were mostly affected by violence. Hence the demand by the female gender for immediate action against the perpetrators. The women have raised an alarm over what was considered as perpetuated conflict. But the female gender is not only the suffering lot. The elderly and the innocent school going children are also affected the most. And that is why the women have stood to demonstrate, shout and demand action from the leaders to stop the menace once and for all.

In this regard, women are portrayed as the face of Kenya, or even better the voice of reason. But they are portrayed as the most vulnerable, weak and like everywhere in the world, they are the most affected in any conflict situation. That is why the cartoonist gives us the picture of MPs are shouting Mr speaker, “*tunaomba serikali*” But on flip side, the male gender seem not so much concerned about this. In actual sense, *kuomba serikal* is like pleading with the Government to do what is its mandate. A good parliamentary debate would have focused on putting the Government on notice for sleeping on the job and allowing the two vultures of impunity and ethnicity to tear apart Tana Delta. This voice that could be coming from the male MPs is a voice of desperation, weak and lack of commitment to offer solution. It does not

sound authoritative and concerned especially in such situation where lives and property of people have been lost. The members of parliament offer oversight responsibilities to the executive apart from legislating. When they appear to request the Government to act means that parliament which is dominated by the male gender has failed to hold the government to account in regard to its core mandate of protecting the citizens and their property.

In the normal circumstances, the Members of Parliament are supposed to demand action from the Government and question as to why people are endlessly losing lives through attacks. In this regard the MPs are elected to provide the checks to the excesses of the members of the executive and constantly hold them to account in cases where they fail to deliver as witnessed in the Tana Delta killings. This message coming from the women resonates with a similar cry from the residents of Nyakach during the floods. A woman was captured marooned by the water shouting *serikali saidia*”, a message that was well captured by the Kenyan media and immediately those who were affected by the floods received assistance from the government and the well wishers.

This agitation for action by women resonates with the events of 1989 ([www.standardmedia.co.ke](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke)), when the late Prof Wangari Maathai and other women demonstrated at Uhuru Park, Nairobi demanding that plans to hive off the park and build a multi-storey building stops immediately. After weeks of standoff, the project was shelved and the activists named part of the park as “Freedom Corner” which was later familiar with the subsequent protests that were staged against the repressive Moi era. It is this corner that six women stripped themselves naked to demand the release of the political prisoners who were then languishing in the then *Nyayo House torture*

*chambers*. History has it that in the early 1990s, it took the effort of women among them the late Prof Wangari Maathai and others to bring about some of the changes that later become part and parcel of Kenya's second liberation. The six included Monica Wangu Wamwere, the mother of the former Subukia Member of Parliament Koigi Wamwere and his brother Charles Kuria Wamwerer, Milka Wanjiru Kinuthia, mother of lawyer Kinuthia Rumba, Leah Wanjiru Mungai, mother of \Kang'ethe Mungai who had been sentenced 20 years for distributing anti-government leaflets called Mwakenya, Gladys Kariuki, mother of the late Nakuru town Member of Parliament Kariuki Mirugi, Veronica Wambui, mother of University of Nairobi student leader Karimi Ndutho and Ruth Wangari, mother of Wakaba Thiong'o. From this history, it is evident that women, just like men are strongly involved in activism that can contribute to change as was witnessed then when the political prisoners were released. Furthermore, it was this kind of activism that was mounted by the Greenbelt movement that forced the then government of the day to retreat from the previous plan to construct a media complex at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. The struggle mounted by the female gender has proven to be strong and very effective in changing the cause of action.

On the other hand, according to the cartoon appearing on September 9, 2012, in the *Daily Nation*, it shows a strong man dipping in the bag of an old woman for taxes as the same government entices old woman with coins. The cartoon was published at a time when government workers demanded salary increase almost in all sectors. While the such salaries could have been enhanced in some sectors, the Government still went ahead to instill punitive tax measures that still took away most of the gains. The

man who dips in the handbag of a woman is strong and well built. He displays tricks of conman ship when he wants to get more money from the female gender.

The strong man is the face of Government or at least those in leadership. The government is indeed strong and would flex its muscles at any time whenever it wanted to get something from the innocent and vulnerable section of the society as represented by the female gender. The Government uses all means available to get tax from its citizens. But when many alternative ways are devised to raise money from the public and especially when it is done so often during hard economic times it almost turns to out to be open stealing as shown in the cartoon.

On September 14, 2012 the government was again on the receiving end. This time round, the nurses are on the strike demanding pay rise. According to the cartoon, while the nurses are on the streets protesting how they have been neglected by the Government a lot of money seem to be going through the back door to be used during the campaigns. In this cartoon, members of the Treasury are desperately looking for the reasons that would seem to convince the striking nurses. But while they are struggling to find messages for striking nurses, someone has stuffed money in the briefcase. The person running away with money is of male gender. In the subsequent cartoon, it appears the media captures the striking nurses again with a clear message *No pay, No work*. As this strike continues treasury seems more concerned with releasing more money towards funding campaign during the elections. The government seems more concerned with elections than responding to the concerns of the workers. raising as many voters as possible than meeting its obligation to pay workers. That is poor pay and more work. The Government is less concerned. To be more categorical, it has a different agenda altogether. The agenda of raising numbers

to ensure that it is re-elected to power again. But the Government seem not interested to improve the welfare of the nurses and other workers. On the other hand, the nurses have downed their tools. No pay no work. In denotative sense, the striking nurses are represented by the female gender with a placard reading *No pay, no work!*. The female gender is considered as a voice of reason wanting positive change to happen in the society where leaders seem not interested to improve the welfare of the nurses. The female gender voice demonstrates the fact that women are the most vulnerable members of society whose rights must be restored and protected. If the Government is seriously concerned about changing the welfare of its workers, it should respond to the plight of the workers instead of being obsessed with electioneering. The nurses are a representation of the people, whose rights have been violated and to the very worst denied. The strike and by extension the placards are meant to raise awareness among Kenyans pointing to the urgent need to fix the problems affecting the nation. On November 4, 2012, a cartoon of the Inspector General of Police being questioned by a panel that is investigating a case where over 40 police officers were killed by bandits in Samburu. The person being interviewed is a man and majority of the panelists are of male gender. Accordingly, the inspector general in this case represents the number of the male gender that forms the majority of those working in the security sector in Kenya. This is even more confirmed by those who are questioning him. They are all men. The security sector is male dominated.

In a denotative perspective, the fact that the inspector general is being questioned by male gender panelists about the situation in Samburu County where 40 officers were killed is an obvious admission that indeed the security sector is male dominated and that it is negatively skewed against the female gender.

On November 15, 2012, the cartoonist posts that when a politician who has stolen public funds, grabbed land and bought his way in to the public office dies, a flag is raised half mast. To the contrary, when 40 policemen die in line of duty, no one takes the trouble to honour them. Indeed this is a real live situation that happened in Kenya. In connotative sense, the cartoon is male gender dominated and focuses on issues that mostly involve the male gender. For example in matters corruption and poor governance, the male genders was mentioned more times than it was the case with the female gender.

This cartoon appeared at the time when the country faced a lot of security challenges ranging from domestic violence to terror attacks in the cities. This cartoon is on security matter that has gone out of control. Hence the Inspector General of Police is being questioned by a panel to find out why for example such number of officers were killed in cold blood in a single incident. The panel represents the interest of many Kenyans who at that time were worried of the deteriorating security in the country.

In an denotative context, the fact that the Inspector General is a man and is being questioned by a team mostly comprising of the male gender seen to incorrectly paint that the picture that security matters are and must be in domain of the male gender. But even if that may be the case, it is also important to emphasize that insecurity is not necessarily caused by the male gender and therefore the solution to it needs a collective responsibility where both the male and female gender are involved. In this case, while nothing could have been done about the Inspector General being questioned, at least a deliberate effort needed to be done to have the panelist at least be gender sensitive in its composition.



Furthermore, it emerged from the analysis of the cartoons that touched on insecurity that in the cases where the female gender appeared, the cartoonists always portrayed the female gender as vulnerable in regard to security/insecurity. Consequently, the cartoonists portrayed the female gender as significantly weak that requires protection more than anything else. Beyond this, it was evident that the male gender is part of the security problem and perhaps active enough to offer solution to the problem of insecurity. Indeed the female gender might be vulnerable and perhaps helpless in this situations as portrayed by the cartoon, but this is not sufficient enough to suggest that the female gender is too weak to be part of a solution. According to the cartoon, the male gender is obviously part of the security menace that affects the society today. In the said cartoon, it is observed that it was the male security officers who were killed in the attack. Most probably, the attacker were of the male gender. On the other hand, although the female gender is constantly depicted as vulnerable it nevertheless portrays the face of Kenya.

On matters related to governance and administration of justice, it was observed that cartoonists highlighted various issues among them sports mismanagement, transparency in leadership and integrity concerns in leadership positions. In this category, it was observed from the cartoons that male gender was always portrayed as unreliable, dishonest and lacked transparency in leadership. Most of the male gender characters would hardly pass integrity test but interestingly the public seem to tolerate if not trust such leaders even when they are embroiled in scandals and mega scandals. In the recent times, it has been served that many people who could have been removed from the Government or public service on the ground of failing integrity test, have been vindicated by the public and even trusted with more leadership

responsibilities. It was further observed that there many incidences in which the male gender received more publicity than their female counterparts in matters governance. But interestingly, such publicity was directed towards revealing the negative sides of the male gender than the positive contributions that they made.

In a more specific terms, according to the cartoon of January 1, 2012 the then Deputy CJ Nancy Baraza seems emotional while at office as she points a gun at a lady in the witness box. She shout at the women in the witness box saying “*Do you know who the person you are messing with?*” But they are two men one of them a security man who retorts “ *I just love this new judiciary*” This cartoon was picked from the previous news circulating around in which the then Deputy Chief Justice Nancy Baraza was involved in an bizarre incident at village market, Nairobi.

On the other hand, former Football Kenya Association president Sam Nyamweya issues four different statements regarding the date of the elections. In the last press statement, he speaks while facing upside down. The cartoon shows the highest level of confusion the football authority. With such confusion one is almost sure that football performance in Kenya is indeed decimal (March 11, 2012). The cartoons portray the male gender as architects of failure and mismanagement in football. They also lack focus.

As regards leadership and integrity, a cartoon about Putin and Russia is highlighted. When Putin was the prime minister and second term President, there is no difference. Putin makes Russia and Russia makes Putin. Therefore, male gender is autocratic and tyrannical world over with many cases coming from Africa.

The cartoon of 10/01/2012 is more categorical on leadership and integrity as it shows a male Member of Parliament with two cards in the hands. The right hand has a score card which is empty while the left hand has shilling crisis. The shadow of the MPs on the other hand has a card of tribal and political card. The political and tribal cards are most powerful but are hidden and only played when it is extremely necessary. Politicians are fond of using these cards for survival reasons in cases where they are pushed on the wall and they have to find an exit route.

According to the media reports, some of the mega scandals that have happened in Kenya since the 1990s and which majority of the suspects have been the male gender include the Goldenberg in which millions The chicken scandal seemed to have got most of the Kenyans unaware, but it happened allegedly to members of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) with the intention of tilting the election landscape as of that time. Other scandals that generated a lot of political heat were the Cemetery land, the Maize scandal and more recently National Youth Service (NYS. It would appear that majority of the suspects in all those appear to have been the male gender. However, for the case of the NYS, there were both gender with the leading figure of Anne Waiguru, who has since resigned from the cabinet responsibilities and now she is preparing to tackle Martha Karua, who for a long time the Member of Parliament for Gichugu constituency where she brags of having empowered the people who would be zealously behind her in the quest for the gubernatorial seat. The rest of the money is said to have been lost people who only pretended to supply gold and diamond. Some of the scandals that have occurred in the history of Kenya and which the male gender is said to have been responsible include the Goldenberg, Chicken gate, Cemetery land, National Youth Service, Youth Fund

and others. It was John Kamau who wrote in the Daily Nation , *the Hatching of Goldenberg grand scheme* (October 7, 2013 and further piece, *How Goldenberg scandal was hatched and executed*, revealed Kamlesh Pattni as the man who played a significant role in the execution of the scheme. At that time, Pattni operated a small jewellery outlet known as monodrama limited on Nairobi's Dubois road. The scam cost a whopping 600 million US dollars. The amount was so huge that Prof Terrence Ryan who at one time served as Economic permanent secretary, said that it will take at least three generations for Kenya to recover from this scam. That is how this scandal was expensive to Kenyans. Some of the persons that were part of this scam included Eric Kotut, former Central Bank Governor, former Treasury Permanent secretary Wilfred Koinange and former deputy Central Bank Governor, Elphaz Riungu among other. Based on this figure, it would suffice, to state that majority of the faces behind the Goldenberg scandal were the male gender. There is minimum participation of the female gender in this scam. In another scandal called the Anglo-leasing that is said to have taken place between 1997 and 2005, more than 150 billion shillings is said to have been lost. Some of the names that were mentioned included the former Vice President of the Republic of Kenya, Moody Awori, former Attorney General Amos Wako, who served as Busia Senator, David Mwiraria, former Cabinet Minister in charge of Treasury, Francis Muthaura formerly in charge in charge of Public service, Kiraitu Murungi, senator Meru county, Joseph Magari, who also served as Treasury Permanent Secretary and Selvester Mwaluko, former Permanent secretary responsible for Homes Affair among other. Just like the case of the Goldenberg scandal, majority of the suspects who were arrested and appeared before the court were of the male gender. In another scam that was recently discovered in the name of the National Youth Service in which 166.8 billion is said to have been lost

due to poor contracting activities. Some of the names that were mentioned included Anne Waiguru, who was then the minister in charge. Others implicated in the scam included Adan Harakhe who was NYS senior deputy director, Samuel Wachenje, Hedrick Ntongesa Pilisi,, Naftali Githinji and James Gitau among others. Unlike in the previous cartoons that seemed to suggest that majority of the male gender in high leadership responsibilities were engaged in acts of corruption, the NYS scandal did prove that the female gender was partly involved in the scandal. At least one key character who happens to be the female gender played a major role in the loss of money. The rest according to the press reports were men serving in different capacities in the Ministry of Devolution.

In another cartoon, of July 7, 2012 shows a group of people taking dinner with the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga but others are receiving the same dinner for free from the backdoor. The person behind this is a man giving free dinner to a group of men. In this regard, male gender is described as dishonest, lacks transparency in leadership and hardly passes integrity test. It is a fact that more male gender received higher publicity than female gender but such publicity was more pronounced in the negative than the positive. A few female gender received publicity from the media. Those who received the attention of the media were seen in the light of being weak and had lesser say in what was happening.

In another interesting cartoon published on November 12, Kenya Airways is airborne but certainly takes a nose dive as it struggles to navigate through the turbulent skies. But at the same time, the pilot is hear saying “I urge everyone to stay calm, we encountered turbulence and had to offload some excess baggage. Everything will be

fine!” The excess baggage the pilot is talking about is comprised of the sacked workers whom the airline cannot sustain while still airborne.

This cartoon was published at the time Kenya Airways, the Pride of Africa faced hard economic times that were characterized by massive profit loss and retrenchment of workers. It is the failure to make profit that was making it difficult to remain in airborne hence the nose-dive and the pilot assuring the rest of the passengers that all would be fine.

Denotatively, the cartoon is gender biased against the female gender. The person in the cockpit is of a male gender as to conform with the fact that at that time, the person at the helm of Kenya Airways was a man.

In another cartoon appearing on November 15, 2012, there a concern that is raised in relation to the way people are treated. Thus, “when a politician who has stolen public funds, grabbed land and bought his way in to the office dies,” the national flag is raised half mask. But when 40 policemen die in the line of duty, there is business as usual. The cartoon was published at the time when several security personnel were killed in a bid to flush out cattle rustlers in North Rift Kenya. It was noted that when the officers were killed, the state did not accord the fallen soldiers the last respect as was required.

In denotative terms, the fact the cartoonist talks about 40 policemen goes without saying that there is gender biased in favour of the male gender. The officers who were killed could have been all men, but that does not suggest in any way that the service women have not been caught in such situation where the hunter becomes the hunted.

In Conclusion, there was outright bias demonstrated in the cartoons in terms of the character and their roles which seemed to affect men than women. For example some of the outstanding cartoons with such bias included the very first that was published in the beginning of 2012 which was captured on the stage where an old man referring to 2011 leaves the stage as he ushers in a baby boy with the message “ *make sure your get the election date right*”. According to the sampled cartoon, the bias cut across most of the cartoons that touches on very critical issues in life including leadership and governance. In this particular cartoon, there was absolutely nothing wrong to accord the female gender some critical role to play either in the exit and entry characters. In other words, there is nothing wrong to portray the female gender in the comparisons that were made in regard to the exit and entry of the both the old and new years as the cartoonist wanted to bring out.

It is further revealed that the sampled cartoons mostly gave coverage to the male gender as if to suggest that the male gender were frequently highlighted in the news than was the case for the female gender. But interestingly, most of the male gender covered in the media were associated with negative behavior and actions such as lack of integrity, poor leadership and management, autocracy and corruption among the male gender.

The female gender reflected in the cartoon was considered the voice of reason. Sometimes what they said or did would almost be equal to the *mascot voice* which is normally used to pose a challenge or offer a solution in a funny way. But the female gender was also adversely portrayed as weak and helpless in some situations. In rare occasions was the female gender given the prominence of taking decisions and perhaps taking responsibility in whichever way. But at the same time, they

nevertheless showed more honest, reliability and focus in their dealings. For example in cases where the cartoonists highlighted corruption, it was almost obvious the culprits and architects behind this menace were mostly the male gender.

The question that begs is whether the female gender is perfect in everything except in cases where the female aspect has to be portrayed such as beauty, hunger, constitutionalism and prostitution among other areas. One would also be interested to know whether given an opportunity or sufficient publicity, the female gender could also turn out to be as equally bad as the male gender has been portrayed in most of the cartoons. There is no doubt the male gender is extremely dominant in the matters that touch on security/insecurity. But the dominance is heavily tilted towards the negative perception. It is plausible to conclude that in most of the cartoons analyzed, the male gender is depicted more of the problem than a solution.

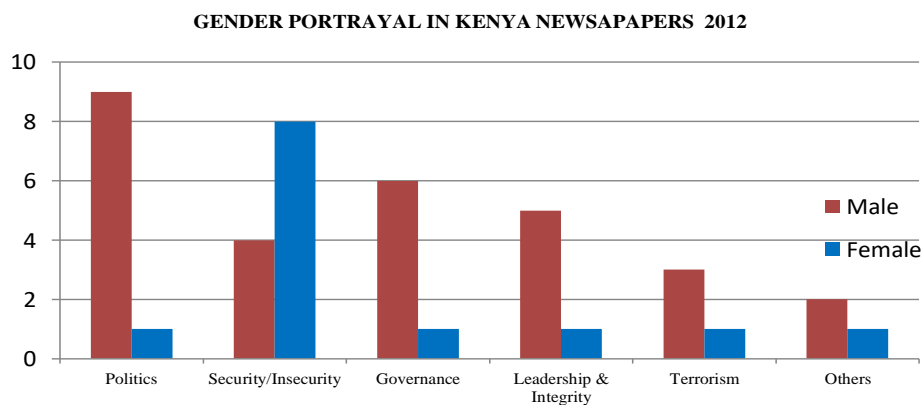


Fig 4.1: Gender portrayal in Kenya newspaper 2012

It was further revealed that in comparison, the coverage of the two dailies in regard to gender portray varied significantly from year to year. And that even within the two media houses, there was no automatic convergence. Thus, it was revealed that more



negative attribution to the male gender was more realized than it was the case for the female gender in 2012. It was further noted that specific themes also played a significant role in determining the nature of the gender portrayal. For example in cases of corruption, there was outright bias on the part of the cartoonist to portray the male gender as more corrupt than the female gender. But the cartoonists were also biased towards portraying the female gender as weak and one that lacks the moral authority to make sound judgment and decisions anywhere anytime.

#### **4.2 Selected Cartoons for year 2013**

In the year 2013, a total of 84 cartoons were also sampled and analyzed according to the themes as published by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers. The analysis revealed that politics mostly featured in sampled cartoons throughout the year. This could have been attributed to the fact that 2013 was an election year in Kenya and obviously everybody aspiring for electoral positions was actively involved.

According to the analysis, it was revealed that most of the cartoons featured critical themes such as governance, justice, devolution/disasters, corruption and freedom. Other important issues that were highlighted included sports, land matters including land grabbing, crime, insecurity, education and immorality among others. All these themes received varied levels of attention from the cartoonists of the two dailies. There were only a few times the cartoonists concurred in highlighting what was critical in the news as of that time. The details for the specific analysis of the sampled cartoons follows shortly.

In politics, most cartoons portrayed male gender as strong and dominant in leadership. Female gender on the other hand was considered weak, helpless and vulnerable. Although male gender was dominant, it was revealed that most of the men that were captured were portrayed as liars, greedy and pretenders while women captured in politics were considered genuine and capable of making sound political decisions. For example, the *Sunday Nation*, February 10, 2013, six presidential candidates against one woman in a debate.

In another cartoon of April 18, 2013, male MPs campaign for Kalonzo Musyoka (CORD) to return to parliament. Kalonzo hangs on MPs hand for support. In other words, politicians can do anything to survive in politics. In some of the cartoons, male gender was shown as individuals who openly suffer from hunger for power. April 20, 2013 outside parliament buildings, MPs tell Raila Odinga that they have tried all ways through front door, back door and windows but they could not manage, so they advise him to use the sewerage tunnel to get him to parliament. In this regard, male gender is portrayed as tactical and opportunistic. The male gender would do everything possible to wade off any challenge that comes his way especially when such challenges is to threaten his political survival.

The *Standard* of October 14, 2013, Kenya desperately kneeling before Koffi Anani in 2008. Kenya is represented by a woman carrying a child on her back. But in second contrasting cartoon, the same woman throws mud at Koffi Anan. When it come to people who are weak, helpless and vulnerable, then it is the female gender to be shown. Although the cartoonist seem to suggest that it is the women who were throwing mud at Koffi Anan who negotiated for peace in Kenya after the 2007/2008 post-election violence. However, as it occurred in the news, it was actually the male

politicians who threw barbs at the negotiating and called him all sorts of names saying he has no business to direct Kenyans what to do and what not to do. As it was reflected in the news, it was the men who seemed to have forgotten that during the 2007/2008 violence it was the services of the former UN Secretary General brinks of collapse. So he at least deserved respect. In this case, one would easily argue that the cartoonist may have been unfairly biased and perhaps stereotypical to portraying the female gender as ungrateful when it was actually the male gender that demonstrated that? But as the cartoonists would argue, using a female gender was meant to exaggerate the extent to which Kenya was so ungrateful to the man who brought peace and sanity to Kenya during the post-election violence of 2007 during which more than 2000 people were killed and thousands displaced from their homes.

Another significant cartoon in this category was published on April 16, 2013 showing men surrounded by guards while part two of the same cartoon shows a woman being surrounded by thugs. Men have secured themselves whether economically, socially and politically but have left the female gender helpless and always in constant vulnerability situations. The security that is given to the male gender is much higher than the one given to the female gender. And as analysts would argue, security cuts across to include social, political and even financial security.

In related circumstances, Sarah Serem, the then chairperson of the Salaries and Remuneration Commission in Kenya appears in a cartoon being welcomed by two men in masks who are hiding machetes, apparently with the intention to harm her. The cartoon suggests that men in masks are members of parliament who have a hidden agenda against the Commission. One would be interested to know why it is the male gender shown as dangerous to Serem and by extension to the Commission. This

cartoon seems to leave more questions than answers to this puzzle of men appearing to wait for the Commissions chair.

In related circumstances, the *Daily Nation* published a cartoon in which one of the key government politician was spotted relaxing inside the chartered plane. He is apparently being massaged but a group of women. In this cartoon the male gender is



#### Plat.4.2. Hustler's Jet

obviously portrayed as a hero against the hapless members of the female gender. This was during the infamous and controversial *Hustler's Jet* diplomacy. The female gender is obviously portrayed mere sexual objects only there to satisfy the interest of those in leadership, in this case the male gender. The male gender is powerful and selfish as well. The man in the cartoon is in an attempt to use women as objects of sexual satisfaction. The ladies continue massaging the man who is relaxed and busy calling friends.

In this context, the female gender is demeaned as the cartoon seems to suggest that the female gender only exists to serve the interests of the male gender. In this regard, the

female gender is accorded a role that is trivialized. According to the cartoon, the male gender is the master and the female gender is portrayed as the servant. The servant serves at the pleasure of the master as it is recorded in this.

Further interaction with the cartoons suggests that male gender is depicted at the epitome of poor governance and cannot help especially in critical moments as reflected in the *daily Nation* cartoon of August 08, 2013. But the cartoonist in the drawing of October 20, 2013 is even more blunt with suggestions that the male gender is obsessively greedy and always proponent of bad leadership that breeds famine and poverty to the society with the most affected being women and children.

Just as in the case of politics, cartoons largely portrayed the male gender as the epitome of poor leadership, represents the greedy society, uncaring and always inclined towards circumventing the rule of law. The question that begs at this point in time is whether all the male gender bear such characteristics and behavior in society or it would even apply with the female gender given similar opportunity the male counterparts have. May be because there a few women in leadership, it is possible to give them a benefit of doubt that at the moment they are sober and selfless in their leadership. But as the cartoonists argue, you can only judge either gender as selfish and greedy based on their equal participation in the news. At the moment it is difficult to suggest that the female gender is sober. The cartoonists can only make such judgment if there are more women actively involved in making news perhaps on the same scale the male gender makes at the moment. “We get what to draw or cartoon from the news. We do not manufacture news. If fewer women are in the news, we will depict them as such and there is no other way about this,” say the Kham of the *Standard Newspaper*. He goes on to suggest that it is upon the women and more

women to rise up and make news not only in the negative way but also in positive manner to warrant the attention of the media practitioners and by extension the public. Furthermore, the need to participate in leadership circles and offer to serve the people in such way that they deserve to be captured in news more frequently than the case today. In so doing, they will obviously be actively captured in the news and by extension in cartoons whether such coverage will be negative or otherwise.

Another significant issue captured in the cartoons was justice. In this category, the male gender propagates injustice and is manipulative using money as the driving force. April 20, 2013 cartoon appearing in the daily *Nation*, shows Kamlesh Pattni, being cleared by the High Court. Pattni says free at last, free at last. I thank court “almighty”, I am free at last. In one hand, he is carrying millions of Kenya shillings. The same message was shown in the *daily Standard*. It is the cartoon that shows Kamlesh Pattni. The weak are subjected to over these heavy charges. The cartoonists suggest that there is selective justice or selective amnesia as is commonly called. The rich will obviously receive the highest portion of justice based on how much wealth they have. Justice is available only to the highest bidder. On August 6, 2013, a cartoonist shows a grandson kneeling at the tomb of his great grand parents to make a prayer for him to wake up and provide evidence to make him make half million from the United Kingdom pay to the Mau Mau fighters. Men are portrayed as selfish and opportunistic. In related circumstances, politicians are shown advocating for the International Criminal Court (ICC) to take up Kenyan cases. Now they change their plea and position to advocate for the local tribunal. A woman wonders “Are we in the same country?” Male gender is portrayed as turncoats, selfish and opportunistic. The

female gender is portrayed as alternative voice. Whether this can be considered as true is a subject of intense debate.

On the other hand, a cartoon of October 15, 2013 (*Standard*) shows that ICC is targeting African leaders and that they demand justice for them. Therefore AU seems concerned about the leaders alone but there those who were affected by poor leadership that led to violence and that is why the victims of post-election violence (PEV) ask “What about us?” In other words as you talk for and on behalf of the leaders it is important to remember that there is a whole lot of people who were affected by violence and who are still waiting for justice to be done. The same theme is amplified by the *Daily Nation* on October 16. That the African leaders are selfish, self centred and do not respect the rule of law. Male gender is depicted as the proponents of violence, bad governance and in most cases they are responsible for the miscarriage of justice.

Another significant subject covered by the cartoonist was corruption, crime and freedom. A cartoon of Uhuru and Ruto acting the *Shackles of Doom*, a play by Butere Girls *Daily Nation* April 19, 2013. Freedom is limited to certain groups. According to the cartoon, the oppressors are male gender but the female gender are perceived to be the victims, who suffer innocently in the hands of the aggressors.

Sampled cartoons show that male gender is dominantly present in politics. But men are selfish, liars and motivated by self-interests. Indeed they are dominant sources of news as the Media Council report of 2015 suggests. Perhaps the trend will tilt in favor of the female gender if they were increasingly involved in the making of news whether in politics, leadership, science and innovation, art and music or in any other

area. For this reason, the sampled cartoons did not show the true colors of the female gender in politics. Does it mean that although politics is dominated by the male gender, the female gender actively involved in politics are not in any way liars, corrupt and selfish in their dealings? It is the lack of such clear picture that makes this study relevant in seeking for the appropriate gender portrayal in the media using cartoons as the focal point.

In governance issues the cartoonist painted the picture of the politicians failure to respect the rule of law, irresponsible and lacked focus. They do not give in to any pressure and concerns raised over their integrity. For example on April 18, 2013, a cartoon was published showing a woman asking the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to resign. The stinking Chimpanzee animal replies that it has nothing to hide but welcomes Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission to investigate. This animal has the face of the former IEBC chairman Issak Hassan. EACC is unable to investigate because of stinking animal. This kind of impunity seems to be perpetuated by the male gender who always dominate in leadership arena.

Another issue that was covered by the cartoonists was impunity especially among the leaders. This was exhibited by a cartoon of a judiciary plane which is shown to be preparing to land abruptly following malfunctioning. The captain and the deputy aboard. The watch tower advises the pilot to land the plane but the pilot tells the deputy that the option is to buy another plane worth Kenya Shillings 300 million. The male pilot represents the male gender in the judiciary who are corrupt and always looking for an opportunity to loot from the public coffer. Buying the plane at that much means receiving a kick back of substantial amount. What an opportunity for corruption! In related case, cocks (police officers queuing for vetting come out of the



exercise without the feathers. The male gender in the police force has a lot of integrity issues affecting the image. The graphics here by shown indicate the various themes the cartoonists and by extension the newspapers covered in the study period. The numbers represent the occurrences of the issues as they were captured in the selected newspapers.

In specific cartoons, the year 2013 started with the cartoon that focused on Nairobi senatorial race where the candidates are presented to the public for scrutiny and decision. There are four candidates, the Goofy who is a man, the Fake a woman bishop with a certificate of Harvard School of Theology, the Bad, looking more of a thug, but that was Mike Sonko and the Ugly who happens to be Maina Njenga, the former Mungiki leader. The electorate is confronted with these options and that come the elections day, they have to choose one of them as their senator.

As highlighted earlier, the cartoon was published at the time Kenyans were bracing to participate in the general elections, the first to be held under the new constitutions. This was very critical elections with devolution having been introduced with new elective positions at Senatorial and gubernatorial levels.

The cartoon portrays woman candidate Bishop Margaret Wanjiru as fake although she is holding certificate from Harvard School of Theology, the cartoonist terms it fake which means the female candidate cannot be trusted because she is not what she claims to be. While other candidates have been branded as bad, the goofy and the ugly, these are attributes that can be withstood. The integrity is questionable, cannot be trusted and thrives on falsehood. In simple terms is not worthy to be elected. And

indeed Margaret Wanjiru was rejected but Mike Sonko, although branded as bad, was voted for as Nairobi Senator.

On the other hand, according to the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* on February 4 2013, there are two faces of the cartoon. A presidential aspirant promises better schools and hospitals for the citizens. He is holding a manifesto in which all these goodies are highlighted. But then, the citizen represented by *Wanjiku* is holding Waiganjo saga. Waiganjo is a Kenyan who was able to impersonate as a police officer for five years without being discovered. In the second face of the cartoon, it is the same Presidential aspirant this time bigger in size and is promising super highways for *Wanjiku* or the people of Kenya.. But still Wanjiku is holding the Waiganjo saga. And so speaks out: “ If one can impersonate a police officer for five years, what is one month for a politician to be an angle?” The politician is coming and presenting himself in different fashions of better road network, better schools and hospitals but can he be trusted?

The cartoon was published at the time when politicians were criss-crossing the country seeking for votes from the electorate. At such moment there is every possibility that politicians can promise heaven and can act as angles at least for the short period they would be campaigning. But the citizens can't believe all these promises.

In denotative context, the gender aspect is brought out in terms of power and leadership belong to a male gender. The person seeking the elective position is the man. The female character in the cartoon is simply Wanjiku, representing the many citizens or the electorate which is being confronted with all sorts of propaganda of good leadership at this campaigning period. According to the electorate, the politician

cannot be trusted. They are simply impersonating just like Waiganjo was able to impersonate without being noticed for five years. The critical message is that if Waiganjo can manage to impersonate for five years then how impossible is it for politicians to act as angles for a month. The female gender is relegated to the lesser position –only have to vote or decide who to become the next president. The female gender belongs to the group to be led and not to lead.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of February 6, 2013 is focused on the preparations of the general election that were to be conducted in March 2013. Treasury and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission were in serious doubt whether sufficient funds would be there to finance round two if there would be no outright winner in round one. But the cartels walking behind IEBC and the Treasury are saying” Hey!, listen, if you are short of funds for round two, we can provide it...” And another one adds, “Yeah, even for round 3”

The cartoon was published at the time when the preparations for the elections were underway and as highlighted in the media, there were concerns that the elections might go to round two as the race between the contestants appeared tight. Perhaps what is worrying is the people offering to provide resources for the run off. They appear cartels who might have benefited from corrupt deals. They are those who do business with the government and would be willing to do anything and everything at their disposal to ensure that contacts with the Government are maintained.

In denotative context, the cartoon is skewed towards demonstrating that leadership must be in the confines of the male gender. They make decisions about who to lead and the funds to be used in the elections. All those purporting to be friends of the

Government are of male gender. Does this suggest that it is the men who control the economy? Of course IEBC and Treasury are all headed by persons of male gender.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of February 6, 2013 treats the reader to an interesting picture of a seemingly hungry hyena who feeds on grass and *Sukuma wiki*, presents himself as a candidate for an election. The hyena pleads with the goats who are in an enclosure. The hyena pleads “Please, let me in, I promise to bring you reforms!”

The cartoon was published at the time when elections were around the corner and there were so many politicians who presented themselves as able, those who care the electorate. Politicians who are ready to bring positive changes to the electorate. At the same time, the cartoonist warns that such leaders cannot be trusted because in the first place they are hungry for power and money that comes with the positions they are looking for. In other words they are only pretending to be good now but after they get the chance, there are likely to turn in to wolves. In denotative context, the hyena is portrayed as superior to goats. This means that those who seek leadership are not necessarily servants but they are masters who according to the cartoonist can easily turn in to dictators and endanger the very electorate that put them in those positions.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of February 7, 2013 has an interesting subject called the land debate. According to the cartoon, the debate is laced with firewood and fire just waiting for a spark and everything else will be on fire. The Cartoon shows that while the land question remained emotive, everyone was not interested in discussing this important debate that could easily affected harmony among the communities. The President is snoring, politicians are busy facing a wrong

direction of the debate, indeed the security people are there but they are only waiting for the fire to break out. The women on the other hand have buried their heads under the sand and like they wished this debate was not there in the first place. Meanwhile the Ndung'u report among other reports have been thrown in to the dustbin. The Land Commission file although open has nothing as an action point.

This cartoon was published at the time when the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission was finalizing its work. One of the key elements in the report is the land question and the need to address the past injustices that have been witnessed across the country.

The cartoon highlights the gender issue by emphasizing the lack of concern exhibited by the female gender in regard to the hot land debate. In fact, the cartoon shows the female gender fully burying the head in to the sand ostensibly to avoid any fire and controversies that may arise regarding the land issue. The cartoonist seems to warn that this time round the land debate needs to receive sufficient attention from the stakeholders as a way of avoiding the obvious eventualities of seeing communities raising against each other.

As for the *Daily Standard*, the cartoonist gives the readers two sides of the same coin. The first face is where Wanjiku has logged on to *Facebook* and *Mheshimiwa* (honourable ) has accepted to be her friend. This is before the elections. But after the elections, the same *Wanjiku* logs on but she is surprised to realize that the honourable *Facebook* account is no longer operating. The account has been closed. Could this be the characteristic of the Kenyan politics where politicians pretend to be good when

asking for the votes but immediately turn against the voters once they win the elections?

This cartoon was published at the time when Kenya was preparing to go to the general elections that were to be held in March 2013. The politicians were bound to be active in all quarters including the social media. This strategy was meant to attract support particularly from the undecided voters.

The cartoonist brings out the gender disparity demonstrating how desperate Wanjiku is in looking for the politicians before and after the general elections. The cartoon seem to suggest that the face of the ordinary citizens is a woman. The female gender is used to emphasize the fact that politicians are not trustworthy and that they would appear friendly before they are given the mandate to lead. Once they are given, the straight away ignore those who helped them to succeed.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of February 8 has the then Orange Democratic Movement leaders Raila Amolo Odinga pulling Homa Bay County to the direction that he wanted. But moments later, Homa Bay has become big and therefore is pulling Raila in the direction that it wants.

The cartoon was published at the time when there were primaries in the political parties in readiness for the general elections. Therefore push and pull were to be witnessed not only in Homa Bay county but also in other counties across Kenya.

Here the cartoonist elevates the male gender to a powerful position. Hence the leader of ODM having to pull Homa Bay County in his direction. But when things changed, it was his turn to follow where the country was taking him.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of February 8 is on one Peter Kenneth, the presidential candidate in the 2013 general elections. According to the cartoon, he seems to have changed and now he is eyeing Nairobi gubernatorial position come 2017 general elections. While addressing the supporters, he says “Peter Kenneth is like a breath of fresh air...” But a member of the crowd listening to him retorts back “*Kwani tutakula hiyo breath of fresh air ..?*” He says this as leaves the venue in defiance. According to the cartoon, it appears that the electorate would seem to be tired of rhetorics and instead would want to feel the presence of the politician in terms of what he or she can offer immediately to them.

The campaign period was characterized by many promises by the politicians some could not be fulfilled even when they were elected. So Peter Kenneth like the other presidential candidates has his own share to promise to the electorate the fresh air. The members of the public had perhaps higher expectations and that is why one of the members decides to leave because according to him “*Kwani, tutakula hiyo breath of fresh air?*” That this so called breath of fresh air must be accompanied by food on the table otherwise it must be hot air.

According to the cartoon, those in leadership are made up of majority male gender. Amongst those listening are of the female gender. They are only on the receiving end. The cartoonist has demonstrated bias towards the male gender as those responsible for decision in the society. Peter Kenneth is busy telling the public that is like a breath of fresh air while one of the members is walking away having realized that after all breath of fresh air is not food on the table.

The cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of February 10, 2013 has two faces of the same coin. The cartoon captures a Kenyan politician vying for an elective position ballooning the land issue. The Aspirant who is of male gender is putting pressure in the emotive land issue. In the second face the politician is seen hanging on the balloon with land issues as he heads to state house.

The debate around land was critical campaign agenda during the previous campaign. Most of the politicians turned it in to a platform for seeking votes from the electorate. Some succeeded while some did not.

In this context, the male gender is captured to be not only imaginative but strategic and capable of using every opportunity available to gain political mileage. The male gender therefore has the capacity to build castles in the air and like in earlier cartoons can also promise what is inexistent.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of April 15 2013 provides revealing details about the late Margaret Thatcher, who earned herself the nickname “irony lady”. According to the cartoon, she was not only an iron lady, but the premier who supported apartheid in South Africa, supported dictators in the world and that she was behind neo-colonialism. And so, *Rust in Peace*, instead of Rest in Peace, wrote the cartoonist.

Margaret Thatcher who belonged to the Conservative Party was the Prime Minister of United Kingdom between 1979 and 1990. According to the cartoon, Thatcher’s leadership was characterized by controversies including supporting dictators of other nations. Rusting in peace is condemnation of some sort. The cartoonist took judgmental trajectory . And it is like she was responsible for the many problems that



affected the entire world during her tenure. On the other hand, it also points to the negative image the female gender was accorded contrary to the expectations that she should have been honoured for at least leading one of the critical economies of the world. It is bias against the female gender because, there could have been other leaders who during her time also supported dictatorial leadership in other nations.

In another interesting cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of April 16, 2013, the cartoonist takes the reader to the political scenario in Kenya. The Kenyan politician is well guarded. At least four security officers are attached to the politician. On the other hand, the citizen represented by a woman with a baby strapped on her back is surrounded by incidents of kidnapping, rape, murder and robberies. The mascot voice says indeed surrounded by thugs.

The cartoon was published at the time when Kenyan MPs wanted their own security beefed up therefore having to eat more in to the public coffers.

The cartoonist is biased towards demonstrating that the male gender needs more protection than the female gender. Although the female gender is representative in the sense that she is there on behalf of the public, the character shown is really in danger and perhaps needs security more than what the Members of Parliament need. The female gender is under threat because of increased cases of rape, robberies, murder and even kidnapping which has been targeting mostly women and children. This is the category of the population that requires security not the MPs and the cartoon suggest just like that.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of April 16, 2013 brings the scenario of the opening of the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament. The incoming Members of Parliament are quickly

rushing to the House in a manner suggesting that they are late to pass certain important legislations that are on the session paper waiting for them. But then, some of them are armed with barbs and *rungus* as they face the treasury for more monies. Some of the placards they are holding read “*We want more money*” and, “*Higher salaries or war*” These placards seem to suggest that members of parliament want their demands addressed by all means hence *higher salaries or war*. The MPs entered parliament with the mindset of getting more money.

The Members of Parliament had higher expectations as they started their term. More money or no work means that they were determined to arm-twist the executive to ensure that they increase their pay.

According to the cartoonist, both gender are well represented in the cartoon. The male gender is however, outstanding in demanding for the pay. The male MPs are carrying all manners of weapons as they confront the treasury with demand for increased pay. In this cartoon, both the female and male gender are united for one common purpose—more money or no work.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of April 18 is about Kalonzo Musyoka being airlifted by Members of Parliament belong to the opposition specifically those belong to Coalition for Restoration of Democracy (CORD).

The cartoon was published at the time when the members of parliament from the opposition were agitating for the nomination of Musyoka either as a Senator or Member of Parliament. None of the option could work.

In cartoon, fishing Musyoka from the pit of the forgotten politicians is clear indication of how male politicians are preferred for leadership than their female counterparts. In fact at that time, Charity Ngilu, former Cabinet Secretary was also in political doldrums so she could have as well been considered for the same but the members of the Wiper Party preferred Kalonzo Musyoka hence raising gender preference questions.

In the same breath, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of April 20, 2013, the Members of Parliament are captured pondering on what to do outside parliament. After attempting to take Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka to Parliament, the plan finally comes to fail. And so one of the members of the opposition says “ We have tried everything, front door, back door, windows... This is the only way to get you to Parliament. !” The Members of Parliament are at the back of the Parliament where the sewerage is located. And so they are saying the only way left to take Kalonzo back to Parliament is through the sewerage. But the sewerage is meant to pump out the wastage. There is no way you can pass through it. In other words, it was impossible to have Kalonzo in to the Parliament given that the MPs had tried everything but failed.

Just like the previous cartoon, it was evident in this particular one that the male gender is given an upper hand in regard to leadership. Why make all the efforts including back door, front door and windows to have Mr. Musyoka back in Parliament? It means that the cartoonist is deliberately engaged in supporting the gender bias that has some soft spot for the male gender.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of April 18, 2013 focuses on the former chairman of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Mr Issack Hassan and he is shown having a long tail which is under investigation by the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission. According to the cartoon, IEBC is stinking and that EACC is smelling something fishy about the IEBC. But the chairman says “I have nothing to hide, I welcome the investigation” But then the voice of the most vulnerable- the female gender being what they are says “Why don’t you do the honorable thing and resign...” The voice of reason thinks that the former IEBC Chairman had the responsibility to resign. The allegations of the chicken gate were just too many and perhaps too incriminating and that there was no way the chair and the entire team of the commissioners would have had a chance to survive.

This cartoon was published at the time when the IEBC was also under scrutiny for failing to demonstrate independence.

The chair of the Commission and the EACC are all the male gender. From the cartoon, it is the woman, perhaps the *Wanjiku* that is concerned about all these accusations which have eroded the credibility that the Commission deserved. When it comes to voice of reason, it is *Wanjiku* or that common mwananch who speaks out the minds of the affected majority, “ do something honorable and resign” What an advice especially when the electoral body was so much accused of failing to act independently therefore eroded the public trust.

According to the cartoon, the characters who stand accused are the Chairman of the IEBC and EACC as an investigating public funded body. Although the Chairman

denied that he had nothing to hide, his back had a lot of question marks hence the foul smell that EACC had felt. So in both cases, it appears the male gender were unable to execute their mandate. While the IEBC chairman was now facing investigation, EACC on the hand failed completely to investigate and establish the truth about IEBC.

On the other hand, it is the female gender that make the most honorable statement asking the Chairman to resign amidst mounting criticism. The voice of reason comes from the female gender.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of April 20, 2013, the main character reflected in the cartoon is Kamlesh Pattni, the master mind of the infamous Goldenberg scandal that costed Kenya millions of money through non-existent business in gold and other jewellery items. The cartoon shows Kamlesh Pattni, excited about the court ruling in which he was vindicated and even paid huge sum of money. So he leaves the precincts of the High Court smiling and as usual carrying a lot of money in his bags. . being cleared by the High Court. Pattni says free at last, free at last. I thank court "almighty", I am free at last. In one hand, he is carrying millions of Kenya shillings. According to the cartoon, it appears that there is selective justice being made depending on how one is economically heavy in the corridors of justice. That Pattni was not only set free but he was also paid a lot of money as compensation.

In the similar cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of April 21, 2013, titled *Off the Hook*, Kamlesh Pattni is loaded with a sack of dollars heading to freedom. The High Court finally set him free after many years of accusation and counter accusations is captured

in the cartoon. The same message was shown in the *daily Standard*. It is the cartoon that shows Kamlesh Pattni. The weak are charged over these heavy charges. The cartoonists suggest that there is selective justice. The rich will obviously receive the highest portion of justice based on how much wealth they have. Justice is available only to the highest bidder. And more so when one is a male gender. The fact that Pattni can walk away free and even thank the court Almighty clearly suggests that wealth counts in determining the course of a case.

The cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of June 3, 2013 captures Uhuru Kenyatta riding in the balloon of “Pledges and more pledges”. The President had just won the elections on the platform of promises for better roads, laptops for primary children and of course free primary and secondary education. Majority of Kenyans were excited about that and they hoped that the promises would bear fruits.

In another developing story, the cartoon published in the *Daily Nation* of June 4, 2013 takes the readers to a huge pit called Telkom Kenya. According to the cartoon, Finance Cabinet Secretary Henry Rotich is faced with a huge responsibility to fill this pit without even asking who could have caused it. But he has only two big bags of tax payers money to use them for filling the pit. Seemingly, the two bags of money are not enough and therefore some of the investors are forced to wonder aloud. Would these two bags be sufficient to fill the pit at Telkom Kenya. And so one of the investors finally had to say “We will need a number of those to fill this pit up...” Another investor says “That’s right”

The cartoon was published at a time when Telkom was financially unable to operate. In order to resuscitate it was necessary to ask the treasury to pump there some money.

But according to the critics, pumping more money to Telkom was like supporting an institution that was bound to consume public funds without bearing any fruits. In other words the loss was too huge for any funds from the public coffers to fill it. The large pit is all about the financial loss Telkom Kenya has cost the tax payer since its establishment. Now getting more sacks of money from the same tax payer to fill the pit is equivalent to encouraging theft of public funds.

According to the cartoon, the characters shown in the cartoon point to the susceptibility of the male gender in regard to corruption and looting the public coffers. It is evident that the female gender is not in any way associated with the big pit that would cost so much money from the public coffers to fill it. All the characters captured in the cartoon are of the male gender. It is further interesting to note that the two bags of money provided by the Treasury is not sufficient to fill the huge hole. Perhaps what needs to be investigated further is whether the Telkom Kenya pit that requires so much money to fill is actually man made or otherwise.

In a similar cartoon published in the *Standard* of June 4. Telkom Kenya is represented by a man sitting on the streets begging money from those passing by. He happens to beg money from the tax payer, who turns back and says “Him Again!” Now he again presupposed that Telkom Kenya has constantly been affected by huge loss of money not once but several times . This continued loss of public finance has affected its operations. Most of the services were grounded and this meant that more money had to be sought from the treasury which is actually public coffers resuscitate the institution.

In this regard, the gender aspect is played out in the cartoon. The person begging for help is a man who seems to be doing this job all the time. In the same way, it is the tax payer represented by a female gender that is being asked to support Telkom Kenya. According to the cartoon, the tax payer is innocent and does not need to be disturbed all the time by this begging institution that is seated on the streets soliciting money from the people.

In a cartoon published in the *Standard* of June 5, 2013 the attention is on the VIP Lounge mostly at the Airport. The cartoonist captures then CORD leaders Raila Amolo Odinga preparing to enter the lounge but an extended arm suddenly says STOP! Then another message comes in “You should know people!” Then the mascot voice down there says VOP, I guess is Very Ordinary Person. In other words, after the former Prime Minister was defeated in the presidential elections that saw Uhuru Kenyatta win with a margin of 700,000 votes, he should behave like an ordinary person.

This cartoon was published at the time the opposition leader Raila Odinga was on several occasions denied entry to the VIP lounge at the airport and in some incidences he was denied security officers attached to him. Furthermore, some of the vehicles he was entitled to were withdrawn among other punitive steps that were meted against him.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of June 6, 2013, the Judiciary aero plane is airborne but seemingly has myriad of problems. All the engines are smoking and could be having some mechanical problems affecting its optimum performance. According to the two pilots in the cockpit, a male and female pilots, one of them is



suggesting that since they are experiencing some problems which might affect their flight, the only option they have is to purchase a another plane at a cost of 300 million Kenya Shillings. But the technicians from the control tower are communicating with the captain saying that the only option is to land that plane safely. Once you land it safely, you can thereafter decide how to deal with the areas that not working in the judiciary.

The cartoon was published at the time the Judiciary suffered so many integrity questions leading to the dismissal of some of the judges. That was equivalent to the Judiciary Plan experiencing problems. But it is interesting to note from the options that the pilots are giving as a solution to the problem of the aircraft. According to them, the option is to purchase a brand new plane or system to manage the issues that affect the judiciary. The purchase of the plane is like having a total overhaul of the personnel structure in the judiciary and put a new one. On the other hand, the option of the technicians at this point in time is to land safely, in other words, stop and think of what next. Indeed you cannot be talking about another option when you are airborne. You must land safely and thereafter decide on the next course of action.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of June 6, 2013, had a different taste to the readers in the sense that it is a showdown between the Salaries and Remuneration Commission (SRC) and the members of the August House. The cartoon provides us with the scenario where the chairman of the SRC, Sarah Serem is being ushered in to the Parliament. Guess what? The members of Parliament are armed with all sorts of crude weapons that are likely to be used to deal with SRC chairman. The showdown was occasioned by the collision that was there between SRC and members of Parliament over salary rationalization. The MPs of the August

House had clubs and axes to use them against the chairman of the SRC. While it was important for the MPs to raise their concerns in regard to their salary package. It was absolutely backward in nature to wait for the chairman with all manner of weapons ostensibly to hit back for advocating for salary rationalization. This cartoon was published at the time when the Members of Parliament were at loggerheads with the salaries commission for suggesting that their remuneration packages need to be cut.

According to the cartoon, the MPs turned thugs are waiting for the chair of SRC to attack her. Interestingly one of the MPs armed with a club who says “Eh, come baby come” The chairperson of the Commission is wondering what the MPs are up to as they usher her in. The cartoon does provide the details of the male gender in their attempt to intimidate the female gender for expressing the desire to reduce the national wage bill arising from huge salary packs. It appears from the cartoon that the intention of the MPs to wait for the chairperson with such weapons was driven by the insatiable quest for money and exhibited by some of the parliamentarians when handling public funds.

In another sample of cartoon appearing in *Daily Nation* of June 8, 2013, the main character is the Justin Muturi, the Speaker of the National Assembly. The cartoon has Muturi walking naked and only covering his hind with a long cloth written on the *National Assembly*. Holding the hem of the cloth is the Media who are being guarded by the well armed security. He tells the media “I’m sure you can cover the proceedings comfortably from there...”

This cartoon appeared at the time when there was a standoff between the media and National Assembly in regard to whether they can cover the proceedings live. Some of the MPs had protested that the media was exposing too much what was happening in

Parliament instead of focusing on the issues that were being discussed. Consequently, it was the Speaker of the National Assembly who said that the media must be restricted to certain areas of parliament and that they will only cover issues that were necessarily important to the public.

From the cartoon that was published, seemingly the effort of the Speaker were aimed at protecting the nakedness that existed in Parliament including corruption, shady deals and how some of the MPs were not effectively representing their electorate among other issues. The Media houses protested and even threatened to withdraw their staff from Parliament altogether. The cartoon indeed captured all the gender. However something significant about it is that the male gender makes all the decisions. The cartoon highlights the Speaker of the National Assembly as at the centre of the entire saga. Therefore he is captured as very powerful in society having to issue directive that affect the way Parliamentary proceedings are to be covered. Indeed the female gender is reflected in the cartoon but only at the periphery and perhaps only there to take instructions from the male gender. Furthermore, all the security personnel are of male gender. This even poses more question of whether the journalists assigned to Parliament must operate in an environment of surveillance so as not to write what is called damaging stories about Parliament.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in *Standard* of June 7, 2013 is focused on insecurity that hit the nation at an alarming rate. But according to the Inspector of Police, “Eh, I confidently confirm that crime has reduced by 10 per cent.” As the Inspector of Police is saying this, many more people are being shot. In fact he is issuing the statement at the venue that is littered with bodies of people killed by thug,

others were shot while some were just hacked to death by criminals. And in the far end, there is a speeding vehicle with robbers shooting in the air.

Accordingly , there is a clear connection between gender parity and the crime rate. It appears from this cartoon that most of the people killed are of male gender. The Inspector of Police issuing the statement that contradicts what is on the ground is also of the male gender. In providing these details of the cartoon, it seems plausible to suggest that insecurity is linked to the male gender. In fact from the sampled cartoons, whereas majority of those affected by insecurity were of the female gender those that were responsible for causing mayhem were of the male gender. But this trend is slowly being challenged by the recent development where the female gender has been instrumental planning and even executing some of the robberies.

The cartoon was published at the time when the EACC was seriously looking for some the right people to take the leadership mantle.

Here, one would argue that at least gender parity was demonstrated in the cartoon. However, the focus was given to the person who was answering the question and would imagine that there was minimum contribution from other panelists. Looking at the cartoon once more, one cannot avoid the possibility that since there more men that were shown in the cartoon than the female gender, it would be possible to connect this huge number with the many cases of corruption which has affected mostly the male gender.

On the other hand the *Standard* of June 8, 2013 has a cartoon that touched on the developing story of the that time when the United Kingdom government agreed to compensate families who were affected by the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952 and

subsequent cases that touched on the way the British Army has had issues with public in Kenya. The young man goes to the graveyard of his great grandfather born 1898 and died 1998. It is the great grandson prays “Please great grandpa, wake up please. I know you’ve got sufficient evidence and we will make half a million bob” But the Mascot voice says “If only he could wake up, *vipi*” which means this still remains a wishful thinking for this young man, perhaps driven by the desire to fraudulently get what he did not deserve to receive from the said compensation.

The cartoon captured key moments at that time when the British administration decided to compensate those who were in one way or another were affected the British Army in Kenya. The person praying to the grandfather to wake up would mean to suggest that the male gender is susceptible to the issues that seem to work attains the Government of the day. Asking the grandfather to wake up is tantamount to looking for fraudulent ways and means to get money having heard that the British Government would be ready to compensate families that were heavily affected during the Colonial era in Kenya.

The other cartoon that made headlines was published on 9 June and was all about the interviews that were going on at that time for a suitable candidate to chair the Ethics and Anti- Corruption Commission. There are four panelists consisting of three men and one woman. The person being interviewed is a man. Now in one of the questions that he had to answer, the candidate is so categorical that for him, integrity! I am not worried really... the President and his Deputy have already set the bar very high...” And the mascot voice is simply saying how?

This cartoon appeared at a time when the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission was keen on getting the right candidate to spear head the fight against corruption in corridors of power and indeed in many other institutions that required reforms.

The candidate being interviewed for the job was supposed to respond the questions raised by panelists. But he chooses to say that he has no problem with integrity since the President and his deputy have set the bar so high meaning after all integrity does not matter.

In this case, the cartoon attempted to portray both gender important in the selection of the candidate to head the EACC. That both gender are critical in making such decision that is bound to influence the way business is done in public and private institution in Kenya. Nevertheless, the cartoon still was able to demonstrate bias towards one gender. Hence there were more individual of the male gender that the female gender.

Another interesting cartoon was published in the *Standard* of June 9, 2013. The cartoon was interesting because it focused on the twisted equation of Einsteins. According to the cartoonist, this twisted cartoon has to do with  $E=MC^2$  where *Efficiency is equivalent to mass of belly times corruption squared*. And that Corruption squared remains constant. The mascot voice reveals it all with the message “*Utumishi kwa wote. No’ More like Utumishi wowote*”. It is important to highlight the fact that Einsteins was a Russian philosopher whose works revolved around energy and mass and that his philosophy relationship between energy and mass is also linked to the establishment of the atomic bombs.

This cartoon was published at the time when the police service was under heavy criticism regarding the increased levels of corruption, crime and generally poor service delivery. According to the cartoonist, the Einstein's twisted rule or formula is responsible for the rote in the service. That it has to do with *Utumishi wowote*, which means even when it is stealing or murder it is still a service they are given to the citizens. The cartoons insist that it is the desire to fill the belly and fill it more that makes service delivery poor.

In gender perspective, one would argue that the cartoonist is obviously biased towards the male gender in demonstrating that there could be more men that were involved in cases of corruption than was the case for the female gender. Hence, mass belly time's corruption doubled.

In another cartoon that was published on August 5, 2013 in the *Daily Nation*, it was evident that devolution as a new structure of governance in Kenya faced many challenges perhaps that were not anticipated when the new constitution was overwhelmingly endorsed on August 27, 2010. The cartoons give the reader a scenario where the mother is seated at the centre of the circle when everyone is claiming responsibility for the child. There are four men who are pointing at different directions as the mother and the baby remains seated at the centre. In this regard, there is no one individual who wants to take final and perhaps last responsibility for the child.

The cartoon was published at the time when devolution important as it may be, received a raw deal from the Central government to an extent that it was not possible

to pin down a particular person or group of people who are constantly engaged in accusations and counter accusations.

The gender perspective of the cartoon is negatively skewed towards the male gender. There are five men who are thinking aloud. They can never agree on who is responsible for the child. In fact devolution is so important that everyone who believed in the new constitution must have shown commitment towards supporting the baby to grow.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing on August 5, 2013 published in *the Standard* is on the politics of that time when Raila Odinga walks away with a young lady who happens to be western Kenya. But the President and his deputy are captured telling the lady to go where they are. The opposition leader was politically in control of the western region comprising Kakamega, Bungoma, Busia and Vihiga counties with the current vote capacity of more than 1.9 million voters (2017 Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission IEBC).

According to the general elections that was done in Kenya, Raila Odinga stamped his authority over western Kenya where Musalia Mudavadi was believed to be no pushover. The bias of the cartoon is obviously demonstrated that western Kenya fully backed Raila and therefore is like a girl that has gone away with the opposition leader and no one can get her again. Sounds zoning of some nature!

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of August 7, 2013 was simply impunity that was displayed by some of the leaders that were founded on excess road constructions that even fell before the courts. The interesting part of the cartoon is where the female character had this to say “You have to admit that our



governor is quite progressive after buying a mansion. He is now constructing a road to it.”

Indeed construction has been a synonym with both the national and county governments. One a governor builds himself a mansion and construct a road connecting the mansion and the outside world it becomes so easy to suggest that there is impunity and that public funds are there to be wasted The couple is wondering why this had to take place at a such time on infrastructure that does not benefit people.

The cartoon appearing in the *standard* of August 6, 2013, there is one cartoon that is divided in to offices. Now, the first who happens to be Morgan Richard Tsvangirai, Zimbabwe opposition leader called Raila Amolo Odinga, Kenya’s leading opposition leader. He says “Halloo.., I need advice on how to file a petition here in Zimbabwe.” But Raila answers back, “ Just avoid the Supreme Court” Hon Raila seems to advice Mr Tsvangirai to avoid taking the case to the Supreme Court based on the frustration that he went through in the case in which he unsuccessfully challenged the election results that gave victory to Uhuru Kenyatta as the fourth President of the Republic of Kenya. Therefore having lost the petition on technical grounds, Mr Raila perhaps felt that the Supreme Court could not be the right place to dispense justice to a petition of that magnitude.

In gender perspective, leadership and making important decisions and choices were made in favor of the male gender. For example the cartoon in reference is very categorical that the opposition leader is a man similar with the opposition leader in Zimbabwe. The two male leaders are in constant conversation regarding the politics

affecting their nations. The cartoon just confirms the extent to which the male gender remain dominant in the African politics and beyond.

In another cartoon published in the *Daily Nation* of August 8, 2013, the focus is on the fire brigade and whether they are prepared in any way to fight fire in times of emergencies. And so the cartoonist takes us to a scenario where the fire engine is totally vandalized. The vehicle is parked minus the wheels and the horse pipe to help fight fire. All over sudden, a call comes and the fire department is supposed to go and put off fire. The characters shown leaves one to wonder whether indeed any fire will be put off. The person in charge of the fire brigade is seen running with pieces of horse pipes and he is shouting “Help is on the way...” suggesting that he is on the way to deal with the fire outbreak.

According to the cartoon, the male gender seems to be connected with this failure to put in place a working fire fighting system that consist of working fire engines and trained personnel ready to deal with such situation. The character running without necessary tools of trade and shouting that the help is on the way is obviously a man. Does this suggest that dishonesty and lack of truth exist among the male gender more than it does with the female gender?. Could the same male gender be responsible for the ill prepared fire fighting department that does not a working engine? These and many other questions point to the fact that most of the fire brigades may not be working at all in many of the counties across the country and yet there are people employed but draw salaries without working. It is unlikely that the person shouting that the help is on the way coming will do anything he might as well disappear in the crowds upon arrival at the scene.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* on August 7, 2013 provides a serious concern for the devolution which is well guarded by the new Constitution of Kenya. The cartoonist gives the readers a scenario where the executive and Members of Parliament are targeting the devolution baby already hit by an arrow. The crawling baby urgently require protection and safety to survive but the executive is constantly shooting arrows at it as if to suggest that devolution must end or die immediately.

In denotative context, the male gender is the dominant character in the cartoon. The executive is represented by a male character in the same way the politicians have the male character releasing the arrow against the male child. The cartoon does suggest that the male gender predominantly involved in matters politics and that the best way to illustrate that is to ensure the male gender is overtly portrayed to demonstrate their influence in politics. The question that begs is whether it would have changed the meaning if for example devolution was represented by a female character- a female child who is really facing arrows from all directions to give credence to the fact that indeed devolution is under serious threat.

The other cartoon making headlines was published in the *Standard of August 8, 2013*. The readers are taken to the contest between the Corruption dragon and those fighting it namely the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission. The dragon declares in earnest Harun Mwau (late), Aron Ringera and P.L.O Lumumba *were here and let us see what you can do*. The new chair of the EACC Mumo Matemu has a sword in his left arm and EACC bag in the right hand. He is rearing to take on the dragon, but with this warning in advance one wonders whether Matemu will go for even a mile before he

throws in the towel. What is even scaring is the fact that the dragon continues to kill many as it surges forward. So Matemu succeed in fighting the dreadful dragon?.

Here the cartoon reveals the extent the male gender is portrayed as a dominant gender in matters corruption. In the same breath, most of those listed as the chairmen of the anti-corruption body are of the male gender. Harun Mwau was the first person to start and chair the anti-corruption body that was initially called Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission, Then came Justice Aron Ringera before renown lawyer and Law professor PLO Lumumba took. But just as the previous chairmen, he was haunted from the office by a cliques of politicians who were uncomfortable with the way he was pushing cases related to corruption. Then came Mumo Matemu but he was also ejected from the office before the current chair, Retired Archi-Bishop Eliud Wabukala took office. These details reveal the fact that the fight against corruption has been a male affair just as those who have been mentioned in corrupt related cases. The question that keeps begging is whether female politicians, businesswomen and other members of society have not been involved in any corruption. As history would have it, the case of Anne Waiguru and the loss of billions of money from the National Youth Service is a clear indication that the female gender has equally been involved in cases of corruption. Furthermore other female characters were adversely mentioned in the NYS scandal besides others mentioned in land scandals and Ministry of Education.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation of August 9, 2013*, the cartoonist takes us to the August House where House Select Committee convenes to investigate the cause of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport fire disaster. But the mascot voice has the additional information regarding the sitting. That indeed the House Select

Committee must meet but interestingly the MPs would meet without the sufficient evidence (indicated as only fire engine that is not working at all). This cartoon was published at the time when part of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi was gutted by fire whose source could not be immediately established. In the same breath the cartoon appearing in the Standard of the same day carried similar message although this one was more focused on highlighting Jomo Kenyatta International Airport where the inferno gutted a section of the International Arrivals. According to the cartoon, it is all fire at the JKIA people are scampering for safety. Somehow the cartoonist seem to demonstrate that fire gutted important pieces of information that needed to be salvaged from the inferno. Some of the things that were gutted included ivory evidence, drugs evidence, and tax records among others. It is the woman walking away that takes the position of mascot by saying “we all hope the inferno won’t be politicized.”

According to the cartoon, the rot in the fire department is revealed. The machine seems not ready to work. And yet with such important information that could help the MPs in the Select Committee to start thinking of how the fire outbreak preparedness that is required to deal with any emergence cases. Furthermore the second cartoon is more inclined towards emphasizing that the inferno could have happened perhaps deliberately to demonstrate the tax records, drugs and ivory inquiries were all destroyed by fire.

On the other hand, a cartoon published by the *Daily Nation* of August 10, 2013 focuses on one Kamlesh Pattni and his evolution in to a great billionaire who had a huge impact on the economy of Kenya. He is captured when crawling, walking and finally changing in to yet another billionaire called Jacob Juma who was killed in

mysterious circumstances. This evolution comes with huge briefcase of money that is almost dropping as he marches on.

The cartoon was captured at the time Kamlesh Pattni was finally set free by the court and even was lucky to have been compensated by the Government. The end of the Pattni case marked the end of the long standing battle that seemed to have warped the entire Government machinery right from the ministers, Police service and members of the Central Bank of Kenya.

Here, the cartoon reveals that the male gender is susceptible to corruption. There was no slightest opportunity that was given to the female gender somehow to show that a woman could have been part of that evolution. All those captured as being part of the corruption chain link and members of the male gender. This is a significant pointer the possibility that the male gender could in most of the cases be responsible for the spread of corruption in the corridors of power, public institutions and across the private sector.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* published on August 11, 2013 brings out details of how unprepared was the Disaster Management department in dealing with cases of emergencies among them landslides and hunger among others. The cartoon captures a woman somehow stranded at the office of the department of Disaster Management. The woman seems to have gone there to report an emergence report.

The cartoon was published at the time when the country faced avalanche of disasters among them drought, floods and landslides. Many of these cases required a robust and well managed systems that deals with this problem at the local and national levels.

Here , the cartoonist seems to focus on the female gender as the most vulnerable or most hit compared to the male gender. But at the same time, it presupposes that for the readers to fully understand the magnitude of the problem call it hunger, starvation or any other situation when the female gender has to be shown and confirm that indeed there is need to refocus on the same.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* has a police officer seated and just wondering what could be the next move. But then the message reads, *waiting for Reforms*. It appears the office is still waiting for the reforms to take place. But as the police officer waiting for changes to happen his gun is on and could in a twinkling of an eye cause a major disaster.

Accordingly, the cartoon directly links the male gender with matters security. The male police officer is alone and could be dozing but somehow, many would keep officer upon realizing that there is someone on the lookout. The cartoonist has made a deliberate effort to paint the male gender with direct bearing on matters security.

In another cartoon published on August 11, 2013, the readers are taken to a scenario of an attempt to take over leadership in Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The young Turks are pushing themselves inside the tent. The head and neck of the camel are already inside the tent. On sensing danger, the party leader is already out and could only be waiting for further to be completely out of the tent. The camel says “Now, I want my whole body in too.

The cartoon was published at the time when there was push and shovel that involved some members to try and snatch away from the owner of the party. In denotative context, the cartoon makes deliberate effort to highlight the male gender as strictly the

dominant group involved in the politics of the land. There is absolutely no slightest opportunity for the female gender to equally participate in the politics that affect their land.

In another cartoon making headlines of the *Daily Nation* of October 14, 2013, the readers are given two scenarios that bear the message on the International Criminal Court in the Hague, Netherlands and the way most of the Kenyan political class pushed acted and said in reference to the Kenyan cases that were before the Court.

The cartoon gives the readers the then picture where politicians insisted that “Don’t, be vague, let’s go to Hague”, “We’ve no confidence in the local courts”. “No Hague, no justice, “ICC is our savior, Hague or Bust”. These are some of the statements that were issued by the politicians that are aligned to the Jubilee Government. But the cartoonist is also quick to remind the readers that the same politicians changed tone later saying “This is racism, ICC is targeting Africans”, “ICC is ignoring crimes in Syria and Afghanistan, it should also ignore those in Africa” “No Kenyan should be tried abroad, Justice abroad is justice denied” And perhaps the most interesting message comes from the people who appear like the victims of the post-election violence. And so they say “Sometimes I wonder, are we in the same country?”

This cartoon was published against the backdrop of the political tug of war that involved members of two political divide, first seeming to support the idea that Kenyan post-election violence be taken to The Hague for trial but certainly beating the retreat and insisting that ICC was not after all the solution to the Kenyan problems.



In this cartoon, both gender are well represented in the cartoon and given almost equal chances is pouring out their concerns regarding the International Criminal Court. Both gender were united in spirit and purpose and just like it appears in the cartoon, it was the same case in the August House, where the efforts of President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga in advocating for the local tribunal, all fell aside as majority supported ICC as the option for the post-election violence cases. The other area that both gender were represented is those who were affected by the violence. They like the politicians were united in their resolve to wonder whether these politicians stay in different country than the one they stay in. This wonder is occasioned by the fact that they are two languages by the same politicians in different times of the year.

In the *Standard* of October 14, there was cartoon that touched on the post-election violence just as the previous one giving the readers two sets of scenarios to make informed judgment on what was happening in Kenya at that time. The cartoonist takes the readers to 2008 when Kenya was burning because of the post-election violence. Kenya was desperate for one Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary General who offered to mediate and resolve the crisis that affected Kenya's international image. As he was jetting in, Kenyans were happy that at least the country that was burning at that time, would find some reprieve. And indeed, peace was found. But in the later years, the scenario changed where Kenyans developed some disrespect for the very person that made Kenya to be where it is today. As of today, Kenyans because of this disrespect, were hurling stones at Kofi Annan and telling him to keep off Kenyan politics.

Accordingly , Kenya is represented by a person of female gender. She is literally begging as saying “*Baba, karibu Kenya*” because of having been desperate for peace and security. The services of Kofi Annan were so much needed at that time. But the moment he finishes his work of restoring peace and resolving the political dispute that was there at that time, the good, savior Kofi Annan is rendered an enemy. And so the same hands that welcomed him hurl stones at time. Indeed, *Asante ya punda ni mateke!*” The point of departure in this cartoon however, is the fact that it is the female gender that is captured to represent the rest of the Kenyan citizenry. True and most appropriate especially in the first instance when Kenya needed mediation. But not in the second instance where a section of the Kenyan community hurled insults at Kofi Annan and saying that he was no longer needed in Kenya. The true scenario should have involved both gender fully being represented as was the case in the news that made headlines at that time. Thus the cartoonist should have made an effort to reveal to the readers the gender that formed the majority of those who hurled stones at Kofi Annan when he attempted to remind Kenyans on the need to adopt the local tribunal and try to resolve the cases that faced some leaders at that time without having to blindly support the ICC option.

In another cartoon revolving around the same ICC subject, the Standard of October 15 gives the readers two sets of scenarios where in the first instance, it is the African Union saying “ICC is targeting African leaders, we demand justice for them”. On the flipside, those who were affected by post-election violence are asking “What about us” Meanwhile majority of the victims are still in their camps living in deplorable conditions. They urgently need food, shelter and security in order for them to go back to where they were flushed from.

This cartoon was published at the time when there was spirited efforts to have those who were implicated in the violence to face criminal charges in the Hague. The African Union came out to defend the leaders and even threatened to pull out of ICC if justice was not done to them. But while AU appeared to support and defend suspected leaders, there was a growing concern that the victims of the violence were left out. So to what extent was AU genuine and concerned about justice.

In gender perspective, those advocating to protect the suspects are of the male gender. African Union is represented by a man. Anything to do with symbol of authority and power? That is the question that begs but meanwhile the victims of the violence have to speak for themselves. And in such case, not all the time are voices of the weak and most vulnerable such as the victims of violence would be heard.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of October 16, 2013 the cartoonist reflects on the Police Inspector General report on the Westgate attack which took place in September 2013. According to the cartoon, the Inspector General gives a report that has nothing written on.. The report has nothing to offer since nothing was written on in and yet he is proudly showing it before the people.

Here the cartoonist demonstrates that security is linked to the male gender. This dominance is however laced with failure as seen in the cartoon. Furthermore there seem to be some deliberate effort to hide or give falsehood in matters affecting the society.

On the other hand the *Daily Nation* of October 15, 2013, the cartoonist takes the readers to an exclusive place. The cartoonist captures Michael Mbuvi Sonko and

Nairobi Women representative Rachel Shabesh. According to the pictures that was shared through the internet, both Sonko and Shebesh were found in uncompromising situation, hence the many pictures that were highlighted causing a social media uproar from many Kenyans.

Here the cartoonist captured characters of both gender. . Both the male and female are strongly protected.. When the cartoonist says that it was an exhibition is clear evidence that the two could have gone wherever they went to enjoy as it were.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of October 16, 2013 is focused on the post-election violence victims who were trying to make their way to the African Union Members of Parliament. With their luggage and all the belongings they could salvage, they begin by introducing themselves before anything else “we are victims of the post-election violence from Kenya. We are here to present our views. The security personnel guarding the AU headquarters ask “You were sent by the west, weren’t you? Then another security add “We are a sovereign continent” Another security officer says “You are the people giving Africa a bad name”. They bounce on the innocent and vulnerable people without showing any mercy on them. The cartoonist presents a picture where victims of post-election violence are condemned and beaten up by the security personnel for showing up and wanting to present their memorandum.

.Here, it would appear obvious that the victims of the post-election violence were suffering and thought it wise to present their problems to the higher authority where their issues could be hear. Lo! They were beaten and told all sorts of abuses. Both gender are well captured representing a clear situation where indeed men and women

of Kenyan soil suffered heavily because of the war effects. And merely presenting their issues so that they could be heard, was enough provocation for the security personnel to beat them up. The cartoon also reveals the nature of the male gender-ruthless when dealing with the victims of the post-election violence without any iota of sympathy shown to them. This category of people require comfort and need to be helped because of the nature of suffering they have been going through since the post-election violence ten years ago.

In another cartoon touching on the African Union and the International Criminal Court, the *Standard* of October 17, 2013 gives the reader a scenario where African Union is seen carrying President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto but leaves Joshua Sang almost being grabbed by a waiting vulture in the neighborhood. . Meanwhile, ICC appears to be the vulture that is salivating ready to capture Sang. In this particular situation, Sang is the odd one out and cannot be protected the same way Uhuru and Ruto were being protected.

According to the cartoon, it would appear that AU is ready to protect the sitting president and his deputy, while forgetting that other suspect was equally vulnerable and required someone to protect from the raging vulture. In other words, choosing to protect and defend the President and his deputy is a clear indication that the AU exist to support and protect those in power in a more critical manner, it appears that the male gender is highly connected to the ICC cases and indeed many other security issues that seem to pop in society. It is also interesting to note that none of the female gender was mentioned as having been responsible for the violence.

Still on the International Criminal Court, the *Standard* of October 18 gives the readers a context in which Al Bashir, the President of Sudan daring the ICC to give him the warrant of arrest. He seems to assure Uhuru Kenyatta on the possibility of ignoring the summons and eventually continue with business as usual and like the cartoon is showing, the only place such warrants are taken to the dustbin is in Kenya.

In another cartoon also talking about the ICC issue, the *Daily Nation* of October 17 brings out Uhuru and Ruto playing the balancing game. But behind this place, there are chants and cheers of “ICC, don’t go to the Hague”, “Go on you will win this thing”, “Go on you will win this thing”, “Forget, ICC... Let us boycott the trials”, “Go Uhuru go, go Ruto”, “We are behind you” and many others. This cartoon was published at the time the ICC debate dominated local and international politics.

According to the cartoon, the cheers coming from the people represent the highest level of impunity. The leaders can make mistakes but as long as you depend on the tag of my people, what can stop you from deliberately doing something bad such as perpetuating violence against humanity and still get away from it. Further insights reveal that the male gender is actively involved in matters violence or insecurity. Indeed it is the two, Uhuru and Ruto who are being mentioned as responsible for the violence but the communities they come from has come out in large numbers to defend their people.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of October 19, 2013 is focused on the aspect of crime and its evolution. In the first step, the criminals were using clubs to kill and maim others. In the second stage, criminals were using kitchen knives to kill and steal from people. In the third stage, the criminals graduated in to

using pistols to carry out robberies. But in the latest stage, criminals are using sophisticated guns to kill and steal property from people. This is a simple illustration of how crime evolved isolated incidents to a full scale national menace.

In this context, the male gender is shown in the cartoon as the predominantly involved in the crime. In other words, most of those shown are men which to a larger extent suggest that insecurity, violent robbery among others is a preserve for the male gender.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of October 19, 2013 takes the readers to the world of football with results as Ivory Coast 3 Senegal 1, Ethiopia 1 Nigeria 2, Burkina Faso 3 Algeria 2, Ghana 6 Egypt 1 But when it comes to Kenya then football match changes to indicate Kenya 0 ICC 0. There is a clear demonstration that Kenyans were so much pre-occupied by the International Criminal Court to the extent that it almost turned out to be a match. Apparently, this particular match ended in a barren draw in other words, there is no outright winner and loser.

The cartoon was published at the time when there was a lot of shuttle diplomacy that wanted to galvanize support from the Kenyan leaders not to appear at the ICC for the charges that were committed way back in 2007. The debate and the pre-occupation was so intense and time consuming to the extent that it almost turned out to be a match. No wonder the cartoonist can reveal to the readers that all that they were doing was more of a match than a case to be presided over in the Hague.

In this context , the cartoon revealed that while the rest of the African nations were engaged in matters that improved their sports culture, Kenya was very engaged in

International Criminal Case matters that it almost turned in to a contest that comes with minimum positive results.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of October 20, 2013, it is all about the rich and the poor and what exactly separates them. Now, while the rich are heavily loaded with money and all that appertains to wealth, the poor are loaded with hunger and disparity. The rich are drinking wine but the poor are sleeping sniffing it. The rich look happy, healthy and of course have huge stomachs and as well good clothing. The poor are emaciated, they are also angry with life because of prolonged suffering. And so the poor resort to begging everything and everyone that comes their way. Furthermore, while the rich are happy because their stomachs are full, the poor are emaciated, wear tattered clothes and the children are crying because of the biting hunger plunks. And so the mascot voice says the *line between the rich and the poor is very bold*. Thus, the difference is huge, it is noticeable and it is like the day and night. The two worlds are miles apart. And that is the strong message that the cartoon brings out to the readers. Indeed the rich and the poor live in two worlds of the same country though.

In the gender perspective, the cartoonist has obviously demonstrated that the rich are always of the male gender. According to this cartoon, richness or economic power is a preserve for the male gender. The one man in the cartoon has huge stomach, smiling face and well dressed with oversize coats and loaded with a briefcase full of money and he is also taking wine as the poor beg for any little food that can be available. On the other hand, the poor are represented by a woman with a baby on her back. The baby is of course crying for the food which is had to come by. But the woman is also accompanied by a man in tattered clothes with a big bowl for begging. Whether he



will succeed in getting something for his family or not largely depends on how generous the rich will be on that particular day. In the meantime, hunger continues to bite the poor and the rich continue to wallow in wealth for that is how different the two worlds are.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of October 19, 2013, the reader is introduced to the investigations of the Westgate attack that took place in September the same year. The investigations were done by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Security and so the chair gives out the findings in the presence of the Chief of General Staff (the officer in charge of all the security formations –Kenya Army, Navy and Air force). And so he says “Our Investigations have revealed that there was no evidence of looting by our gallant soldiers at Westgate” This statement is being issued against the backdrop of the many things and issues that are hidden under the carpet as if to suggest that the real truth has been hidden under the carpet.

This cartoon was published at the time when there was heavy criticism that was leveled at the security officers for allegedly looting some of the shops and the supermarket that was located at the Westgate.

In this context, it would appear that the male gender is under condemnation for what was described as looting and plundering some of the shops that were affected by the Westgate attack. Indeed the people issuing the statement whether is true or false are of the male gender and a lot of hidden truth has been swept under the carpet which then suggest that all that the two people were saying could not be true after all.

The cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of October 20 introduces Judiciary sinking ship to the readers. The Judiciary is in jeopardy. The waves are raging. The captain

is panicking. The ship is leaking and from the look of things, all is not alright, the voyage might come to an end any time.

The cartoon was published at the time when the Judiciary was under public security, as it emerged that the arm of the government that ought to be independent is embroiled in the culture of corruption and that after all, justice was not its core business.

Here, the judiciary ship has both the male and female gender hanging on despite the danger it faces in the rough sea. The ship could have hit a corruption reef throwing it off balance and the captain is struggling to make it stay afloat. Whether it will or not survive, time will tell.

The other cartoon sampled for the study was published in the Standard of December 2, 2013 and focused on police vetting exercise that was going on at that particular time. Each police officer was given an opportunity to go through vetting. The cartoonists give the readers two scenarios before the vetting and after the vetting. In the case of this cartoon, the police officers are likened to the cocks. In the first incidence the cock has all the feathers but as soon as it goes it, total shave is done and it comes out without the feathers.

Police vetting was considered one of the most humiliating and yet serious exercise that cleaned up the mess in the police service. So many did not like because of the fact that they had to be screened in and out to ensure that only the best are considered. In this context, the vetting exercise was meant to target all the gender in other words both men and women serving in the police service. But it appears that the vetting as reflected in the cartoon only targeted the male gender. As facts would tell, both men

and women service in the police service with a ratio of ..... However, it can also be interpreted to mean that the vetting exercise was more ruthless to the male ender than it the case for the female gender.

In another cartoon published in the *Standard* of December 3, 2013, the focus is on the changes the new media bill that aimed to introduce hefty fines to the journalists and media houses that erroneously published incorrect information. So the cartoonist captures the President Uhuru Kenyatta and he operates an earth mover to crash the media personnel who hands and legs are all tied and thrown where the caterpillar is passing. Meanwhile there is someone in the cabin who is shouting “ Muthamaki, your proposals came in handy.” And there many other people who look like the Members of Parliament simply cheering the President as he approaches the press whose hands and legs are tied.

The cartoon was published at the time when the government proved determined to silence the media by introducing some punitive legislation that wanted to silence the media. It took combined efforts of the Media Owners Association, the Media Council, the Church and the Opposition to resist the move that was meant to completely silence the media.

According to the cartoon, the bid to silence the media was basically orchestrated by members of the August House. The legislators wanted to ensure that whatever they said was well censored before it could reach the public. But it could also by extension have been the efforts of the executive to support the legislators in a bid to win their support. It would appear that majority of the Members of Parliament that appear to cheer Uhuru Kenyatta as he operates the roller towards helpless journalists.

In another cartoon published in the *Standard* of December 4, 2013, the readers are treated to a scenario where conflicts in Turkana country is raging but the interesting thing is that while the houses are on fire and everyone is crying for help the security officer who is supposed to protect the civilians is half naked, has removed the boots and he is snoring.

This cartoon was published at the time when the Turkana and the neighbors experienced relentless conflicts that resulted in many deaths and displacement of people besides loosing large herds of livestock. The efforts of Turkana leaders appealing for help did not yield any fruits. The fighting continued.

This cartoon talks about the failure of the government to provide adequate security to the affected communities. The male gender is the face of the government, which is sleeping on the job. While people are dying, the security personnel are busy enjoying themselves oblivious of the fact that there is urgent need to pacify tension between the Turkana and their neighbors. According to the cartoonist, the male gender represents the authority and the power that rests with the Government. It is therefore ironical to imagine that such powerful Government and the resources that it has cannot stop communities fighting each, stealing from each other and even displacing each other.

And yet in another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of December 5, there is a makeshift handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Opposition leader Raila Odinga. But this is before a horde of pressmen from various media houses. However the Mascot voice seems to tell the story behind the handshake. “Enough for the cameras gentlemen.”

This cartoon was drawn at the time when Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga met and shook hands in apparent show of reconciliation to the entire nation. But as truth would later tell, this handshake was only public relations measure somehow to show that the two could still work together despite the differences that were there during the elections.

In this context, the two leaders hold power in different directions. One, President Uhuru holds constitutional power having won the election to lead the country. He is the President of the Republic of Kenya, But on the hand, Raila Amolo Odinga is the Opposition chief and former Prime Minister in the Kibaki-Raila led coalition government (2008 -2013). So Raila equally is powerful in the sense that he controls a huge junk of his supporters who believes in the principles of the opposition and perhaps who might again vote for him in another presidential elections. In view of these details, it appears from the cartoon that power and authority rests with the male gender. The reason the cartoon focused on the handshake of the two leaders is to show the readers and by extension the rest of the Kenyans that the two can agree and work together despite having differed during the elections.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of December 6, 2013, the focus is on former judge Justice Philip Waki, the person who was responsible for the compilation of the report that implicated some of the leaders in the post-election violence that rocked Kenya following the 2007 Presidential elections. In this cartoon, Philip Waki has just disembarked from Kenya Airways christened *From Kenya with Love*. Destination is Sierra Leone But as soon as he steps out of the plane, people take off as they wonder aloud” Could that be another secret envelope?” It is the mascot voice that saves the day by proclaiming No, it’s his appointment letter”

Philip Waki is a renowned figure in Kenyan politics having been responsible for the report that implicated the so called Ocampo Six. The Ocampo six refers to the Kenyan politicians and individuals that were implicated in the post-election violence that rocked Kenya in 2007/2008. They were President Uhuru Kenyatta, Deputy President William Ruto, former cabinet minister Henry Kosgey, former Police Commission Hussein Ali, former chief Cabinet Secretary Francis Muthaura and former Radio Journalist Joshua Arap Sang.

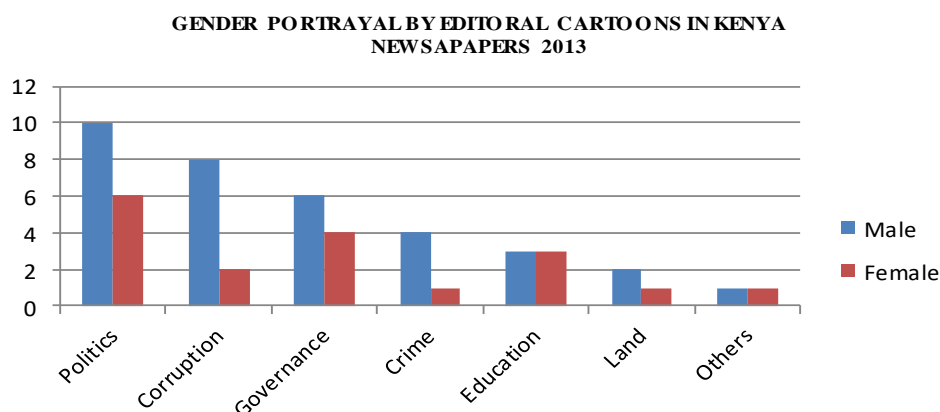
In this context, the presence of Philip Waki is a sign of wanting to establish truth and justice in regard to what was happening in the far West African country where internal fighting have been going on for some time. So that is why, when disembarks from the plane, people take to their heels because of the fear that he would be investigating in to the conflict with the view to arriving at another envelope containing names of people responsible for the internal war. In this regard, Philip Waki is a symbol for truth and justice in an environment that is polluted with conflicts and heightened ethnic tension.

The cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of December 7, 2013 appeals to the people with the figure of the late Nelson Mandela, the iconic anti-apartheid crusader, first and former President of the Republic of South Africa. The cartoonist takes the readers to the heavenly realm where the late Mandela (1918 to 2013) arrives in heaven to a warm welcome by one of the angels manning the golden gate. "Welcome Madiba, you've fought the good fight, finished the race and kept the faith." Before ushering him to the house of the chosen few.

This cartoon was published immediately Nelson Mandela passed on. During his funeral, the late freedom fighter was eulogized as one of the few world polished leaders this generation has ever seen. It was perhaps because of this fame that the gates of heaven were open for him, as the cartoon suggests.

In this context, the cartoon gives glory where it is due bearing in mind the immense work and contribution that Madiba made to South Africa and the entire world. That good work follows individuals beyond death is a simple reminder to those in authority what influence will they leave behind after departing like Nelson Mandela did.

In nutshell, according to the cartoons that were published in 2013, there was significant level of bias that was demonstrated against both the female and male gender although not with equal proportion. For example while the female gender was in many cartoons represented as the weak and those afflicted by many issues in life such as hunger, starvation, war and lack of security. But at the same time, the female gender was accorded heroic stature, always serving as a sense of reason where the male gender appeared to fail. On the other hand the male gender was reflected as one responsible for many problems afflicting society such as insecurity, corruption and poor governance. In many of the selected samples, the male gender was significantly associated with failure in society. But at the same time, it is the same gender that was accorded power and authority. Therefore, comparatively while the male gender was portrayed in a bias way such as strong and powerful, the female gender was negatively portrayed as weak and vulnerable. In whichever way both gender were portrayed in exaggerated form adding credence to possibility of escalation of gender bias and stereotypical overtones.



**Fig. 4.2: Gender portrayal by Editorials cartoon in Kenya newspaper 2013**

*More men were captured in politics, crime and in incidences of corruption than was the case for the women. But they were level in issues of education and other issues*

#### **4.3 Selected Cartoons for year 2014**

In year 2014, the data that was collected revealed that most of the cartoonists paid attention to matters politics in the same way previous cartoons demonstrated. In this regard politics played a significant role in sourcing of news to the extent that it was extremely important for the cartoonists to develop their themes around the same. This arena was just like the previous year's mostly dominated by the male gender. The female gender was further eclipsed in making contribution to the political landscape based on their minimal involvement or engagement to either controversial issues or the news generations that touched on the politics of the day. The data that was collected further revealed that politics, corruption, insecurity and impunity received the highest level of attention in the editorial cartoons and by extension news coverage by the two leading dailies. In additions, fraud, national dialogue and justice were equally covered by the cartoonists just in the same way they were covered in the news that made headlines during the selected period of time. There was however,



significant focus on sports, poor governance and greed especially among leaders across the board. Such greed was more directed at public money than anything else. In addition, the cartoonists also focused on land reforms, unemployment, violence against women, police brutality, hypocrisy, abuse of power, ethnic violence, transition and traffic accidents as these issues featured in news that made headlines. Equally important areas covered by the cartoonists included terrorism, digital migration and education matters.

In specific terms, politics was top on the agenda of the cartoonists and by extension the newspapers. It was revealed that the male gender dominated the coverage. But they were increasingly portrayed as selfish, inhuman and corrupt.

A man carrying a briefcase written 2014 in his right hand pulls a belt christened *Budget constraints* tied in the waist of a woman with an envelope written expectations lifted high up. The belt is written budget constraints and the woman is *wanjiku*.. The man pulling Wanjiku tries to encourage her saying “Tighten your belt Wanjiku, we are already experiencing turbulence” The turbulence in reference is the financial difficulties that seem to come with increased expenditure from those in leadership. Wanjiku has no option but to be forcibly dragged through the painful financial experience.

The cartoon was published at a time when Kenyans were going through economic crisis characterized by high cost of living, inflation and increased food prices. And even when such are happening, the citizens of the country must pay tax in a manner that satisfies and supports the operation of the government.

The cartoonist uses the female gender to excessively demonstrate how hard it is for the Kenyans to survive under such conditions. The cartoonist imagines that using the female gender will be telling enough for the readers to understand the extent to which 2014 would be economically hard and rough.

And for the *Standard* the cartoon appearing on January 1, 2014, Kenyans are captured celebrating the dawn of the New Year. Happy New Year 2014 is like a bright sun just beginning to rise. And people are shouting “A New Dawn has come!, we expect no greed, corruption, Zero road accidents and bring laptops to our children” These are the words that are coming from the people as they celebrate the new year. The message seem to be directed to the government for the simple reason that there has been increased cases of corruption in the previous years, greed and increased road carnage and that the same government must deliver part of its election promise-laptops to the primary level learners.

Here, the cartoonist has provided an all inclusive gender setting with both the male and female gender having been represented in the cartoon. Indeed both gender are in celebration mood because of the New Year. But it is also important to note the New Year comes with many challenges. Some of the challenges that face both gender include corruption and greed being the two evils that have bedeviled the society. The celebrations also come with the reminder to the Government of the day that there is need for zero tolerance to accidents while at the same time urging it to provide the laptops as was highlighted in the Jubilee manifesto. This cartoon does suggest that both the female and male gender are affected by the good and the bad that comes with the New Year.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of January 2, 2014, the Kenya Primary Education Examination results have just been released and parents have to discuss about them. The news reaching the parents via television says "cheating in the 2013 standard eight exams went up by 100 per cent compared to 2012" and another one says "Awesome, we have plenty of impressive leadership talent"

This cartoon was published at a time when the results for the primary examination had been released and that there was a lot of concern raised by the Ministry of Education and the Kenya National Examination Council that cheating had increased among the candidates to unbearable level.

In gender perspective, the cartoonist has ably engendered the cartoon by giving the female gender the major responsibility of questioning the news that is coming with increased cheating in exams. But interestingly, the male gender approves of the situation by even saying "awesome, we have impressive leadership talent" The male gender links the cheating in examination and the leadership and politics of the land. Which means with increased cheating in examination there is every possibility that the same tricks would be extended in the political circles.

And in the *Standard* of January 2, 2014, the cartoonist introduces to the readers a scenario where the wolves are throwing bones to the hungry women carrying a baby on her back and standing near a dustbin containing the bones of 2013. As these wolves throw the bones they say "Upgrading our game, that is our new year resolution!"

Upgrading means enhancing or improving. Could it be true that the cartoonist meant that those involved in looting and eating so much that is meant for the people will this time round double the efforts. In other words, it will be a lot worse than the years before. The other thing to note that this kind of upgrading is meant to benefit the few and not the majority who are hungry and yearning for an opportunity to improve their life.

In this context, the gender aspect is played out to the disadvantage of the female gender. Indeed the female gender represents the bigger society that is affected by increased cases of looting and grabbing of public resources hence the upgraded game. The cartoon also reveals that the male gender is responsible for grabbing and looting the public resources to the extent of making the entire society to go hungry. This upgraded looting is what makes innocent Kenyans to scavenge in dustbins for food and whatever fortunes that there may be. On the other hand, the woman with her baby on the back has to scavenge for food and feed on bones being thrown by the wolves. And in the *Daily Nation* of January 3, 2014, the cartoonist takes the readers in to a political environment with specific focus on President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto. President Uhuru Kenyatta is captured reaching out for the dustbins where political rejects are. He says “Reduce, re-use, recycle. We got to comply with environmental regulations” But his deputy who has a list of appointments is wondering what the President is up to.

The cartoon was published at the time when TNA/URP government was still new and the President and his deputy had to make some of the appointments that were required like head of parastatals and commissioners to facilitate the running of the government. And it happens that for this to happen, the two had to go for some of the

names that had previously served in the government and who appeared loyal and ready to serve in Uhuru-led government.

In this context, the cartoon focuses on the top leadership of the country making decisions that bordered on personal interest as opposed to the interest of the country. .

The President is reaching out to the political rejects meaning they never made it in elections. But the president wants to give them another lifeline through appointments.

In a cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of January 4, 2014, readers are treated to a scenario where President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto are carrying cronies having fainted during a marathon to unknown destination but as they move on and without Ruto's knowledge, Uhuru is dishing out appointments to his cronies even as they appear to be together.

This carton was published on the backdrop of the suspicion that almost rocked the unity between the President and his deputy after it emerged that Ruto's party was getting a raw deal in the coalition.

In this context, gender bias is played out when the two members of the executive provide emergency services to an athlete of the male gender and move quickly to reward the person even after failing to complete the race. The fact that the person being given the appointment did not finish the race also point out the possibility that he could not have competed favorably to earn such treatment.

On the other hand, according to a cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of January 3, 2014, the readers are introduced to the South Sudan conflict. Now IGAD (Inter-Governmental Authority on Development), issues a stern warning to those engaged in fighting in South Sudan. This organization is represented by a man who is burying his

head in the sand bags shouts “They should stop this fight or else...” In the second scenario, he is half-way buried in the sand but shouts “They should stop fighting or else...” In the third scenario, he is buried completely except for the legs but even though shouts “They should stop fighting or else...” and in the last scenario he is completely buried but a shout is heard from underneath “They should stop fighting or else...” This is the time real war has erupted and like people are killing each other indiscriminately and yet other nations are not making enough efforts to bring this fighting to an end.

This cartoon was published at the time South Sudan conflict was slowly escalating and IGAD countries were doing too little to restore peace and security among the people.

In this context, the bias against the male gender is played out especially as the cartoonist emphasizes lack of responsibility and resolve to stop communities fighting each other. The person burying his head in the sand as all these happen is a man as a representative of IGAD. The fact that there were too many pronouncement and declarations did not stop the fighting instead it escalated the conflict leading to many deaths and destruction of property.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* published on March 10 2014 is focused on how parliamentarians reacted to the proposal of reducing some of the allowance to reduce the national wage bill. And so the cartoonist takes Wanjiku near the parliament to understand what could be going on in regard to the debate over the pay cut. And so the speaker is courageous enough to ask “Will those who support a pay cut say Aye!” But instead the chamber is hit by deafening silence. The mascot

voice says “*the Nays have it*” In other words those who have opposed are the majority. The issue of silence makes *Wanjiku* surprised and even wonder whether the parliamentarians are in any way patriotic to the nation and its people.

In denotative context, the gender connotation is played out when the cartoon makes the person concerned with increased wage bill is a woman. *Wanjiku* stands in for the many Kenyans who pay tax and who are almost giving up because of heavy wage bill that is eating in to developmental agenda. Indeed the cartoon considers the female gender as an appropriate launch pad to explain to the readers how serious the issue of the wage bill is and what it means to the rest of the Kenyans. The parliamentarians, majority of whom are of the male gender, seem not concerned about the ballooning wage bill that requires radical changes to scale it down.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of January 4, 2014, the focus is on the leadership of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto. In a comparative view, according to the 2013 resolutions, the two promised Kenyans job creation, low cost of living, no political rhetorics, Zero corruption and deal with insecurity. But these are no the goals in the new year of 2014. According to their new resolution, they will have jobs for their *mboys*, increase taxation, silence Keter, accept and move on and lastly ask Ole Lenku why insecurity is increasing.

Here, it seems declarations are made to make things better. The two male leaders are critical in making life better for or even worse depending on the perception. The gender bias is played out especially when the two leaders make radical changes to their declarations without seeking consultation with those in various position in the government.

In a cartoon published by the *Daily Nation* of March 11, 2014, the readers are treated to the celebrations marking the Women International Day. Ordinarily this day is supposed to be the happiest moments of the women. One of the (Government of Kenya) GoK representative shouts “Happy Women’ day but the scenario given here is that of full of burdens. Women in the current situation have so much to carry. They have to give birth to children, take care of them and also look for food for them. They must also protect them. Besides all these burdens, women must also pay taxes.

In gender perspective, the cartoonist has brought out the burdens of the female gender. Just like other cartoons, the cartoonist uses the female gender to explain to the readers and indeed the rest of the world how women suffer and end up fighting for themselves instead of being defended by the society. The cartoonist is apparently biased towards the female gender.

The other cartoon making headlines is that of the then Nairobi governor Dr Evans Kidero and former Nairobi women representative Rachel Shebesh. The two were embroiled in a spat in which it was claimed that Dr Kidero slapped Ms Shebesh. But in his defence, Dr Kidero also claimed that he was slapped and that is why he reacted the way he did.

The cartoon was published at a time when the two publicly differed and went physical to the extent of slapping each other. But in the cartoon that is under discussion, the two seem to be each covering their faces and yet it is called “It’s a slap in the face” But that is also happening when the two are shaking hands as a sign of reconciliation. But it seems they had to shake hand any way because they were obliged by the notice to do so. In fact they were given seven days to reconcile.



In another cartoon making headlines in the *Daily Nation* of March 12, 2014, the readers are treated to the parastatal chiefs meeting to discuss ways and means of reducing the wage bill. These parastatal chiefs have a list of the areas that they need to cut the cost and also ensure that they are financially cushioned. One of them takes them through other avenues they can recover their money from. And so he says,,: Gentlemen, lets not split hairs over this, we can recover it from all these areas. The areas listed include: sitting allowance, fuel allowance, Trips abroad, entertainment, procurement, public relations and media, per diem and imprest among other areas that they can use to ensure that their income levels are maintained.

In this context, the areas listed are basically loopholes that exist in every institution that the chief executives could abuse to enrich themselves. The cartoon gives the details of how gender and power play in to each other. In this particular cartoon, the debate is all about the male gender and their bid to enrich themselves through various vote heads and by extension retain what they take home as their salary packages. All the parastatal chiefs are men. There is therefore outright bias towards favoring the male gender through appointments. On the other hand, the fact that the debate is all about money and by the male gender is also significant factor in telling how heavy the male gender are involved in plundering the economy. They have listed at least eight areas through which they can siphon resources from an organisation. Which means reducing their salary would not affect them after all as they have other ways of ensuring that they make up for what they would have lost through pay cut.

In a cartoon published in the *Standard* of March 10, 2014, the readers were treated to a scenario where the central Government has just released huge amount of money to the county. As the money arrives, there is scramble for control. The Governor, the

Senator, the Members of Parliament and the Members of the County Assembly are also fighting to have a share of the resources under their control.

This cartoon was published at the time when there was push and pull and abortive attempts to change the constitution to ensure that those mentioned have a slice of the resources under their control.

Here, the cartoon gives an outright bias in favor of the male gender as the persons who are able to lay hand on to the county resources. In terms of the constitution, the while the funds are supposed to be handled by the Governor, the Senator and the Members of Parliament at the national and country level that is the MCAs provide the oversight role to the county government. But from the cartoon availed, everybody is trying to control the funds however remote it is. In gender perspective, there is dominance of the one particular gender. The male gender seems to have an upper hand in accessing the funds. Out of the four people listed, only one is of the female gender. The scenario is reminiscent of the real political situation in Kenya where the male gender plays a dominant role in the manner in which politics and resources are managed. In such situation the female gender is in- appropriately forced in to the back seat, having to watch and critical decision are being made. Like in the cartoon in question there is every likelihood that given the position the female gender is, the two male characters who are standing as they wait for the money will be the first to touch the resources before it reaches those who are crawling.

On March 13, 2014, (*Daily Standard*), a man sits in a swimming pool with three women basking and smoking. He talks about the wage bill and subsidies as a part in the air. This kind of caricature reveals how the public service is rotten and perhaps

infiltrated with lack of responsibility on the part of the civil servants and the whole public service workforce. This service is inclined towards misuse of public funds and yet asks for more and more. Such funds are not only misused but they are siphoned and misdirected towards priorities that have been turned upside down. Apart from swimming, the officer is also drinking wine but at the same time someone seems to be massaging him. Now the officer is communicating with another person and here the conversation goes:

“In fact we are overworked and underpaid... But don't worry that wage bill is just a feather in the wind”

The cartoon was published at the time when there was so much talk about the wage bill and the need to reduce it to a significant level.

The male gender captured in the cartoon is simply on lavish mission in five-star hotel. He appears to be using public funds to enjoy and make people around him happy. The cartoonist seems to link poor spending culture which amounts to misappropriation to the male gender. But at the same time, the cartoonist seems to paint the female gender as mere objects of happiness and enjoyment for the male gender. The women in the cartoon are busy massaging the officer as they also drinking. This cartoon raises ethical and integrity questions to some of the public servants with the attitude of poor resource management besides lacking sense of public accountability.

In similar circumstances, a county governor sitting at the centre is surrounded by the Members of the County Assembly wearing animals masks threatening to impeach the governor. The MCAs are represented by the male gender. They confirm the fact that

the male gender is at the centre of abuse of office and corruption in the society. The MCAs want to impeach the governor because of refusing to approve their allowance.

In another development the cartoon published by the *Daily Nation* on March 15, 2014 is about the former Minister of Education Prof Jacob Kaimenyi (Now in Lands and Housing). The media asks “ Mr Minister, are you going to take any responsibility for the laptop scandal..? But he answers back saying “Of course responsibility allowance!” Therefore, Kaimenyi deliberately chooses to be irrelevant and naughty so as to deviate from the real issues that the media is looking for.

The cartoon was published at the time when the Ministry of Education was on the spot over the Jubilee promise to deliver the laptops to primary schools, a promise that was not only fulfilled but that came with the loss of millions of public funds. And so the Minister was asked to respond to the allegations and if not at least take full responsibility for sleeping on the job, but he refused and instead sarcastically answer back that he would be taking some responsibility allowance which means that he was not ready to take any responsibility for whatever that happened to the lap top tender scandal. In the same breath the *Standard* also took issue with Minister Kaimenyi this time round the cartoonist showing the Minister as he sees himself in the mirror. He says “Resign, No!, not now.. My... as he holds a laptop which has laptop tender in the windows. But in the mirror, Kaimenyi is saying “conscience is very clear” and the mascot voice wraps it up with “crystal clear indeed”

In gender perspective, one would argue that the cartoonist brings out the male gender that is not ready to own up and take full responsibility for what could have gone wrong with the laptop scandal. The male gender is simply associated with the scandal that could have taken place in the Ministry but does not want to admit the mistake.

In another cartoon published by the *Standard* in March, 2014, the readers are treated to a rare situation where one of the government officers is captured while in a Petrol station. He is accompanied by a lady who is seated in front. The officer instructs the pump attendant saying “Fill the tank please and charge it on your taxes” The pump attendant is utterly shocked by the statement of the Government officer.

The cartoon was published at the time it was alleged that a lot of fuel and expenditure by the government officers had nothing to do with official work, It was more about private engagements that consumed a lot of resources that is means for development.

The cartoon highlights the moral decay that lies in the male gender especially when it comes to taking care of the public resources. The officer is driving government vehicle most likely for private engagement but wants the tax payer to shoulder the cost.. In this regard, it would appear that power that comes resources also brings about the culture of impunity and misappropriation. For that is what the officer driving a Government vehicle for personal use but charges that to the tax payer.

The other cartoon making headlines was published by the *Daily Nation* on March 16, 2014 and is focused on President Uhuru Kenyatta as he reflected on his leadership, one year on. According to the cartoonist, during his one year period, there was corruption scandals, austerity, terrorism, court cases, turf wars, inflation, more scandals and many more. So as Uhuru ponders about this, Pope Francis who was expected in the country that year, says “Tell me about it”

The cartoonist just captured what transpired in the one year period that Uhuru Kenyatta was in leadership. The one year was characterized by many challenges

among them increased cases of corruption scandals, political feuding and inflation among other challenges.

In this context, the cartoon is all but male gender dominated. President Uhuru Kenyatta takes time to ponder about the challenges the country had to go through go through for the last one year. Then Pop Francis tells Uhuru to tell him more about the challenges that have been mentioned.

In another cartoon published by the *Daily Nation* of March 19, 2014, the cartoonist treats the reader with two scenarios. First it was 2006 when Uhuru Kenyatta was the Minister in charge of Finance. He said these “Anglo fleecing has been set up to systematically fleece Kenyans. This is a corrupt deal involving a few businessmen politicians and civil servants. Can’t Pay Won’t Pay” That sounded very pragmatic and well grounded in the provisions of the financial prudence. But today, Uhuru Kenyatta as the President of the Republic of Kenya is surrounded by henchmen who are corrupt and ready to influence the way he talks and takes decisions. He looks at Anglo fleecing scandal from a different perspective altogether. And so today, this is what he says “ You, I feel terrible about this” And the mascot voice adds, the prez is a good man, it is only that he is surrounded by bad people which means he has bad advisors.

Accordingly , the cartoon is male dominated. In other words most of the characters that are shown in the cartoon are of the male gender. The cartoonist has brought about the Anglo-leasing scandal in which millions of public money was lost pointing to the possibility that this could have purely planned and executed by people surrounding the executive because they wanted to benefit from it. So initially the

President was categorical that he won't pay and can't pay but later the same cartels surrounding the presidency prevailed upon him to agree to pay. And so although he feels terrible about this situation, he nevertheless seems to agree to pay after all. Indeed major scandals that have been reported in Kenya have largely been planned and executed by leaders of the male gender. The cartoonist is of the view that the male gender could be active almost in all.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of July, 2014, the Members of the County Assembly are hard on the Governor. The MCAs want to get a loot from the County budget that has just been financed by the Central Government. One of the MCA has this to say

“Look Governor, we have the constitution. We can do this the hard way and eat you alive... or we can just share the loot!!” On the other hand, the Standard provides the readers with another scenario where the Governor is likened to a rhinoceros with the Members of the Assembly acting like birds singing the impeachment song as the animal moves and feeds. And so the mascot voice is “who is smarter now”

The Member of the County Assembly provide an oversight role to what happens in the County government. They plan and pass the budget for the Governor and his executive members to run various activities for the county. They hold a very important role of allocating funds to each ministry and activity that happens at the country level. So looking at this cartoon, the MCAs have seen this as an opportunity to benefit from the country budget. The Governor and his or her government can not run the activities of the country if the MCAs refuse to approve the funds for the respective allocations. In this cartoon, the MCAs are demanding a share of the budget or else they make it difficult for the governor to run the show. The mascot voice then

says that these are not average rodents, in other words they have graduated in to bigger wolves who want to loot the county budget by all means.

Here, the cartoonist likens the MCAs with the rodents which means they are there to eat and destroy what does not belong to them. They are planning evil and that is why they give an ultimatum to the Governor to accept and do what they say or through the constitution they remove him from the seat. In gender perspective, the planning and execution of the county budget is all male controlled. The mascot voice does justify extend male dominance by ruling out that these could just be rodents. The voice suggests that they are more than rodents. Abuse of office and at the same time selfish interests have taken centre stage in the politics of the county government. Such cases have been witnessed in Embu, Kericho and Murang'a counties where the MCAs because of the selfish interests impeached the governors in these respective counties. There was also a similar move in Bungoma County but never saw the light of the day. In another cartoon making headlines in the *Daily Nation* of July 4, the readers are treated to the football extravaganza but in a typical house situation where the man, who is the head of the house has completely taken his mind to Brazil and he is watching nothing but football. Now the wife and two children are wondering whether that is the only programme that is available or they are many others that the head of the house is ignoring and therefore choosing what only suits himself and not anyone else in the house. And so the wife and the two children are warning him "We need dialogue in this house or else there will be saba saba."

Dialogue is about mutually agreeing or arriving at consensus. In this particular cartoon, the subject matter was picked at the time when World Cup finals were taking place in Brazil. This is the time when most of the men are glued to the television sets



as they watch and participate in the betting. And so there are normally many conflicts in the families that arise from this zeal for watching football. It was a round this time when a couple was reportedly engaged in fist fights that arose from the husband coming home late after watching football in the nearby pub. It would be remembered that it was also around this time that the Opposition leaders demanded dialogue with the Government and choose to start the Okoa Kenya initiative which was later quashed by the Independent Boundaries and Electoral Commission (IEBC). In addition to this, there is a historical touch on the date Saba Saba in the sense that it signifies struggle for change. This struggle can take any shape depending on the circumstances. Sometimes, it is violent like it was the case during the actual saba saba agitation in the early nineties when former politicians Charles Rubia and Kenneth Matiba among others spearheaded the struggle for political change in Kenya. Since then, there has been deliberate attempts by the opposition to remind Kenyans of this important piece of history which has greatly contributed to where Kenya is today.

In this context, the fact that the male gender decides on his own to switch over to Brazil without agreeing with the rest of the family members points to the media considering the male gender as superior to the female gender. The man has decided on his own what is good for him and the family whether they like it or not. That is why the female gender having been agitated by this action, demands that there would be saba saba in the house if dialogue is not be embraced. On the other hand, saba saba was all about demonstrations and active demand for change. It is the only language that can be well understood by the powers that be. In this case, if the man decided to do things without asking for opinion from the other members of the family, then a demonstration might just help.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of May, 2014, the readers are treated to a rare occasion where the County Commissioners and the Governors are at war with each other regarding who or which institution is in a better position to effectively serve the people. First the Commissioners are captured telling the lady “I’m here to serve you on behalf of the National Government. But the Governors would hear none. And so they are also telling the lady “Hey! This is my Government... I will serve her first”

The cartoon was published at the time the Governors were up in arms and at logger heads with the National Government in relation to the unconstitutional creation of the County Commissioners’ position as an illegitimate avenue for the National government to extend influence to the country level.

In this context, the county is likened to a lady who is being seduced by two men the Country Commissioner and the Governor. The Cartoonist considers the county as weak compared to the Governor and the County Commissioner who are represented by the male gender. Both the Governor and the County Commissioners are considered strong and big enough compared to the lady who is not only small but unable to decide on her own unless influenced through sweet talk of the two. The lady looks small, weak and suffers from indecision. She is helped to decide by two powerful looking men.

On July 6, 2014, the *Standard* published a cartoon that talks about the dialogue debate that had dominated the Kenyan politics at that time. The Opposition leader Raila Odinga invoked the powers of the citizens or the “Power of the people” and he is telling President Uhuru Kenyatta “Talk to us or else. But Uhuru has closed his ears.

But nevertheless he asks “Are you talking to me” Meanwhile Wanjiku is right in the middle and on her right she has “I love Kenya” but in the left hand, it is written “God have mercy on us” That in an environment where there are two opposing sides almost with equal measure it becomes extremely important to invoke the divine powers to intervene and cause some miracle to happen.

The cartoon was published at the time the opposition was pushing the Government to enter in to some discussion on how to fix the problems that were facing the country at that particular time.

In this context, the cartoon is dominated by the male gender. Although the female gender can be counted as one responsible for posing some serious reflection on the issue. The male gender is on the other portrayed as the one calling shots. “Talk to us or else... and are you talking to me?” The male gender is therefore portrayed as all powerful and one that controls the whole discussion. The female gender can also be considered as the one that provides sense to this horrible situation where the two men are not willing to talk to each other. “I love Kenya” Points to the need for the two to shelve their ego and listen to one another. In other words you will only love the country that is at peace with itself and all those that live in. On the other “God have mercy on us” This is a statement that comes out of the disparity. The innocent are desperate and only wishing that God intervenes at this point in time. There are situations that demand the divine intervention and this is one of such situations.

In another cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of September 13, 2014, President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto are made to carry luggage that seems to belong to the people of the Republic of China. The two are carrying Aid Grants and

Loans and Aid Loans and Grants. They are also carrying Elephant tusks. But as they pass through the jungle, the Chinese representative says “ Sshhh.. quiet, I have heard a sound of an Elephant coming” as if to suggest that he should kill it once it is seen.

This cartoon was published at the time when the two leaders made deliberate efforts to seek most of the development initiatives from China eclipsing other development partners like the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Germany among others.. But this kind of help seem to have turned in to a burden that has to be carried for a long time while at the same time helping people of China to get the elephant tusks which is outlawed in Kenya. Having made the president and his second in command both to carry the luggage for the Chinese is enough to point out how because of borrowing, the country has been reduced in the eyes of the foreigners. This is a weighty political statement would be enough to cause worry in the rank and file of those who are part of Jubilee administration.

The cartoon is skewed towards emphasizing the role of the male gender especially in regard to making critical decisions that affect the entire Kenyan community. In this particular cartoon, the Aids Grants and Loans is a heavy burden not only to the president and his deputy as depicted in the cartoon, but it is the burden that has been spread and shared among all the Kenyans alive and unborn. What makes the cartoon even more disturbing is the possible long haul that seems inevitable to the assistance that comes from China.

On the other hand, the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* on September 6 has telling details of how Uhuru and Ruto Government was undergoing so many waves that are almost tossing the boat up and down. Because of too much turbulence, President

Uhuru quickly suggests that the only way to calm the storm is to throw Governor Isaac Ruto in the waters to allow the ship to continue. Meanwhile, the turbulence keeps on rising and the ship is almost sinking.

This cartoon was published at the time when the Government received a lot of criticism and agitation for what has been referred to *Pesa Mashinani* which means more and more devolution. Although this agenda did not sail through because of the failed referendum otherwise popularly called *Okoa Kenya*.

The cartoon has obviously perfected the gender bias towards the male gender especially when it touches of the critical decisions that affect the whole nation. The turbulence that seem to rock the Uhuru and Ruto boat from the bottom was brought about by the Government failure to address some of the critical issues that were only swept under the carpet and that there was no way out other than just deciding to sacrifice one of the members of the coalition government.

The other cartoon that was published by the *Daily Nation* of November 17 invited the readers to Harambee Avenue in Nairobi during the demonstrations for *My dress my choice*. One of those covering the event asks “Is the min skirt. Demo still on. Another one say “I don’t know. *Mmeeniweka sana*.

Indeed this cartoon was published at the time women complained about the issue of the mini-skirts, in fact having been one of the reasons that some students had to go on strike for demanding that the administration allows them to use miniskirts in schools.

In denotative context, the female gender is under unfair scrutiny where the media attempts to support the idea that the female gender need to stay restricted to putting on certain types of cloths and fittings. One would be tempted to wonder why the media

was so much concerned about the importance of the freedom to choose what to put on and what not to put on.

On the other hand the cartoon appearing in the *Standard* of September 11 2014 invites the readers to a boxing ring where The State is flexing the muscles in readiness for the fight. Interesting as the Government warms up, the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) and Kenya Union of Post Primary Education were all actively engaged in a serious fight. And so the mascot voice asks “Wait a minute, who is supposed to be fighting against who.”

This cartoon was published at the time when the teachers’ unions were engaged in war of supremacy and forgot that they had one common enemy in the name of the Government. But before even they engage with the Government they are actively fighting each other.

In this context, the cartoon is dominated by male gender and over emphasizes the fact that after all unions are led by men. The women who are listed as leaders are given minor roles to play.

In another cartoon making headlines, the readers are treated to Independent Election and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) chicken scandal that eventually forced the whole management out of office. In this cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of November 19, IEBC commissioners are busy eating, one says “ It is delicious” another adds “ exquisite...” and another says “ I will have some more” That is how the IEBC Commissioners were got up in a corruption web that finally sent them home.

The cartoon was published at the time when the Commission went through heavy criticism with allegations that some of them were involved in mega corruption activities.

In this respect, the cartoon is skewed towards the male gender conforming to the fact that indeed the majority of the commissioners at that time were all men. This means that they formed the majority of the decision making process including asking for more chicken and calling the meal delicious when it was actually laced with corruption pill.

On the other hand, another cartoon appearing in the Standard is focused on two major political players namely President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Amolo Odinga. The subject matter is on the referendum which comes in the form of a question: Do you support Okoa Kenya referendum? So according to the cartoon, Raila is in agreement in other words Yes but Uhuru Kenyatta says No. On the other hand when the media interviews the citizens they have this to say “Who is Kenya, they only come to me when they need my vote and for you the media, you only come to me for your stories. This cartoon was published at the time when the political heat had gained momentum in Kenya just one year after the elections as the opposition galvanized its efforts to push the Jubilee Government to deliver services to the people. Of course the Government was adamant about the referendum insisting that there was no need since it had increased funding for the county governments and that it was ready to roll out major development projects that would make Kenyans to support it.

In denotative context, the major decision makers are represented by the male gender. First, it is Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga who are making decisions for the rest of

the citizens. While Uhuru is against the referendum, Raila Odinga is for the referendum because of the fact that they belong to two opposing political ideologies. But then, do the citizens have any role to play in this referendum politics. According to the cartoonist, the citizens who are represented by the lady-female gender seems to play a minority role. And that is why she is accusing both the politicians and the media for neglecting the ordinary citizens. They only go to the citizens when they want their votes and the media only goes to the citizens when it is looking for stories to publish. Which means the female gender representing the citizens who are actually the owners of the reigns of power are relegated to the lower affinity.

And in the *Daily Nation* of November 20, 2014, the cartoon is focused on opinion polls about the performance of the Jubilee Government in terms of service delivery to the people. In the first scenario, “Your excellence, the report card indicates your performance as follows... Security-F, Devolution E, Fighting Corruption F and Unemployment E. And in the second scenario, the same persons releases totally different opinion polls results with the President now getting over 80 per cent and there is much celebration across the board. Which means that the second piece of information that is being released has to do with doctored information to make the establishment happy and yet in reality, the performance of the Government in the highlighted areas is just too minimal.

In another cartoon making headlines in the *Standard* of November 19, 2014, the cartoonist has pitched tent in the Civil Service officer of former Cabinet Secretary Anne Waiguru. She is captured while in office and she has to clear all the mess that seem to disturb her. The office is invested by rodents.



The cartoon was published at the time when the Anne Waiguru was in media focus all for the wrong reasons. She was so much haunted by the media reports to the extent she had to resign arguing that she needed to spend time with the family.

In denotative context, the cartoon is gender biased against the female gender especially in regard to the mess that is so full in the office. Indeed Waiguru has the broom to sweep the mess but she is perplexed and just let wondering what to do next because the mess is overwhelming. The cartoonist seems to point to the inability and the failure of Waiguru to put things in order in her ministry which eventually led to her being asked to step aside pending investigations.

In another cartoon making headlines in the *Daily Nation* of November 21, 2014, the focus is on the attempt by the government to drum up support for his bid to begin working with the central government in order to bring development to the people. And so the campaigns begin “We want to get in to Government after the next election so that we can bring development...” The governor continues to say “We can’t get in through the front door, we will get through the back door or the window...” But on hearing this message the citizens responded with a question “which government are you talking about...? U thought we elected you governor to bring development!” The governor angrily responded “Remove that woman.. She is an enemy of development”

This cartoon was published at the time when there were some attempts by the sitting governors to try to shift the political landscape that was developed after the general elections. So some of the Governors started shifting their allegiance based on how they related with their party leaders.

In this context, the cartoon brings out a leader who has lost vision and because of selfish interest, decides to move his political allegiance to a different political ideological to protect his interests. The male gender which is represented by the Governor who tries to win support from the citizens by insisting that development can only be accessed if one moves near the central government something that the citizens are challenging. Now the female gender stands out as the voice of reason and sanity. The rest are standing aloof but the woman who is among the crowd, stands out with a critical question, Which Government and we elected you so that you bring development to the people.

The *Standard* of November 20, 2014 takes the readers to the heavenly realm. This is the late Otieno Kajwang, the former Senator for Homa Bay County.

The cartoon was published at the time when the Hon Kajwang died and so many questions were asked without receiving sufficient clarifications. The late Kajwang has just entered the heaven, the cartoon has put. But then one of the angels is on hand to receive the late Kajwang. But then the cartoonist captures the late Kajwang while singing “*Bado mapambano. Malaika musilale lale lale, malaika musilale bado mapambano*”

The cartoon confirms the contribution that the late Kajwang made to the reform process that Kenya went through and so he is being remembered in his death. The cartoon considers the male gender with such humor and commitment for change beyond the earth. The contribution of the male gender is of significant value to those living and those that are in the spirit.

On the other hand the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* of November 23, 2014 is on the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. And the focus is on the allegations that were leveled against the commissioners in regard to the chicken scandal. So the cartoonist puts it clear in form of a question “What do you have to say to allegations that you ate the chicken..” The response of the commissioners is interesting. It is Fictitious, Rubbish, Absolute, Unsubstantiated and Devoid of evidence which means it is FRAUD.

The cartoon appeared at the time when the IEBC commissioners were on the spot over the alleged chicken scandal that later contributed to their removal.

The cartoon is over represented by the male gender. Whether this has to do the amount of contribution that they brought in to the chicken scandal is something whose truth need to be found beyond the mere caricature of the commissioners trying to answer the media on whether actually they ate the chicken.

In a nutshell the sampled editorial cartoons of the year 2014 were diversified in terms of the issues that were highlighted. Matters governance, post-election politics and the issues revolving around the International Criminal Case as well as education matters did dominate the subject areas of the editorial cartoons that appeared in the two newspapers. Furthermore, politics around the Okoa Kenya initiative played a critical role in influencing the nature of the cartooning that was witnessed in the time frame that was given. In addition matters corruption also took the centre stage in the sampled cartoons. Some of the scandals that were mentioned included the National Youth Service loss of millions of money. The chicken gate scandal and the loss of money from the Ministry of Health are some of the scandals that have kept the ugly head rearing at that time.

Therefore in 2014, selected cartoons emerged with various themes that focused on various issues including and not limited to scandals, fraud, post election politics and particularly those revolving around the call for the national referendum and the opposition quest for dialogue to address some of the areas in which the country was ailing. Critical areas of concern included need to reform the electoral Commission of Kenya, the financial institution. Devolution and the fight against corruption suffering of the people and education took the centre stage during the year. That politics around the Okoa Kenya initiative which later heavily engaged the Jubilee Government was the major focus of the year. Other issues that made headlines included corruption which has always played a major part in the rise and fall of Kenyan politicians.

They suggest that much of the suffering that the citizens go through is partly attributed to the leaders. The budget constraints has to do with the many burdens arising from the taxes and huge sums of public funds lost through corruption and bloated government structure, hence higher wage bill among other issues. The cartoon of the Upgrading our Game, that is our new year resolution had striking message to the reader pointing out corruption, greed, neglect to the marginalized among others.



*Plat 4.4 Upgrading the game equals to eating to completely finish for the citizens (Wanjiku) to get nothing (Dry bones in a dustbin).*

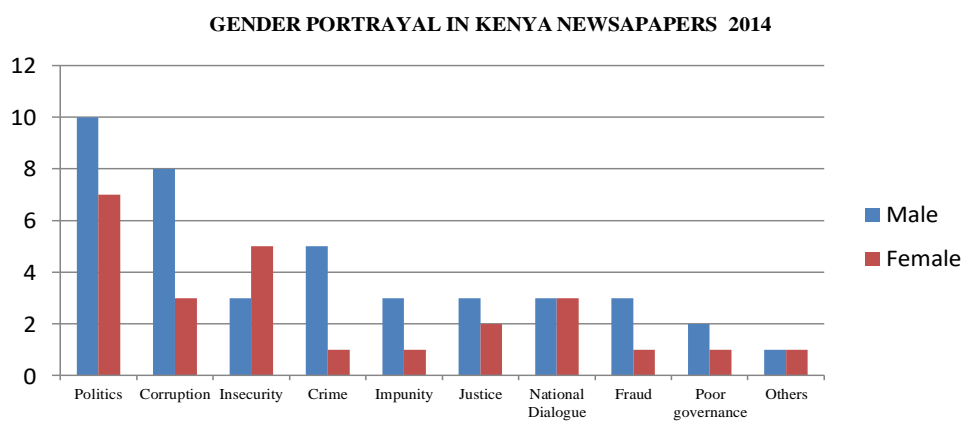


Fig. 4.4: Gender portrayal in Kenya newspaper 2014

The specific details now follows how every issue that has been identified was covered and the gender portrayal that was played out in each of the selected cartoons.

The analysis of the sampled editorial cartoons revealed that the male gender was most dominant in the cartoons. This scenario is not accidental as there are enough hurdles to change the situation. According to the cartoonists, they mostly work on cartoons based on the information from the current news. Interestingly, the male gender dominate the news and therefore most of the cartoons captured what the male gender said or did in the news. The Media Council Report of 2015, revealed that there still exist a serious gap in the portrayal of both men and women in the media in Kenya, largely due to the fact that men dominate newsrooms and active news sources and actors they are bound to eclipse women in the coverage. That in most cases, women are unlikely to offer interviews or even feature as strong sources of news to the report. This report further reveals that female stereotypes in the media tend to undervalue women as a whole while at the same time reducing them to sexual objects and passive human beings particularly in gossip stories, leisure, advertisement and commercials.

Unless something deliberate is done, this situation is bound to persist for some time. According to the gender specialist at the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, the news in Kenya is male dominated and so does not favour women at all. But where is the disconnection? It all starts with the sourcing of news. “How many women are sources of news? Men are quick at organizing press conferences, if they don’t want a particular story to appear, they deny immediately. The men are also quick to be interviewed. They are free to talk to the media. They like are not camera shy. Furthermore, they involved in many issues affecting society. For example, they are involved in scandals, rape, land grabbing, they are in leadership and work in farms among other areas where news can be sourced from. So the men have access to news

reports, editors and finally they control the media houses” In such scenario one would not expect the female gender to feature fairly in news and by extension the cartoons.

From the FIDA point of view it is obviously expected that the male gender has to feature in most of the cartoons because of the formed opinion and bias against the female gender. Most of the cartoons capture the male gender because most of the cartoonists are men and therefore this bias is always reflected not only in cartoons but also in news. This scenario is likely to persist for some time if women do not join the media and more so cartoonist’s category. If this happens, the perspective and perception will obviously change for better. At the moment, the cartoon world is skewed towards the male gender. FIDA has not in the past engaged the media over this glaring concern, but time is ripe for this to happen. FIDA has nevertheless noted that the media is consistently biased against the female gender particularly as they are portrayed in certain contexts such as prostitution and beauty. FIDA is also in agreement that women are always the face of the society. That is the reason when the media wants to emphasize on certain issues such as hunger/famine or even war, the picture that resonates well with the people is a women perhaps with a child suffering. That is what is likely to create an impact that is desired or expected to pump sense in to the readers or the audience. This means that in certain issues, the portrayal of the female gender cannot change even if you were to have a female cartoonist. But obviously others will have to change particularly those that seem to demean or appear to reduce women to sexual objects. FIDA argues that involving women in cartooning will make caricaturing more exciting and perhaps inclusive in terms of perception and perspectives. It will also be more exciting if the male gender involved in cartooning will become more objective in capturing gender in various thematic areas. But this

trend must be changed especially if deliberate efforts are done to highlight the female gender in newspapers. FIDA further argues that the female gender is an important part of the society and must therefore be captured in the news in a manner that is objective and highly inclusive. Such measure according to FIDA will do away with cases of discriminate portrayal of gender in cartoons and by extension to the newspapers.

According to the Gender and Equality Commission, the bias against the female gender or preference for the male gender in the news arena is attributed to the nature of socialization existing in institutions. This form of socialization unfairly places the female gender on the periphery while promoting the male gender. That it is difficult to expect some female gender taking the centre stage while subduing the male gender. That based on this understanding, the female gender is constantly put on the periphery because that is where she is “supposed’ to be. This position has consequently made the cartoonists to portray the female gender as submissive, less aggressive, passive and subordinate to the active and positively portrayed male gender. “You will not expect the journalists or even cartoonists who are mostly of male gender to think any different from what the patriarchal society expects of them. Women are servants and therefore when they caricature them, they are doing lesser positions. The framing nature of women in the media makes them passive and lower in the society compared to their male gender The Gender and Equality Commission exist to promote gender inclusiveness and fights gender discrimination manifested whether in politics, social and economic life.

It should be noted that it took Kenya more than 50 years of the struggle to arrive at a framework that came in the form of the new constitution which still has to be grounded in the minds of the male leaders in Kenya. There is great need to have



gender responsiveness as the basis for socializing the society with the objective to consider men and women on equal basis. That is why article 27 (3) states that both women and men have the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. But this is only attained upon the parliament approving key legislative measures to ensure participation of both gender in the sourcing of news.

The cartoonists focused on various subjects but the most dominant subject matter was politics.

The male gender was negatively represented in most of the cartoons, the male gender was associated with greed, corruption, political violence, land grabbing and many other ills afflicting the society. The more the male gender was involved in the making of news at the national and local levels, the more it was captured all for the wrong reasons. Thus, more than 80 per cent of the cartoons that were analyzed portrayed the male gender in the negative manner. Only less than 10 per cent showed the male gender constructive in the news making.

The female gender was portrayed as weak, helpless, vulnerable, most afflicted and poor. In some cartoons though, the female gender was reduced to sexual objects and agents of beauty. But in some critical cartoons, the female gender was considered the voice of reason and one that could be trusted in areas such as leadership and integrity. But even in these areas, they are lowly portrayed. The male gender feature in these areas but in the negative form. In other words, there were less female gender that was associated with cases of poor governance and lack of integrity compared to the male gender. The *Hustler's Jet cartoon* of 2013 served as the epitome of the sexual abuse to the female gender in the recent times. This cartoon attracted the highest number of the reactions from the social media after it was published in May 2013.

The female gender was eclipsed in many issues that were covered. This is attributed to the fact that in most cases the female gender played a lesser role in the generation of news. That the dominance or otherwise begins from the news making level. It was revealed that the more the male gender was involved in the news, the more it was reflected in the cartoons. After all, cartooning is based on the amount of news or information generated from the current news or developing story appearing in the media.

There was outright exaggeration of facts and the norms in the society as was noted in the infamous Village Market incident in which the former Deputy Chief Justice Nancy Baraza which involved in a security feud. She was later forced out of office. The cartoonist drew a naked man being frisked by a female security person. The socialization in the society will demand that the male frisk the male and the female frisk the women. Cartooning the otherwise is tantamount to exaggerating facts. There could have been the desire to over emphasize the point of how serious the security people were to make sure that there was nothing that was left to chance.

This chapter has revealed the nature of the data that was accessed in the selected cartoons for the year 2012, 2013 and 2014. Each cartoon was scrutinized based on the set criteria for determining the nature of gender portrayal that was demonstrated in the caricature. The selected cartoons revealed major bias towards the male gender as the main news maker for most of the cartoons that were sampled. Each cartoon has been presented the way it was published by the newspaper. The critical data that was revealed by the cartoons now forms important discussion that comes up next.

## **Summary**

This chapter has highlighted specific cartoons that were sampled for the study. A total of 252 cartoons were analysed. Units of analysis were described. The analysis of the sampled cartoons was based on specific factors such as characters, roles, metaphorical assignment, stereotypical overtones, levels of exaggeration and mascot voice among others. On the other hand, the interpretations were accorded to each cartoon to determine the duo messages they conveyed to the readers. Issues that were identified in the cartoons included politics, corruption, land grabbing and poor leadership. Others that were at the centre of the focus of cartoons were education and conflicts among others. Further discussion on the identified issues and the nature of the gender portrayal based on the research questions are provided in this chapter. An attempt has also been made to rank the issues that formed the subject matter of all the cartoons that were sampled and how they affected the gender portrayal. All the sampled cartoons for the study period: 2012, 2013 and 2014 were analyzed as a build up to the discussion and conclusions coming up next.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the issues that were highlighted in the sampled cartoons. Each theme is discussed in the light of the gender portrayal as the central concern of this study. I have discussed each theme that was covered in the editorial cartoons. The discussion for every theme was done in the context of the gender portrayal. The discussion was chronological in nature first focusing on the cartoons that appeared in 2012, followed by 2013 and concluded with those appearing in 2014. The framework for generating message and meaning from the cartoons is also provided.

News coverage is largely based on the occurrences that happen in the society. These occurrences have the actors or the drivers. It is these actors that ultimately make news. These actors or drivers can also be referred to as sources of news. The more actors or sources provide what to be covered the more they appear in the news. In other words, it is their contribution whether negative or positive that ultimately finds its way in to the pages of the newspapers or screens of the television sets. News makers constantly receive limelight especially when they are highly involved in activities that cause the reporters to automatically look for them.

Although cartoons like any other news is a reflection of what happens in the society as highlighted in the print or electronic media, the cartoonists always have the discretion to colour, emphasize or even demean characters based on their interpretation. This means that cartoonists derive their themes from the various issues that are covered in the news but must always add satirical flavor to make it more interesting. The more the issues we have in the media, the more likely such issues

will be reflected in the editorial cartoons depending on how serious they are to the public and policy makers. Indeed this is the more reason this study lays the emphasis on how these cartoons capture gender in news. The role of the cartoonists is reflected in the manner they construct what has happened in the news and accord it the satirical and metaphorical touch. In fact it is such satirical and metaphorical touch of the news that make the readers resonate with what has happened in the society. But it is critical to understand how the cartoonists accord the importance to each occurrence that happen in the society. It is true for a fact that not every news that happen in the society warrants a cartoon. Only certain news deserve to generate a cartoon and that is why this studies becomes extremely an important step towards understanding what informs such treatment by the cartoonists. This study revealed that politics played a significant role . This is attributed to the amount of activities that politicians are engaged in as they influence the public life. Accordingly, the male gender was actively involved in making news in politics. In other words, in most of the editorial cartoons whose theme was politics the male was a dominant gender. Surprisingly, the sampled cartoons revealed that the male gender was majorly associated with negative attributes of lying, being selfish and was behind suppression of the voiceless or marginalized group within the circles of politics. The case in point is a cartoon that depicted a civil servant upon retirement is convicted to join politics. But then he is faced with a disturbing scenario where he is advised to resort to using youths to hurl stones at the opponents as one strategy that would enable him win the election. The cartoonist underscores the murky political waters where perhaps the male gender can swim more comfortably than the female gender. The male gender was also portrayed as selfish and irresponsible to matters leadership.. Associated with politics were such cases as bribery of voters, stone throwing, intimidation and incitements, all being

attributed to the male gender. To the contrary, the female gender was less actively involved in politics and in cases where women were actively involved, the cartoonist provided a stereotypical portrayal of a studiously passive character. But whenever she was cited, the cartoonists framed the female gender as more reliable and trustworthy than the male gender.

The other thematic area that dominated the sampled cartoons was corruption. Now, in matters corruption which also extent to issues of land grabbing and stealing of votes as for the case of elections, the men were the dominant gender not as victims but as aggressors and therefore responsible to the vice. The media reports on the major scandals that have rocked Kenya in the recent past such as the Goldenberg, National Youth Service (NYS), the Eurobond and the Ruraka Land scam among others have had key actors mostly the male gender. In other words women received lesser attention to matters corruption although from these media reports, some of the suspects that were arraigned in court indeed included women. The case in point was the National Youth Service scandal.

Another thematic area that received attention of the media was insecurity or security. This included ethnic violence as well as terrorism. This issue also included ethnic skirmishes witnessed in some sections of Kenya. In this regard, the male gender received premium publicity as the architectures of insecurity. The case in point was Tana Delta conflict pitting the Orma and Pokomo communities against one another. Hence the cartoon: *Tana Delta is Burning*” near Kenya’s national Parliament. Comparatively the vultures of Impunity and ethnicity seem to have visited on the two communities leading to several deaths and displacement of people besides loss of property mainly livestock. The two appear in the form of vultures facing off Tana

River pitch. It would appear that at the time the clashes broke out between the two communities, politicians from the two groups were accusing each other. They ignored most of the peace meetings that were called and even when they attended, they ensured the resolutions could not be implemented to the betterment of the two communities. And that although the male gender was painted the opposite of this, nevertheless, they were evil and always associated with wrong doing. Consequently the female received the least attention in the cartoons that were analyzed. In few incidences, women were also captured to behind insecurity such as the Westgate attack in which some of the suspects were women. In few but equally critical cartoons, women were portrayed as reliable and trusted to offer solutions to societal problems mostly instigated by the male gender.. The case in point is Tana Delta skirmishes where women led demonstrations outside parliament to demand government immediate intervention.

On the other hand, in matters politics and leadership in general, cartoonist the female gender was reflected, they were portrayed as more reliable and trusted than the male gender in regard to politics and leadership.. But the then the question that goes begging is whether some women who have been in leadership have never been associated with negative attributes that would make them be just as bad as their male counterparts.

Other issues that were covered by the editorial cartoons included impunity and terrorism, land and education among others. Just like in the case of politics, the male gender took the centre stage dominating in most of the sampled cartoons. The analysis revealed that the male gender was portrayed in active terms. However, it was also revealed that in the case of violence, the male gender was depicted as perpetrators or

simply characters that were responsible for violence. For example, in all the cartoons that captured greed, robbery and terror attacks, the male character was highlighted as responsible and that on the flipside of it, the female character was portrayed as the victim. The characters captured with big bellies and masked faces were deemed to be of the male gender. This was a significant level of bias against that male gender cut across many cases of looting of the public coffers, cases of land grabbing, abductions and execution of heinous attacks among other ills.. Media reports point to somehow different scenario acknowledging the fact that the female gender is equally involved in the vices that were highlighted. In some related cartoons though, some of the male characters were portrayed as sympathizers of those involved in insecurity and terrorism. In fact some of the men were depicted as catalysts of the incidents of violence that was captured in the media. To the contrary the female gender was least covered or mentioned in cases of violence. Instead, in incidents of violence, the female gender was also portrayed as the victim or victimized.. In some of the critical pieces that were highlighted, the female gender was more seen in the light of weakness and vulnerability. The female gender was also captured as a voice of reason in such cases.

According to the Monrna (2002) gender imbalance in the society have inherently been reflected in the institution of media. This is reflected in the editorial content by either commission in the stories that are never covered or omission by the way the stories are covered. (Media Council 2015 Report on gender; page 3) .It is important to understand that gender equality is not about men and women being the same or equal but it is about their treatment in relation to their rights, responsibilities and access to the opportunities that come their way. In regard to the media in Kenya, this study has



noted that there is no equal treatment of both gender in relation to the way they are portrayed in the newspapers particularly through cartoons. This is confirmed by the Media Council Report on Gender agenda 2015 which states that there still exist a serious gap in the representation of both men and women as men continue to dominate newsrooms and the news sources and actors thereby placing women on the periphery. It is therefore this dominance that eventually played out in the cartooning whether it was in the positive or negative form. For example, looking at all the sampled cartoons that were analyzed, majority of the issues that each cartoon brought out had a connection with the male gender in one way or another.

The other element that was brought out in the cartoons is the issue of stereotypes. Now stereotypes in the media tend to “undervalue women as a whole and diminish them to sexual objects and passive human beings. UNESCO also notes that media (newspapers, radio, television and the new technology) are part of culture and society. It is widely accepted that media are transmitters of culture and engines behind globalizing culture” Now if this globalizing culture has more to do with the male gender then the overall culture will be skewed towards enhancing the male gender culture and socialization than that of the female gender.

## **5.2 Summary**

This chapter has provided discussion on the issues that were identified in chapter four as the findings of the study. Politics, Corruption, scandals, land grabbing, terrorism/insecurity and education were major issues that were highlighted in selected cartoons. The male gender was portrayed as the architect of most of the issues that were reported. However the female gender seems also to take some responsibility for some of the issues. But more significantly, the female gender was

portrayed as weak and vulnerable. In some of the few cartoons, women were perceived as voice of reason and of a character that could easily be trusted for leadership. Most of the cartoons opted for the stereotypical trajectory where men were associated with anything and everything responsible for suffering of mankind while also insisting that after all women are not only agents of beauty but are largely victims of circumstances.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.1 CONCLUSIONS

This study was guided by three research questions. It set out to establish the nature of gender portrayal in editorial cartoons of the two selected newspapers in 2012, 2013 and 2014. The nature of portrayal was to determine the how question. Secondly, the study set aimed at establishing what accounts for the way gender is portrayed in sampled cartoons and by extension to the entire Media House. And lastly, the study set out to find out the views of the civil society specifically gender activists in regard to gender portrayal by the sampled editorial cartoons. Conclusions are therefore developed based on the revelations that were found out based on the three research questions. The conclusions have also been made out of information that was specifically drawn from the sampled cartoons as well as key informant interviews with representative from gender focused institutions and the cartoonists.

1. This study highlights the inability of the cartoonists and by extension the editors of the two dailies to embrace and demonstrate gender sensitivity in the portrayal of men and women in their publications. Although largely the media mirrors the happenings in society, it has the critical power and responsibility to influence perceptions of news consumers. In so doing, the study revealed that cartoonists unconsciously continued to depict men as superior, strong, more violent, land grabbers, architects of examination cheating, corruption and voter bribery among other ills. On the other hand, women were portrayed as burden carriers, although weak, vulnerable and without a say. The net effect of the failure to embrace gender sensitivity therefore led to some of the cartoons eliciting sharp reactions including demonstrations. The case in point is Hylland Posten newspapers in Denmark where 250 people were killed,

Charlie Hebdo in France where 12 people were killed and in Kenya, the infamous Mpigs cartoon elicited sharp reactions from the members of parliament, mostly from the Muslim community.

2. The study revealed that more men were portrayed negatively than women. A total of 207 cartoons captured men, 11 on women and 88 both men and women. Even in cartoons that captured both gender, men were assigned bigger roles than women. Men were mostly portrayed as architects of social ills among them corruption, land grabbing, electoral malpractices, examination cheating and tribal skirmishes among others. For example:

On January 2, 2014, the cartoon on Upgrading game by greedy men in masks of hyena are eating meat and throwing bones to the dustbin where a woman is waiting to scavenge for food. They pretend to be kind by throwing some of the bones to the hungry women with a baby strapped on her back. The two men are trigger happy with what prevailed in 2013 and so vow to upgrade their game of earning everything. This upgrading is all about “eating and finishing” to the unfair disadvantage of the many hungry and the needy people.. As the two upgrade their game of eating, *Wanjiku* and her child are starving and for her to survive the only option is scavenge for leftovers. These two animals represent the greed among the leaders and according to cartoonist, majority of those involved in graft are of the male gender. Most of the sampled cartoons portrayed men as corrupt and majorly responsible for the many ills that affect the citizens. According to the media reports, some of the mega scandals that have happened in Kenya since the 1990s and which majority of the suspects have been men include the Goldenberg in which millions The chicken scandal seemed to have got most of the Kenyans unaware, but it happened allegedly

to members of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) with the intention of tilting the election landscape as of that time. Other scandals that generated a lot of political heat were the Cemetery land, the Maize scandal and more recently National Youth Service (NYS scam which forced Anne Waiguru, the then Cabinet Secretary in charge of Devolution out of office. It would appear that majority of the suspects in all those appear to have been the male gender. However, for the case of the NYS, there were both gender with the leading figure of Anne Waiguru, who has since resigned from the cabinet responsibilities in readiness for the gubernatorial race against former Gichugu Member of Parliament Martha Karua. The tide was in favour of former, now Governor Anne Waiguru.

Still on leadership and the diminishing integrity of men is what was highlighted in a cartoon of March 8, 2012 in the *Daily Nation*. It is the PROSTITUTION MADE IN KENYA revealing that while those who really practiced prostitution in Kenya were willing and ready to pay taxes, Members of Parliament, who were equally involved in some form of prostitution, whether politically or socially, were not at all willing to pay the tax.. The irony? Members of Parliament are equally involved in prostitution at least according to this cartoon. They are in any case in the same bed and maybe in same act like prostitutes, they are nevertheless not willing to pay any form of tax.. While it was true that perhaps life was harder for the Kenyan politician than anyone else, it was totally lack of sense of integrity and accountability to rob the public coffers with excess allowances and hefty salaries while at the same time discarding the need to pay taxes. That is why the cartoonist offered to provide the readers with a caricature of a male Member of Parliament in the same bed with the prostitution. And so the message “ *Basically we belong to the same profession.* ” The only difference is

that the lady is willing to pay the tax but the man is not willing to part with any cent. In apparent reference to love for money, the male gender in the name of the Members of Parliament were captured in the news as they awarded themselves 15 million Kenya shillings as their gratuity.

It therefore means that when dealing with matters of corruption and embezzlement of public funds as captured in the cartoons, it would be fair and objective to portray both gender as causes and victims of the vice. In a related cartoon, appearing in the *Daily Standard* of March 13, 2014, a man sits in a swimming pool with three women basking and smoking. He talks about the wage bill and subsidies as a part in the air. The man is not only relaxing He is drinking and smoking as well in a manner suggesting that money he is spending actually belongs to the public. And so, the issue of the wage bill does not strike his sensual cord at all and if it does it is mere hot air. He is in company of three women ostensibly to satisfy his desires. Again, the cartoon portrays the male gender as corrupt and irresponsibly wasting public funds on lavish lifestyle. The male gender is the cause of the suffering. But on the other hand, the cartoonist depicts women as agents of beauty and satisfaction for the male gender. The male gender is superior and loaded with money while the female gender is there to simply satisfy the male sexual needs. In similar circumstances, a county governor sitting at the centre is surrounded by the Members of the County Assembly wearing animals masks threatening to impeach the governor. The MCAs are represented by the male gender. They confirm the fact that the male gender is at the centre of abuse of office and corruption in the society. The MCAs want to impeach the governor because of refusing to approve their allowance. On September 10, there is yet another interesting cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation*. . It captures two male adults. One is

an ex-government official who want to join politics.. He is loaded with money in a briefcase. On the other hand, is a man who seems to be a specialist in helping politicians gain popularity and eventually get voted in despite how. The second man , holding what seems 2007 bomb, seems to be putting up his advert which partly reads “ FANATICS FOR HIRE, SEEKING ANY ELECTION POSITION? NEED CROWDS TO LOOK FORMIDABLE? LOOK FOR NO FURTHER CALL.....CHARGES ARE NEGOTIABLE. WE HURL STONES AT DISCOUNTED RATES”

In this cartoon, the male gender is associated with electoral malpractices. The cartoon seems to suggest that for anyone to win an election, he or she must always employ these unfair means however hurting they are to the competitors and the general electorate. Hurling stones, hired crowds just to name a few are all crude ways of ascending to power. . In other words it is a recipe for violence if it goes unchecked and no wonder, the man in the cartoon is holding what seems to a bomb as a reminder of the 2007/08 electoral violence in which thousands were killed, hundreds of thousands displaced and many others lost their property.

It is Thursday May 17, 2012, the 10<sup>th</sup> parliament is captured in as it prepares to go for yet another election. And in a bid to secure their financial base, parliament decides to award themselves some send off salary package . The cartoonist captures the MPs led by men to declare “*Brothers and sisters, lets eat before we all go home!*” Another male MP adds “ *Yes, we may never see the inside of the August House Again!*” The cartoonist captures the MPs crowded near the public coffers are they make these pronouncements. Interestingly, woman voice comes at the tail end of the conversation , “*Hey, do not finish for me*” According to this cartoon, the male gender is on the forefront stealing from the public coffer. On September 12, 2012, the cartoon appearing in the *Daily Nation* is about the worrying situation in the Tana Delta region where communities were fighting each other. A woman is standing outside the National Parliament with the Newspapers whose headline is “ TANA DELTA BURNS” Meanwhile, there seems to be a debate in parliament and one member shouts “MR SPEAKER SIR, TUNAOMBA SERIKALI.....” But the mascot wonders “WHICH OTHER

GOVERNMENT” The cartoonist did not mince his words as he brought out the fighting in Tana Delta in which hundreds were killed as the Orma and Pokomo communities fought over pasture, water and land. In this cartoon, although MPs are busy debating in parliament, it is the woman outside parliament who seems more concerned than everybody else. The female gender in case t is linked to raising critical issues that affect society than the male gender. On September 9, 2012, cartoon appearing in the Daily Nation captures a strong man dipping his hands in the bag of an old woman for more taxes as the same man entices the woman with coins. The cartoon was published at the time when employees of most institutions demanded increased salaries. So the Government went a head to concede and give in to some of the demands but equally put in more punitive measures to reap more from the people. The man represents the government which is strong and has powers. On the other hand, the workers are represented by a an old woman, weak and vulnerable who can only function at the mercy of a man.

It is important to note that out of the many cartoons that were sampled and analyzed, there were perhaps only two cartoons that were positive on the character of the male gender when it came to aspects of leadership. The cartoon on the late Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa, really stands out. In this particular cartoon, the late Madiba, Africa’s freedom fighter the cartoonist was passionate about highlighting the contribution made by the first South African President. The cartoonist was more biblical stating how he had finished the race and was finally being ushered by the angels in Heaven. The other cartoon highlights the late Otieno Kajwang, former Homa Bay Senator. The cartoonist painted a picture of the later orator receiving a standing ovation of its kind after passing on, he is finally received in heaven. But as he enters the gates of heaven, he alerts *the angels by singing his favourite song Bado mapambano. Malaika msilale, lale, lale malaika msilale, babo mapambano mapambano, mapambano, bado mapambano.*

3. The study also found out that editorial cartoons are laced with stereotypical overtones that could undermine the quest for gender parity. In this regard, cartoonists and by extension editors have unconsciously demonstrated this



bias and stereotypical overtones by portraying more men than women as corrupt, greedy, land grabbers, examination cheaters, fraudulent in elections, robbers, inciters and sympathizers of conflicts, war and terrorism among others. Some of the cartoons highlighted community conflict like for the case of Tana Delta, others highlighted impunity and arrogance as was the case of hurling stones at the late Kofi Anaa cartoon despite having played an important role in resolving the 2007/08 political violence in Kenya. Some cartoons were critical of the poor governance, cases of corruption, land grabbing and general abuse of office as was witnessed in the cartoon that highlighted increased wage bill by an irresponsible civil servant misusing money in a beach hotel. The hustler's jet cartoon of May 2013 was laced with misuse of power and sexual abuse. Consequently, the issue of massaging the senior government official became a source of public outcry and national protest by the women folk. The riots that rocked France and Denmark following the publication of the cartoons that disparaged Mohammed and the demonstrations and criticism that greeted the *Daily Nation* following the publication of the cartoon of *MPigs*, are all pointers to the outright bias towards men and accompanied stereotypical overtones. These and many other cartoons that were sampled bear witness to the fact that they are more associated with the male gender and in itself that is a cause to worry in such time as this when the world seems united towards looking for a solution to gender disparity and discrimination. The following examples of the cartoons demonstrate the extent of bias that was demonstrated by the cartoonists. On January 4, 2012, an editorial cartoon published in the *Daily Nation* captures a man christened 2011 and the young man christened 2012.

The old man says “MAKE SURE YOU GET THAT RIGHT, YOUNG MAN” as he exits the stage. The young man holding a card written “ELECTION DATE” seems perplexed. The two years are represented by the male gender perhaps pointing to the possibility of how the male gender dominated the affairs of the two years. In a similar cartoon appearing in the Daily Standard, a man emerges from a heap christened 2011 as he heads towards 2012. The heap comprises Sinai fire tragedy, high cost of living, inflation, evictions, and internally displaced persons crisis among others. Interestingly, despite emerging from this heap he dons a shirt written on “HAKUNA MATATA” but wonders loudly whether “IT CAN GET ANY WORSE THAN THIS?”

On June 3, 2013, the cartoon in the *Daily Nation* show The house committee chaired by the Speaker wanting pay rise and the person to shoulder is the public represented by the female gender. Now, they are taking everything from the woman. One leg is gone, a hand is followed and finally the speaker says “....AND YOUR BREAST, TOO!!” This committee consists of men some appearing in masks of hyena and pigs, symbols for greed. The male gender is synonymous with greedy and desire for wealth and more wealth.

On October 2014, two scenarios are highlighted in a cartoon about the work of the late Kofi Annan. In the first case, Kenya-represented by a woman with a baby strapped on her back is captured kneeling down ( an act of humility) and asking Kofi Annan to help. That was 2008. But in a contrast, today, the same woman is now hurling stones at Kofi Annan. The cartoonist used a woman to symbolize Kenya. However, in the actual sense, the people who were hurling insults at Kofi Annan, based on the news reports at that time, were e politicians mostly of the male gender

4. This study underscores the importance of cartoons in general and editorial cartoon in particular for amplifying issues for national conversation on matters critical, gender inclusive. Therefore what is published must be critical enough and must be carefully packaged to promote gender parity. Editorial cartoons sampled in this study ably highlighted cases of corruption, examination cheating, terrorism and land grabbing, insecurity, poor governance to cause those responsible to act immediately. By highlighting corruption, heads have rolled in parastatals, ministries and state corporations. The National Youth and Kenya Ports Authority are the examples among many in this category.

In summary this study highlights the inability of the cartoonists and by extension the editors of the two dailies to embrace and demonstrate gender sensitivity in the portrayal of men and women as they appear in cartoons. It further reveals that investing in gender sensitivity reporting, objective and fair depiction of both men and women in news in general and editorial cartoons in particular is a critical step towards resolving the gender question in Kenya and beyond. It further shows how editorial cartoons are heavy laden with gender bias and stereotypical overtones that could undermine the quest for gender parity. In this respect, cartoonists and by extension editors have unconsciously demonstrated this bias and stereotypical overtones by selectively linking more men than women to corruption, land grabbing, examination cheating, election fraud, robbery and terrorism among others. This study underscores the importance of cartoons in general and editorial cartoon in particular for amplifying issues for national conversation on matters critical, gender inclusive. Therefore what is published must be critical enough and equally must be carefully packaged devoid of any form of bias and stereotypical overtones that can easily undermine the quest for gender parity.

## 6.2 Recommendations

This study established that gender portrayal in editorial cartoons is glaringly biased, stereotypical in nature and largely tilted towards promoting male dominance. Interestingly even in cases where the male characters enjoyed dominance in the coverage, it was crystal clear from the research that most of those that were involved in news s excelled so much in negative issues. Some of the issues where the character and style of male individual were found wanting included corruption, examination cheating, electoral malpractice and land grabbing. Others were misused of public funds, conflict and poor leadership. . In addition, most of the cartoons that featured the female characters were seen in the light of objects of beauty and instruments of making men happy. But in a few exceptional cases, women enjoyed favorable portrayal especially in cartoons that featured leadership and honesty. In such illustrations, it was evident that the female gender is strong and reliable while the male gender is cunning and unreliable. Based on this disturbing and yet informative picture arising from the gender portrayal study, I make several recommendations that will help address some of the findings that have been highlighted . It is my view that changing the gender narrative requires a multi-sectoral approach build on the principle of consistency and repetition.

1. Gender Sensitivity cartooning. There is dire need to remove any form of bias and stereotypical overtones in cartooning from development to publication. The recent incident where Homeboyz Radio sacked presenters Shaffie Weru, Joseph Munoru (DJ Joe Mfalme) and Neville Muysa, for controversial comments that appeared to demean a woman who was thrown off a building after she reportedly refused man's advances has lived tell the tale. Although punitive, it confirms that

the ultimate responsibility to remove bias and stereotypical overtones lies with the media house. Borrowing from Anita Ramsak who developed guidelines for gender sensitivity reporting, paying attention to gender sensitivity cartooning is part and parcel of the norms that support efforts that depict the world in a more inclusive way.. Truly, as she argued, removing bias and stereotypes in whichever cartoon starts from sourcing. Sourcing is critical because it will determine who receives what level of prominence. Sourcing also determines the issues that need to be highlighted or not. Such step is what will guarantee and reflect the real picture of what the society and human experience in general is all about . Borrowing from UNESCO report of 2012, key issues of gender sensitivity reporting including cartooning is selection of sources and stories in a manner that targets both gender, fair portrayal of women and men through elimination of stereotypes which reinforces negative perception to the readers application of gender friendly and fair language that gives equal attention to both men and women, thus eliminating superiority and inferiority aspects of life. And even more fundamentally, gender sensitivity reporting is a management issue where gender equality has to be seen in the eye of the media leadership structures where both men and women are represented.

2. Retraining and awareness creation. Cartoonists and the entire editorial team involved in production of cartoons urgently require sensitization and awareness creation on matters gender. Cartoonists require regular reminder on basic guidelines of developing cartoons that appeal to the readers. Lessons learnt from the French attacks of 2015 and demonstration in Kenya against the MPigs tug suggest that cartooning for public consumption is a sensitive matter and that

cartoonists and editors need to be sensitive to the likely feelings of the targeted readers . To achieve this, strong partnership of media actors namely, Media owners Association, Editors Guild, the Media Council, Association of Media Women in Kenya (AWIKI), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, National Cohesion and Integration Commission, National Gender and Equality Commission, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and all the media training institutions.

3. Curriculum development for cartooning. Cartooning just like photography deserves a more serious attention for talent promotion and quality service delivery. Incentives such as annual awards for best cartoonists will slowly but surely improve cartooning in Kenya. This intervention also require strong partnership of media actors namely Media owners Association, Editors Guild, the Media Council, Association of Media Women in Kenya (AWIKI), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, National Cohesion and Integration Commission, National Gender and Equality Commission, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and all the media training institutions.
4. Further studies on the portrayal of gender cartoons in Electronic Media (Television). Gender portrayal by editorial cartoons in the post covid-19 era in Kenya are important areas for escalating this study to greater heights.

In conclusion, although cartoons like news reflect the nature of society that is framed, they have a critical role to influence people through framing of characters in news. This study has demonstrated the serious gender bias and stereotypical overtones affecting editorial cartooning and calls for urgent removal of such bias and stereotypes, retraining and awareness creation for cartoonists and development of a

curriculum for cartooning as well as introduction of annual awards as part of talent promotion and enhanced professionalism in cartooning. And more fundamentally, further investigation is necessary focusing on Gender portrayal by editorial cartoons in the post covid-19 era as well as Gender portrayal by cartoons in the Electronic media (Television), will all be an important step towards enriching the current study.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I: NACOSTI AUTHORIZATION LETTER AND PERMIT



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,  
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349, 310571, 2219420  
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When replying please quote

9<sup>th</sup> Floor, Uthuli House  
Uhuru Highway  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/16/59538/9415**

Date:

**1<sup>st</sup> April, 2016**

Moses Wanyama Masinde  
Moi University  
P.O Box 3900-30100  
**ELDORET.**

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Gender portrayal in newspapers in Kenya: An analysis of editorial cartoons,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi and Uasin Gishu Counties** for a period ending **1<sup>st</sup> April, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, Nairobi and Uasin Gishu Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

**BONIFACE WANYAMA  
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. MOSES WANYAMA MASINDE**  
**of MOI UNIVERSITY , 0-30100 ELDORET**  
**has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Nairobi, Uasin-Gishu**  
**Counties**  
**on the topic: GENDER PORTRAYAL IN**  
**NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA: AN ANALYSIS**  
**OF EDITORIAL CARTOONS**  
**for the period ending:**  
**1st April,2017**

Applicant's  
 Signature

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/59538/9415**  
**Date Of Issue : 1st April,2016**  
**Fee Received :Ksh 2,000**



*(Signature)*  
 Director General  
 National Commission for Science,  
 Technology & Innovation

**CONDITIONS**

- 1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit**
- 2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.**
- 3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.**
- 5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.**
- 6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice**



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science,  
 Technology and Innovation

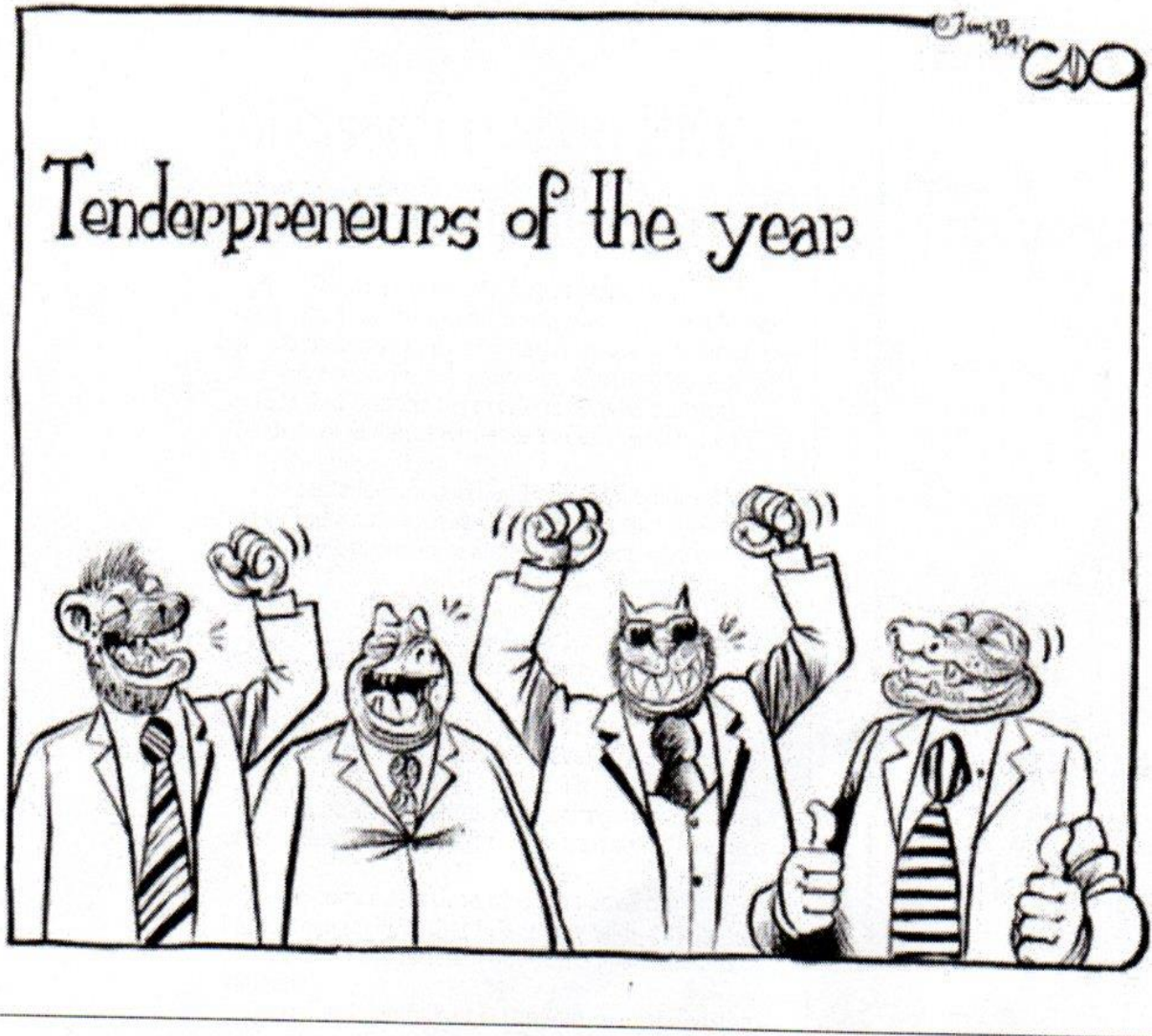
**RESEARCH CLEARANCE**  
**PERMIT**

Serial No. A **8372**

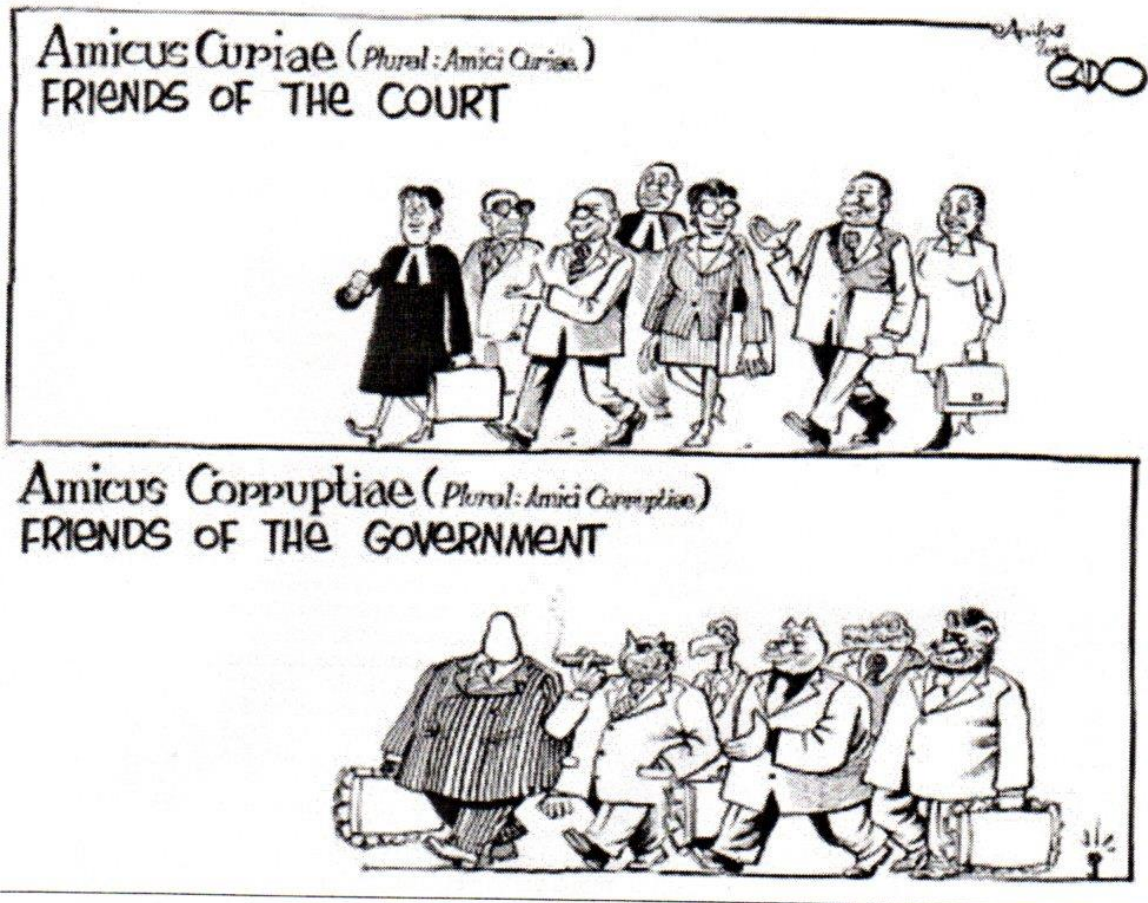
APPENDIX II: HUSLERS JET



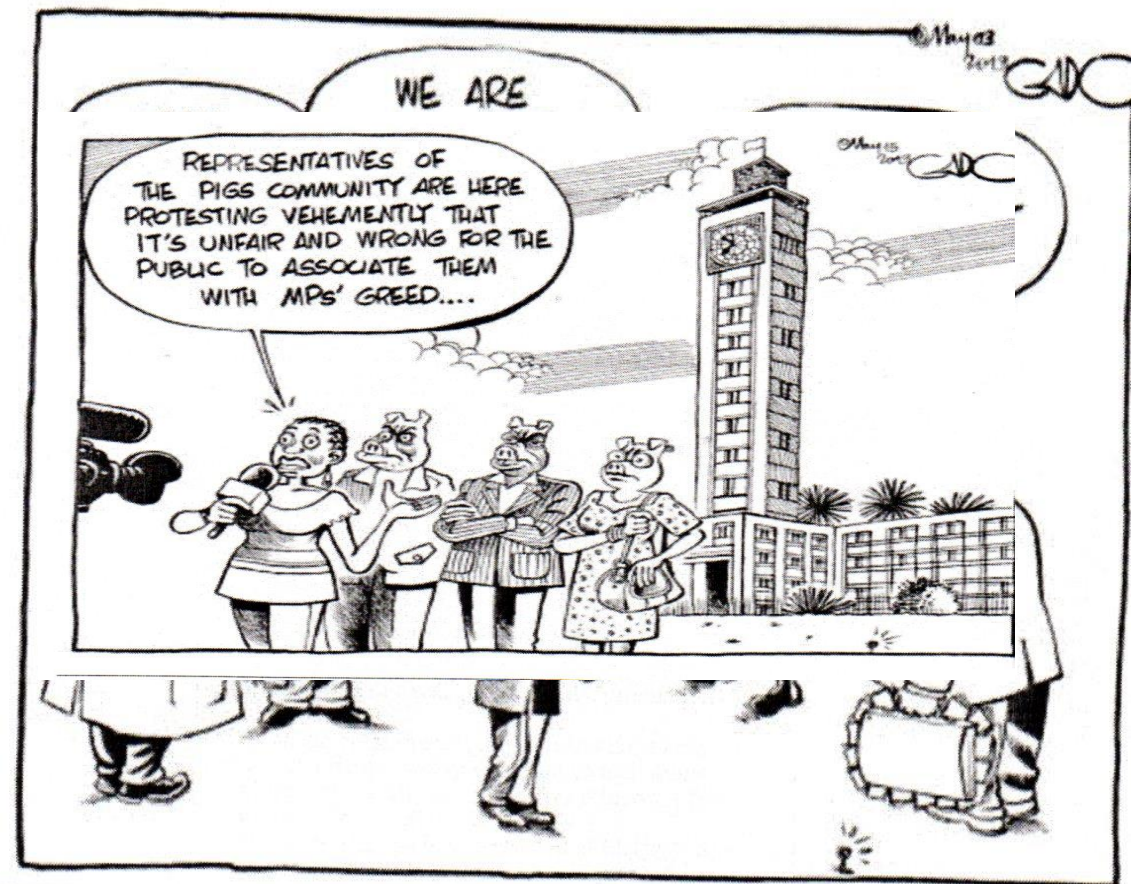
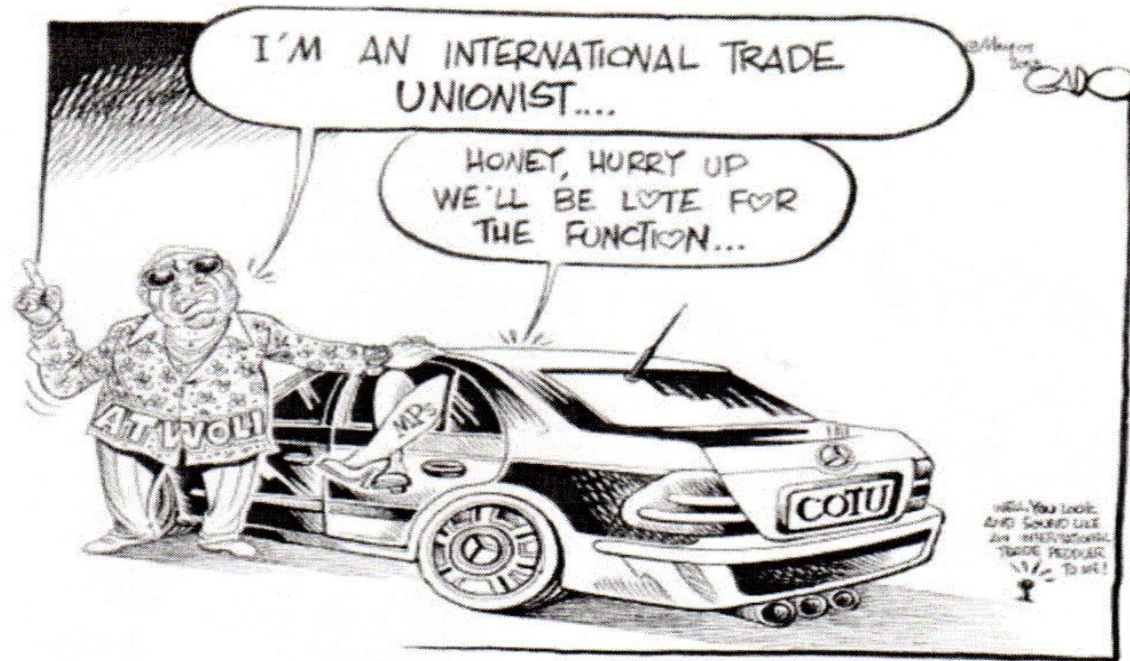
APPENDIX III: TENDERPRENEURS OF THE YEAR



APPENDIX IV: FRIENDS OF THE COURT



APPENDIX V: INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONIST





## APPENDIX VII: CARTOON STATISTICS

<b>Cartoon statistics</b>		
<b>Year</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
2012	84	33.3
2013	84	33.3
2014	84	33.3
Total	252	100.0
<b>Paper</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Daily Nation	126	50.0
The Standard	126	50.0
Total	252	100.0
<b>Theme</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Missing	21	8.3
Hope	8	3.2
Politics	63	25.0
Justice	29	11.5
Security	16	6.3
Health	4	1.6
Leadership	5	2.0
Constitutionalism	6	2.4
War	4	1.6
Governance	24	9.5
Immigration	1	.4
Taxation	1	.4
Development	3	1.2
Floods/ Disaster	7	2.8
Integrity	4	1.6
Elections	4	1.6
Theft of public resources	1	.4
Tribalism/ethnicity	3	1.2
Terrorism	5	2.0
Banking	1	.4
Economy	8	3.2
Corruption	20	7.9
Religion	4	1.6
Sports	4	1.6

Education	3	1.2
land issues	3	1.2
Total	252	100.0
<b>Gender</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Missing	16	6.3
Male	127	50.4
Female	11	4.4
Both	98	38.9
Total	252	100.0
<b>Mascot voice</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Missing	16	6.3
None	180	71.4
Yes	56	22.2
Total	252	100.0
<b>Judgement</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Missing	16	6.3
Biased&stereotypical	205	81.3
Unbiased	31	12.3
Total	252	100.0

**APPENDIXVII: INTERVIEW ONE: SAMWEL MUIGAI OF NATION  
NEWSPAPER**

**Mr Wanyama**

My analysis of your cartoons revealed that 42% of your cartoons were of the male gender whereby the female gender received a dismal coverage of 4.1%. Why is this case?

**Muigai**

The content of editorial cartoons is dictated by events of the day. If the subject is male dominated, for the reader to understand or identify with the story, the cartoon has to be male. If female, then the cartoon will be female. Again, most cartoons are negative or they focus on the wrongs so that we can have a change in society. If women become more active they start to receive more coverage.

**Mr Wanyama**

From my analysis, topics to do with land grabbing and corruption, male gender is commonly captured. Does it mean women aren't involved in corruption or grabbing?

**Muigai**

I wouldn't say that women are not involved but if you take a sample of the common scandals such as Anglo-leasing, Goldenberg, Langata cemetery, Eurobond Karen land all you'll see that males are involved. Only NYS scandal has women mentioned but then the male dominance in these scandals kills the female presence.

**Mr Wanyama**

Further, in the minimal percentage representing women, it is depicted that women are weak, hunger, famine vulnerable and sex objects. Your comment on this?

**Muigai**

Why we use women in cases for example hunger and famine is to illustrate how intense the famine is if you use a man it might be misinterpreted to mean that the man is lazy. Using a woman and a child will easily connect with the readers.

**Wanyama**

What about prostitution?

**Muigai**

Prostitution is done by both genders but the females are leading in numbers that is why their representation high. Again, if you walk around town you'll find women standing in some streets soliciting for money through sex but chances of you finding men are limited or few.

**Wanyama**

Are there specific issues where women must feature?

**Muigai**

It goes back to society. If you ask me to do a cartoon on social life for example family success I will definitely use women there. This is because they are better house managers.

**Wanyama**

Any principles that guide you?

**Muigai**

The law is the major principle, media house principle and self regulation.

**Wanyama**

Thank you very much for giving me your valuable time.

**Muigai**

Asante sana

## **INTERVIEW TWO: KHAM OF STANDARD NEWSPAPER**

**Mr Wanyama**

From my research on the standard newspaper, only 7.1% of the cartoons portrayed female characters and another 7.1% were neutral characters while the rest were male characters. Why is this the case?

**Kham**

One thing you must take into account is that most of the cartoons we do are political and until very recently even after affirmative action, there were very few women in politics that should tell you why their representation was that minimal. As editorial cartoonist we mainly go into politics, and I even remember a time when there were only three women in parliament and if the three women are not news makers then how are they going to be relevant to us knowing that our business is not making news but portray what politicians do.

**Mr Wanyama.**

Further, of the 7.1% female represented had to be associated with sexual harassment and of weaker character? Why is this the case?

**Kham**

With the few women in politics and their absence from making news you would at times find them in controversial stories and we had to draw that because that is what even the media would pick and knowing that our work is not to report good things but to criticize and if something comes up that need to be criticized they we would gladly do it.

**Mr Wanyama**

My research on cartoons revealed that the male gender was dominant in the police force yet in real sense we have a considerable number of females in the force. Why should this be the case?

**Kham**

The ratio of males to females in the police force is not equal. Do you see females in the flying squad running around and shooting criminals? Do we have females officers in senior positions? No. only one policewoman was deputy IG but she was removed and we were never told the reason. Again, when there is a riot to be quelled do you see female police deployed on such occasions? No, there are not there. Even you as a reader you will not connect if I draw a policewoman quelling a riot carrying a 'rungu'. To us what connects with the reader is what is really important because we are a mirror of the society we do not try to change the trends if you are mirroring a society that is what the people want to see and what they will understand because that is the most important thing.

**Mr Wanyama**

Does it then mean that there are no women who can quell a riot or the drawing is formed from a preconceived attitude or perception about the gender?

**Kham**

Most of the things we do are preconceived and it is not an issue of whether a woman can or cannot do something in fact they say what a man can do a woman can do it and even better. But is that the reality? Look at when the soldiers go to Somalia how many women were killed? How many women do you see in a riot?

**Mr Wanyama**

In the same papers, cases of insecurity and vulnerability women dominated while in cases of misuse of office, land grabbing, corruption men dominated. Your comment on that please.

**Kham**

We report on the news not create. We take news from the society and give it to the wider society. In reality men are involved in these things than women. No women were involved in Anglo-leasing, Chicken-gate and Eurobond. In NYS scandal only two women were mentioned the rest were men.

**Mr Wanyama**

Are we going to have equal portrayal of gender?

**Kham**

Ten years ago we had affirmative action but it didn't materialize. We have a new constitution that has empowered women and now we are beginning to have that conversation. That is our starting point. Even Rwanda did not get more women in parliament in one day, it is a process. Even Kenya has many women in parliament than any time in history. We've started a journey but we are not yet there.

Mr Wanyama

Your parting shot

**Kham**

If you look my earlier cartoons like in the 1990s when we had one or two women in politics, you couldn't find female cartoons. Nowadays I do more women. When I'm doing illustrations for civil societies and NGOs, I always observe gender, religion and people with disability. There has been a change in the right direction. In other sectors, we've women but only in politics women are not catching up.

**Mr Wanyama**

Any principles you follow while doing cartoons?

**Kham**

Yes. We have principles. We try not to be abusive, malicious and draw out of context. At the end of the day we come up with cartoons that excite people. We pay attention to journalistic code of ethics. We try to avoid controversies by all means.

**Wanyama**

Thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to interview you especially on this critical subject of looking at the gender portrayal.

**Kham**

Thank you very much

.

### **INTERVIEW THREE: MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA**

#### **Mr Wanyama**

My name is Moses Wanyama Masinde I am a PhD student at Moi university and my area of study is gender portrayal in the newspapers using editorial cartoons as a reference or unit of analysis I have done some sampled cartoons and I have realized that both nation and standard ; all the 42 cartoons that I have been able to analyze realized that most of the cartoons only portray male as the dominant character I have also realized that 7. 1 of the characters who have been reading the cartoons are women

In your own monitoring what are some of the discoveries you have made in relation to the way characters are portrayed in the media or by the newspapers particularly nation and standard

#### **Mr Ratemo**

We did a recent report on gender presentation in the media which is actually the same thing because that still the same content but using cartoons we can have collage using pictures print or written word so what you found is not different from what you found because our study was wider because we were even looking at the gender of journalist managers newsmakers in the media majority of the sources we discovered are men and for instance we discovered that 62% of articles in the newspapers are not liaised who were written by them meaning probably those who write stories the journalists we have more men than women so the women we don't know where they disappeared to and 86.4 % of the journalists reported or covered general stories prior the period which was of the study that means despite the stories being done majority are done by men and most likely now if you may want to do a study that most of the subjects were men whether in cartoons breaking news even in our leadership positions majority are men and those who create news must be in leadership positions either politicians and those who are vocal

So there is no way you can expect more women to be represented if they are not sources of news and if the people writing stories are not female. So there's a correlation between who is writing the story and we asked if they have a gender policy in the media, whether when you write a story there should be gender balance in it and we found out that most media houses do not have a gender policy. So when you are having sources for your stories there is no requirement that the story must be balanced, if you are using two men use two women, no! So if there is no gender policy then it is not consistent then automatically you find the majority takes the day and we found out that 72% of the journalists interviewed that media did not have gender awareness workshops. Most media organizations do not have gender diversity policy and significant stereotypes are found in the Kenyan media mainly in advertisements, commercials and news items.

When women are used they are either used as sex objects, or in commercials, advertisements to please men. But when it comes to news articles, cartoons are part of editorials and that where we usually get like hard news. So just like in more articles,

we have more men because cartoons follow the editorial category then what you found out is also what we also found out in the gender and media policy.

**Mr Wanyama**

As a media council, do you find that is a concern that you probably want to pick up and see how you can somehow create a framework where there is a deliberate effort that is being made by the media houses at least to highlight issues affecting women not necessarily in a negative perspective?

**Mr Ratemo**

Yes. In fact we have recommendations, since every report has recommendations. We discovered that female journalists are not favored in our media houses even when they are going out, most of the events out there are not favorable for them.

**Mr Wanyama.**

What do you mean by favored? Are you saying they are ill-prepared? Or are they not well-trained?

In Moi, we are training all the journalists. We have ladies and gentlemen.

**Mr Ratemo.**

Yes, we are in some public engagements. Look at even the huge cameras and tripods we have in the newsroom. You give a man to rush to parliament or a riot place, he will carry the tripod and the camera and rush because he will be able to run but you can't risk giving that to a young journalist or a lady who has may be put on high heel shoe or is scared. Sometimes, it may be because of the way we are created. Sometimes conditions in the news room favor men than women and that is why you mostly find that there are more male camera men than female. Because even the kind of cameras, you find that, there could be slightly more women in photography because the cameras are smaller but majority come to videography. Sometimes they are required to work late in the night, and if she is a mother, there are some things she cannot do and even in the newsrooms, we have seen it even in the Press pass, that having female characters to come for late night shows is a hand-off, as they always ask for their security and having them sometimes is difficult because they have other responsibilities and staying late into the studio is not easy and sometimes they are not very open to the media. But men, sometimes they even seek for coverage and so naturally, even if we do nothing, men will come out stronger because they are many in numbers and the way they behave. They are not scared of darkness, they can stay late, and very quickly you can organize an interview with them and they are available. But women sometimes are slippery and so that's the trend. Look at the cartoonists, how many are women? How many have you talked to?

**Mr Wanyama**

I have talked to two so far, and both are men.

**Mr Ratemo**

Are you aware of a female one you are going to talk to next?

**Mr Wanyama**

I have not found any, may be if you can give me her contact.

**Mr Ratemo**

I have no idea. But as a media council, I know we have gender misrepresentation in the media because majority of reporters are men. And you find that majority of female journalists or female media personalities could be presenters and TV reporters. But in the case of newspapers you will find that majority of those stories are mostly written by men and if they are really easy does it mean it is easier to interview to get a comment from a male as opposed to a female? And may be females are shy of media somehow.

**Mr Wanyama**

Going back to the cartoons, I realize for example where women have received prominent publicity are in cases where we have subjects such as prostitution, aspects of massage, sexual harassment, insecurity and famine. I don't know if you really agree with the media portraying that or rather indicating that female gender is weak and associated with such aspects. I have a casing point, for example, the infamous cartoon of the hustler's jet of 2013, in May. We had another one talking about Berlusconi, where he was being ushered in Kenya and the people who were ushering him in were hostesses, who were women. And they were saying that this is the only country where you can get people who are corrupt, womanizer and that kind of thing. And people who were ushering Berlusconi since he had been taken to court in Italy and he was coming back to Kenya and that's the only place he can be welcomed. And we also had cases where another cartoon that really generated a lot of heat, we remember the demonstration was there, I think the women peace were up in arms because of the way cartoons were drawn. I also referred to a cartoon that caused riot and individual killing of journalists in France.

Have you been monitoring and picking some of the cartoons that you think can easily border on aspects of discrimination and more so gender?

**Mr Ratemo**

Yes, because when we do our cordial analysis, for us we have not done a specific one on cartoons but whenever we get an article, a picture or a cartoon, we just take it as an article. If the subjects are male, then we classify it as male. So the report was only inclusive of the pictures and cartoons.

**Mr Wanyama**

So you have pictures, cartoons, and texts when dealing with newspapers and even media houses radio. And you covered even the media house as an organization?

**Mr Ratemo**

Yes, whether the men are up there, the women are up there, and if they are not up there, then it means they can't make decisions, they cannot even push for gender balance. First of all if there is no gender policy, then it is very difficult because it is just by doing an errand after you do research, that's when you find all this disparity. So we came up with recommendations that target that there should be gender policy.

**Mr Wanyama**



In line with that, apart from singling out those cases, what do you do as a media council, because I know you oversee professional output by Kenyan media?

**Mr Ratemo**

We have had complaints of journalists harassed even sexually and probably that could be the leading cause of why more female journalists don't last long in the newsroom. They get frustrated. We usually publish art magazines here, there is one on ethics. We discovered that sexual harassment in newsroom is real. And when female journalists are harassed when they are young, they opt out; they go into PR and advertising. Yes they have done communication on media but, they are not actively important in the newsroom. So naturally you find, the balance is slightly towards men because men are not scolorous most of the time. Or maybe they have a thick skin. Media is a mirror of society so that jobs deemed easy they are left for women.

**Mr Wanyama**

You seem to agree with the media that the way they have done it is the way it is?

**Mr Ratemo**

No. that is the sorry state. That is the reality. The only thing we can do is to put in mechanisms to change the situation. Media houses should have a room for mothers to breastfeed like what safaricom has. This perhaps will change the perception.

**Mr Wanyama.**

You say you have published the report. What next?

**Mr Ratemo.**

Changing the situation cannot start without the media. We must have gender balance policies. For example, if there is an article let there be balance. If it a cartoon about men today, let's focus on women tomorrow or let's not portray women as the weaker gender always. But the question comes, how practicable is that? The dynamics in media houses are immense, do you balance stories then what? Let there be reality.

We need to engage media on the importance of considering gender balance as an essential element within and outside media, they need to increase the space for women in media and outside. For example, with the advancement in technology, let us have female-friendly gadgets such as cameras and other equipment. If there are issues of sexual harassment, let the media deal with them.

**Mr Wanyama.**

You say you will engage the media to better the situation. What are you going to do to the sources of news because they too have a stake in this because if there are more men issuing stories than women then there is no way the situation is going to change?

**Mr Ratemo.**

True. That is why other sectors are encouraging women to go for elective positions rather than nomination. This will make them have a say in news making. The curriculum also needs to be relooked so that female journalists can know what exactly to expect.

**Mr Wanyama**

Finally, what message do you have for cartoonists especially relating to this topic?

**Mr Ratemo.**

Unfortunately most of them are men. Our work is to empower but now if you don't have a female cartoonist, how do you empower somebody who is not there?

Do you foresee a time when women will take active roles, become active in leadership positions like media management positions and we will have a shift in female portrayal?

**Ratemo**

Maybe. If we nurture them from early ages, we encourage them to draw and take IT related courses and we empower them, maybe the situation will change.

**Mr Wanyama.**

Your parting shot?

**Mr Ratemo.**

All stakeholders need to realize that there is a problem with gender imbalance. In our reports we realized there are no gender policies at entry point to ensure that women are empowered right from the beginning. If you are recruiting ensure there are equal chances for both genders. If they are training from scratch, let them ensure there is a balance from entry point. If women are harassed let them protect them by punishing those culprits and if we do that in all sectors, then we will do away with this imbalance.

**Wanyama**

Thank you very much for giving me your valuable time.

**Retemo**

Thanks a lot

#### **INTERVIEW FOUR : KENYA NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION-KNHCR**

**Mr Wanyama:** Do you constantly scrutinize what is published in newspapers in terms of cartoons especially in regards to gender?

**Loyce:** Yes. I look at the cartoons on newspapers but given the orientation of both male and female. Yes there are things that are said about men but given their orientation that is a very small matter but for women it is a big deal starting from the days of Nyiva Mwendwa and the 1995 Beijing conference. Men don't take insults or humour seriously but women they take a lot of weight on that- for the women cartoons have an emotional impact.

It is however important to note that the media is nowadays sensitive with women issues compared to the past when they would profile Wangari Maathai and profile Moi and say that Maathai is a divorcee. So, even if someone wanted to vote for you

he/she would think twice and vote for Moi simply because he is the current president but nobody will remember he was also divorced.

**Mr Wanyama:** Are you then saying that there is still bias?

**Loyce:** yes, there is still bias. Do you remember when the deputy police commissioner Grace Kaindi was evicted from office, you saw cartoons, they were fodder for people to laugh at. But people don't know how the lady is feeling, what are the circumstances under which she was removed. Yes they draw, yes they report but there are a few things they need to take into account because it affects people emotionally.

**Mr Wanyama:** What do you think informs such kind of biases?

**Loyce:** Kenya is a patriarchal society and the way we socialized is such that we accept certain things the way they are yet they present such biases. This is the case because that is how we grew up and that is how most African countries are. And remember that newspapers are there to make money so they don't take much care when they are doing the drawing such biased cartoons.

**Mr Wanyama:** Does it then mean that the commission you work for is comfortable with the status quo in regard with this issue of gender portrayal on cartoons?

**Loyce:** Interestingly we are the overall human rights advocates so we always look at the rights of everybody and when there is need for focus for example, on women, then we do it. Secondly, we have done a number of publications for example we had an inquiry in 2012 about women reproductive health and many people and organizations gave recommendations and a number of organizations have picked them up and are implementing them even what the First lady is doing was part of the recommendations. So for us we don't focus on women because we work for everyone. For example in Baringo we are dealing with the issue of insecurity but there will be a section that will focus on how women suffer differently from men, the disabled suffer differently from the normal bodied people, children going to school etc. Again, we are not an NGO so our recommendations go direct to the government at somebody's desk. Even the IDP resettlement the reports are there.

**Mr. Wanyama:** What can be done to turn around the situation?

**Loyce:** There is a serious need to look at the employment policies. The gender and equality commission had done a lot and I hope much more is being done in this line.

**Mr. Wanyama:** Sitting here in the KNCHR as a gender specialist, what message do you have for the cartoonists, media owners and the public?

**Loyce:** The media owners need to be careful on whom they make their main cartoonist but remember the Kenyan society is not yet gendered, the way you look at this issue and see there is a problem not many people see it that way and this may include the media managing directors. On the same note, media owners also need to have female cartoonists so that various perspectives can be captured in the cartoons. Secondly, the cartoonists need to be gender sensitive, whichever gender, so that when they are putting this out they know the impact created. Lastly, the public, I like the French and I always say this country will succeed if we went the French way, you remember the French revolution. For Kenya right now that is what will save us. So the public can change things, they can be up in arms and things will change because if there is no one complaining, why should things change?

**ENDS- 50 MINS**

#### **INTERVIEW FIVE : FIDA**

**Mr Wanyama:** Gender portrayal is critical as far as protecting people's rights are concerned. How can you comment on the cartoons that have been published by various newspapers in the country?

**Teresa:** Newspapers are critical partners as far as our work at FIDA is concerned. How you report on an issue or how you react to an issue has a great impact to the society. Cartoons are usually meant to pass a point where necessary. At the same time cartoons can also make mediocre or abuse another person's right. Like when they want to represent the common mwananchi, Wanjiku, the face of poverty in the society is a woman and that's true. There is no way you can draw a cartoon describing poverty and you put a man, the message won't be passed effectively as in the case where you use a woman with children, one on her back and another one crawling and pulling her leg that one portrays the reality on the ground.

At times there is a bit of bias and increase on violation of women rights by cartoonists. For example, when they want to represent the issue of abortion, the way it is done, is comical but it is sad. This sometime reduces the value it is supposed to represent.

There was once a cartoon done on reproductive health and all the people in that meeting were men parliamentarians, men pastors and the like and the only woman available was locked outside. That drove the message. How can you discuss reproductive health yet none of you has a womb or has ever been in labour or breastfeeds. It was sarcastic and absurd.

**Mr Wanyama:** A while ago you mentioned earlier about Wanjiku, what makes it automatic for one to associate poverty with women?

**Teresa:** Because it is the reality on the ground. Statistics have shown, research has shown even the Kenyan demographics can tell you that women are the most affected by poverty.

**Mr Wanyama:** Do you find some of these cartoons in any way stereotypical?

**Teresa:** Yea, at times there are outright stereotypical cases like I mentioned on cases of abortion, cases of stripping among others.

**Mr Wanyama:** As FIDA have you taken any deliberate effort on such cases because they border on gender and generally human rights?

**Teresa:** As far as I am aware none of such issues have been taken up against the cartoonists but as materials for use in trainings only when they are educative.

**Mr Wanyama:** In your view, what accounts for that mode of portrayal?

**Teresa:** Socialization. The cartoonist will draw what society feeds him with, the way he has been brought up and I don't think he can have any creativity beyond the society and beyond what society presents.

**Teresa:** Like in the cases of polio cartoon, most of them you will see women and children because people resonate with that. Like that advert where he says, [mama yangu angelijua], that resonates with the public and the message is delivered and that is not necessarily stereotypical.

**ENDS- 22 MINS**

#### **INTERVIEW SIX: GENDER AND EQUALITY COMMISSION**

**Mr Wanyama:** your comment about the drawing of cartoons.

**Lichuma:** Cartoons are done by men and women in society, so they cannot be different from what society thinks, therefore, society decides how we behave. Society generally perceives men to be leaders and women to be subordinates and this is across many cultures and traditions. This means that it will take time to have journalists or communicators in general being in a gender responsive mood.

**Mr Wanyama:** Apart from women being portrayed as subordinates, is there another way they have been depicted maybe using cartoons like that of the ‘hustler’s jet’?

**Lichuma:** Yes, there are many ways. Like in this cartoon, the man has to be massaged by the women and what is suggested here is that the man is superior and women having to bow to serve him. This happens even in board rooms, women are brought and there is the notion that you still bring your femininity within the boardroom. Tea is then brought to the boardroom table and a woman has to serve the tea. And this happens not that men depict women this way but women themselves are coming from this perspective of ‘we are less’, ‘my role is to serve’ and that ‘women have to be submissive’. And in case you bring them to a decision making table, their contribution is not seen or felt since they will take half the time of the meeting making tea and a quarter of it serving the tea. The remaining quarter is for recommendations or AOB. And this happens up to county assemblies where we have to nominated MCAs because they are seen as flower girls and girlfriends. When Michuki and Kidero were pictured with torn socks, the cartoons that came out were not blaming them but they blamed their wives of not taking care of their husbands but when Julia Ojiambo was running and the sole of her shoe got off the following day a cartoon of her was drawn with Julia holding one shoe t her hand and that to me was a non-issue.

**Mr Wanyama:** Do you have a way of picking some of these things because they boarder on human rights, your core values, your principles and gender inclusivity. What is the gender and equality commission doing to address these issues?

**Lichuma:** In the past, we have picked some disturbing communication via media but not necessarily on cartoons but maybe we need to look at it more keenly. Secondly, we have done gender sensitivity training with the media especially with the Editors Guild and women in media through AMWIC just to try and socialize and have capacity building as well as gender responsive reporting.

**Mr Wanyama:** The past interviews I have had with cartoonists have suggested that women have to be actively involved in news making because cartoons are generated from news and if women are not making news then cartoonists cannot manufacture news for them. What I your reaction towards such a point of view?

**Lichuma:** Not at all and not necessarily women. If a woman comes and makings news but for that one mistake I am drawn with my head upside down is not about women involvement. Women involvement is good enough and we are championing

for more women to be involved in decision making. What is required is to train both women and men to understand the impact of the portrayals that are given through cartoons in terms of making or breaking the female leaders.

**Mr Wanyama:** Do you think this is an area that you need to give more focus in terms of meeting with journalists and reporters as well as cartoonists?

**Lichuma:** Maybe we need gender responsiveness at the level of training and capacity building for those already out. Those in the field need to be re-oriented because they are coming from a certain culture that has defined the place of women and when one writes or draws a cartoon, he has already the place of each gender in mind and that affects the outcome. Maybe we also need to check the media house reporting policy.

**ENDS-33 MINS**