




Shaping Public Discourse: The Role of Editorial Cartoons in Agenda-Setting in Kenyan Newspapers

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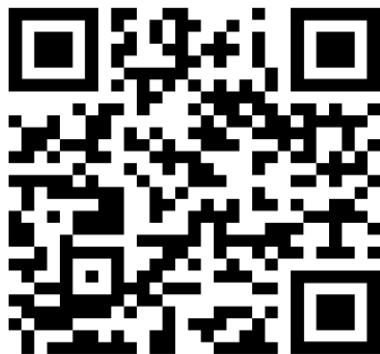
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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyse the role of editorial cartoons in agenda setting within Kenya's two major mainstream newspapers, the Daily Nation and The Standard, over six months. Despite their humorous appearance, editorial cartoons are often overlooked as a significant form of communication that reflects and critiques socio-economic and political issues. This study employed content analysis, which is categorisation of cartoons and captions; headlines and their contents; and semiotic analysis, which involves image analysis, text, and language analysis, to examine 275 editorial cartoons, sorting them thematically to align with the objective of understanding their agenda-setting function. The newspapers were selected due to their dominant circulation, consistent publication, and accessibility in Kenya's print media landscape, with the agenda-setting theory guiding the theoretical framework. Data were summarised using tables, graphs, charts, and percentages. Findings revealed that editorial cartoons predominantly depicted political issues (56%), followed by social (25.09%) and economic themes (18.91%), effectively documenting and critiquing societal problems to influence public discourse. The study concludes that editorial cartoons play a significant role in agenda setting by shaping public perceptions of current events, though some cartoons' complexity necessitates cutlines for clarity. Recommendations include establishing a self-regulatory body for cartoonists and organising symposiums to enhance public understanding of editorial cartoons. This study underscores the importance of editorial cartoons as a powerful communication tool in Kenyan newspapers, contributing to the discourse on visual media's role in reflecting socio-economic and political realities and advocating for further research into African cartooning.

Key terms: Agenda setting, cartoonist, editorial cartoon, media, semiotic.

INTRODUCTION

Markiewicz (1974) states that humour usually cannot change an already held opinion, and retention doesn't seem to be affected by the use of humour. As such, editorial cartoons are limited in their ability to immediately reframe social conditions. However, Walker (2003) argues that although editorial cartoons are often not recognised as a distinct form of communication because of their clownlike nature, they can act as a powerful means of communication by conveying very different themes related to society, meaning their humour can entertain while also delivering pointed messages that highlight current social issues.

Editorial cartoons, often perceived as humorous or light-hearted illustrations, are frequently underestimated as a significant mode of communication within the media landscape. Despite their satirical nature, they serve as potent tools for critiquing and reflecting socio-economic and political issues, engaging audiences in a manner distinct from traditional journalistic text (Walker, 2003). Editorial cartoons were widely used throughout the Second World War as propaganda, signifying the war efforts of the countries concerned.

Back here in Kenya, the rise of multiparty politics in 1992 marked a turning point for editorial cartoons, transforming them into a prominent feature of newspaper editorial pages and a mechanism for shaping public discourse (Mwampembwa, 1997). However, their role in agenda setting, defined as the process by which the media influences the salience of issues in public perception, remains underexplored, particularly in the African context (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This study addresses this gap by examining how editorial cartoons in Kenya's two leading newspapers, the Daily Nation and The Standard, contribute to agenda setting by documenting and critiquing societal issues.

Key terms integral to this study include agenda setting, which refers to the ability of editorial cartoons to highlight socio-economic and political issues, thereby shaping public attention and discourse by critiquing societal problems. An editorial cartoon is a graphic illustration published on a newspaper's editorial page, offering commentary on political,

social, or economic events, often through satire or humour. A cartoonist is the creator of these illustrations, drawing on current events and public sentiment to craft visual narratives. Semiotic analysis involves the study of signs and symbols within these cartoons to uncover their meanings, while content analysis systematically categorises their themes and techniques.

The significance of editorial cartoons lies in their ability to distil complex issues into accessible visual tropes, leveraging humour, satire, and cultural references to engage diverse audiences (Harrison, 1981). This study analysed 275 editorial cartoons over six months (February 2013, April 2013, August 2013, October 2013, December 2013, and February 2014) using content and semiotic analysis, guided by the agenda-setting theory, to explore their role in highlighting socio-economic and political issues. The periods chosen were meant to give the research the benefit of getting different topical issues being focused on at different times in space within the society. As per Oates (2008), the identification of the relevant content for analysis is set by availability.

The specific months were chosen because key events were reported in The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers during that period. For example, Standard's end-of-year summary (Dec 2013) details the February 2013 presidential debates, the April 2013 Presidential inauguration, the August 2013 airport fire and hostage releases, the October 2013 telecoms crackdown, and the December 2013 Mandela obituary and doctors' strike. These major events help explain why editorial cartoons of those months were chosen. This study intends to establish that cartoon illustrations play a major role within society in agenda setting by documenting and reflecting the socio-economic and political problems in the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers. As such, this study will offer readers a mini-narrative, or perhaps a replacement narrative that fills the gap on current affairs (Walker, 2003). Moreover, this study will add to the growing literature on the role of editorial cartoons. The study's findings will offer helpful insights into the Kenyan editorial cartoons in newspapers with relevance to socio-economic and political problems.

Going by Walker's argument, this study argues that editorial cartoons need to be studied as other means of communication. As such, there is a need for content analysis of cartoon illustrations in agenda setting in the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspaper of Kenya, to ascertain their role in documenting and reflecting on socio-economic and political problems affecting our society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Editorial cartoons in agenda setting

The agenda-setting function of media, as articulated by McCombs and Shaw (1972), underscores its capacity to influence public perception by prioritising certain issues over others, shaping what audiences deem significant rather than dictating their opinions. Editorial cartoons, with their unique blend of visual satire and commentary, play a pivotal role in this process by presenting complex socio-political and economic issues in a condensed, accessible format (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982).

In the Kenyan context, editorial cartoons have emerged as a potent tool for agenda setting,

particularly since the liberalisation of the media following the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992, which expanded press freedom and emboldened cartoonists to critique societal issues (Mwampembwa, 1997). This section reviews scholarship relevant to the role of editorial cartoons in agenda setting, with a focus on their application in Kenya's Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers. DeSousa and Medhurst (1982) delineate four primary functions of editorial cartoons: entertainment, aggression reduction, caricature release, and agenda setting.

The agenda-setting function is particularly salient, as cartoons frame issues visually, distilling multifaceted narratives into a single, impactful image that highlights their importance. This framing capability allows cartoonists to bypass the constraints of conventional journalistic discourse, enabling pointed critiques that resonate with audiences (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982). In Kenya, the agenda-setting power of cartoons is evident in their ability to spark public discourse, as demonstrated by the controversy surrounding Godfrey Mwampembwa's ("Gado") "Hustler's Jet" cartoon, published in the Daily Nation on May 22, 2013.



Figure 1: Editorial cartoon dubbed "Hustler's Jet" (Source: Daily Nation, Wednesday, 22nd May 2013.)

This cartoon, critiquing Deputy President William Ruto's extravagant trip, generated significant media attention and parliamentary debate, illustrating how cartoons can elevate issues to national prominence (Omanga, 2012). The potency of editorial cartoons in agenda setting is further highlighted by their response to major events in Kenya, such as the 1998 Nairobi terror attacks, the 2002 Kikambala bombings, and the 2007/08 post-election violence. These cartoons not only reflected dominant societal discourses but also elicited strong public reactions, including protests from the Muslim community over perceived religious stereotypes, underscoring their ability to influence public agendas (Omanga, 2012). In an early contribution to cartoon studies, Press (1981) categorises editorial cartoons into descriptive, laughing satirical, destructive satirical, and savage indignation types, each with varying implications for agenda setting.

In Kenya's democratic media environment, laughing satirical cartoons predominate, offering corrective critiques that highlight flaws in governance or society while maintaining the legitimacy of the system (Manning & Phiddian, 2004). These cartoons, created by prominent Kenyan cartoonists like Gado and Paul Kelemba ("Maddo"), serve as watchdogs, holding public figures accountable and setting agendas by drawing attention to issues like corruption, electoral malpractices, and social inequalities (Kimani & Middleton, 2009).

The visual nature of editorial cartoons enhances their agenda-setting efficacy, as they communicate directly through symbols that resonate with cultural and social memory (Morrison, 1969). In Kenya, cartoonists employ persuasive techniques such as symbolism, irony, and analogy to frame issues, requiring audiences to draw on contextual knowledge for interpretation (Gathara & Wanjau, 2009). For instance, cartoons addressing terrorism often use religious imagery to critique societal perceptions, setting agendas by challenging or reinforcing existing narratives (Omanga, 2012).

Musasia and Ndonge (2014) emphasise that editorial cartoons are an essential part of Kenyan newspapers. They are prominently placed on opinion pages and tend to attract readers' attention first. Many readers view the cartoon before other content. Because of

their bold visuals, cartoons draw readers in even when they might ignore the text editorials. In this way, editorial cartoons underscore the topics a newspaper finds most important and serve as a powerful agenda-setting tool.

Agenda-setting theory suggests that the media don't tell people what to think, but rather what to think about. While this concept has traditionally applied to news articles and headlines, it also holds for images. Editorial cartoons fulfil this role visually. When cartoonists and editors decide which issues to depict, they're signalling to readers which topics are worth paying attention to. Mulanda and Khasandi (2014) highlight this clearly, noting that Kenyan newspapers view cartoons as an integral part of their editorial pages. They argue that cartoons "underscore what the newspaper thinks is the most important social issue of the day, hence playing an agenda-setting role." By spotlighting certain themes through images, editorial cartoons help shape the public's focus in much the same way as prominent news stories do.

Research from across Africa highlights the agenda-setting power of editorial cartoons in newspapers. In Nigeria, for instance, studies have shown that cartoons often focus on key social issues, helping shape public debate. Adetola and Abioye (2020) analysed 511 cartoons published in *The Punch* and *The Guardian* in 2017, finding that they regularly addressed and critiqued political and social problems such as corruption and economic hardship. The researchers concluded that these cartoons play a significant role in setting the "social agenda" by drawing attention to pressing concerns. They noted that cartoons help "build up public attention" and "reorient people" toward issues in need of change. Nigerian scholars regard editorial cartoons as a "formidable medium" for steering public focus.

In Ghana, similar trends appear. Ohemeng (2020) examined editorial cartoons from the country's 2016 elections and found they carried strong ideological messages. According to her analysis, these cartoons "played a vital role in propagating certain implied ideologies and shaping public perception of socio-political agenda." In effect, the cartoons framed politicians and policies in ways that influenced how readers understood and prioritised election issues. Some candidates were portrayed more favorably,

while others were criticised, ultimately shaping voter attitudes and preferences. Ohemeng's findings suggest that cartoons in Ghana actively contributed to how voters formed their opinions.

In South Africa, cartoonists like Zapiro have also used satire as a tool to shape public discourse, consistently highlighting major political and social issues through visual commentary.

Despite their influence, scholarly research on the agenda-setting role of editorial cartoons in African media remains limited. While global studies, such as those on the 2005 Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons controversy, highlight their provocative power, African contexts like Kenya require more focused exploration (Diamond, 2002). This study addresses this gap by analysing 275 editorial cartoons from the Daily Nation and The Standard, using content and semiotic analysis to elucidate their agenda-setting function in reflecting and critiquing socio-economic and political issues.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilised a qualitative research design to assess the agenda-setting role of editorial cartoons in Kenya's Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers. Data were collected through purposive sampling, selecting 275 editorial cartoons published over six non-consecutive months (February, April, August, October, and December 2013, as well as February 2014) to capture diverse socio-economic and political themes. The specific months were chosen because key events were reported in The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers during that period. For example,

Standard's end-of-year summary (Dec 2013) details the February 2013 presidential debates, the April 2013 Presidential inauguration, the August 2013 airport fire and hostage releases, the October 2013 telecoms crackdown, and the December 2013 Mandela obituary and doctors' strike. These major events help explain why editorial cartoons of those months were chosen. The sample included 138 cartoons from the Daily Nation and 137 from The Standard, chosen for their dominance in circulation, consistent publication, and accessibility in Kenya's print media. Both primary and secondary data sources were used for data collection. Primary data involved analysing cartoons, while secondary data were gathered from relevant articles, books, journals, and online materials.

Content analysis was employed to categorise cartoons by themes (political, social, economic) and persuasive techniques, while semiotic analysis decoded signs and symbols to uncover deeper meanings. All 275 cartoons were systematically sorted and aligned with the study's goal of analysing their agenda-setting role, guided by the agenda-setting theory. Data were summarised with tables, graphs, charts, and percentages for clear presentation. Ethical considerations included ensuring that any scholarly work used in the study was properly cited to uphold academic integrity. This dual-method approach provided a comprehensive analysis of how editorial cartoons reflect and influence socio-economic and political issues in Kenyan newspapers.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Total editorial cartoons

Table 1: Total number and Percentage of editorial cartoons in the Daily Nation and The Standard

	Total editorial cartoons	Percentage
Daily Nation	138	50.18
Standard Newspaper	137	49.82
Total	275	100

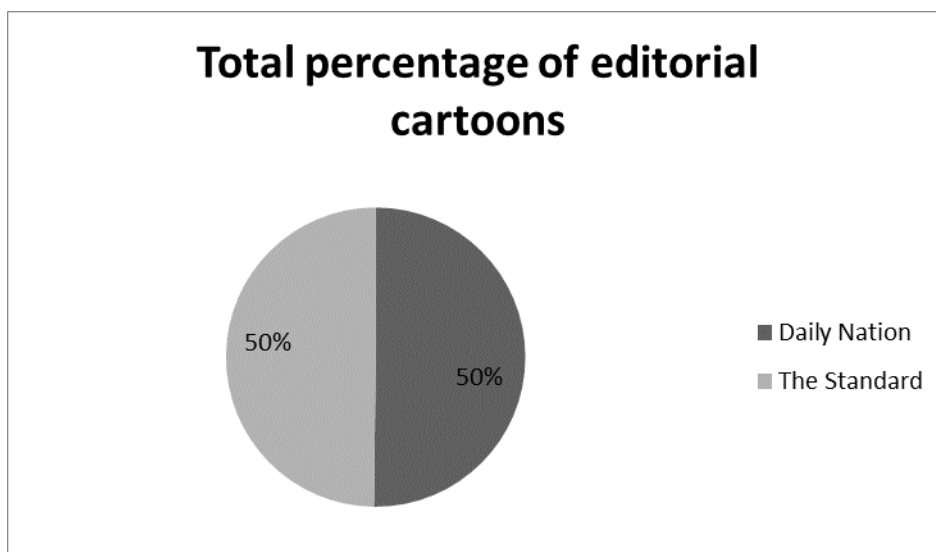


Figure 2: Pie chart on the Percentage total of editorial cartoons in the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspaper

Total themes in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers

Table 2: Total themes in the Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper

Themes	Total	Percentage
Social	69	25.09
Political	154	56
Economic	52	18.91
Total	275	100

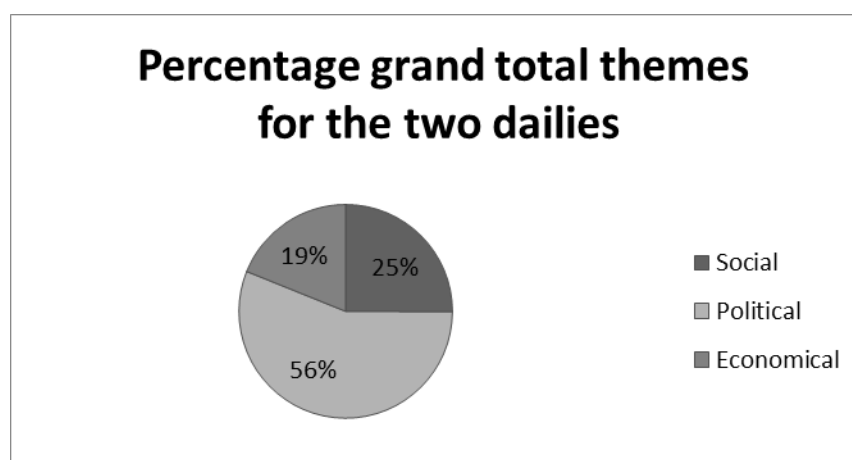


Figure 3: Pie chart on the Percentage of total themes in the Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper

Total themes in the Daily Nation newspaper

Table 3: Total themes in the Daily Nation Newspaper

Themes	Total	Percentage
Social	40	29.98
Political	71	51.45
Economic	27	19.57
Total	138	100

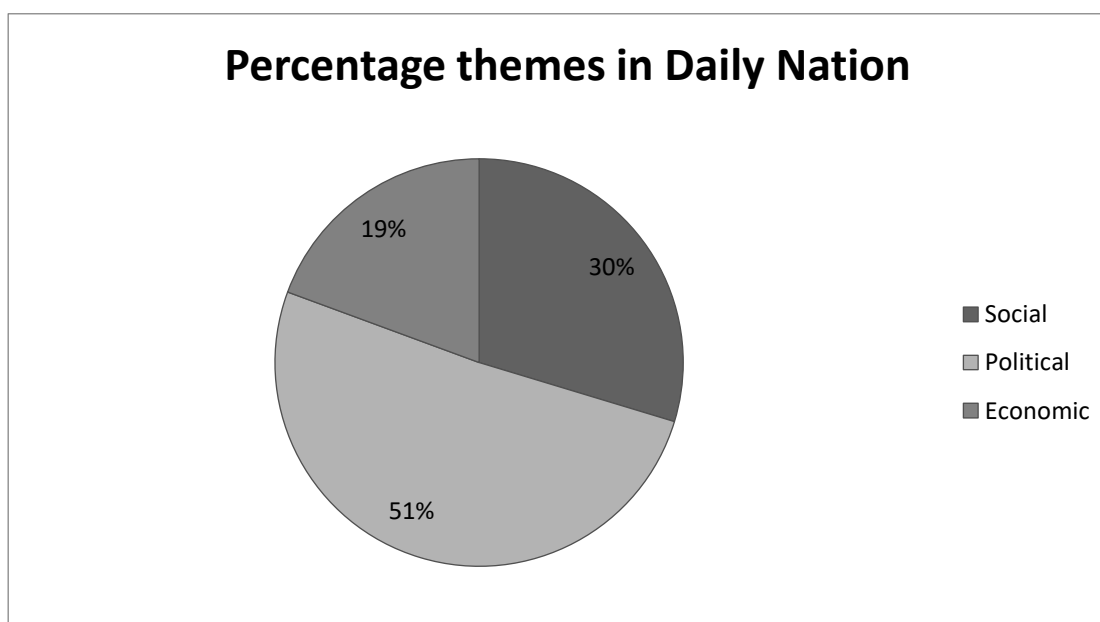


Figure 4: Pie chart on the Percentage of total themes in the Daily Nation newspaper

Total themes in The Standard newspaper

Table 4: Total themes in The Standard Newspaper

Themes	Total	Percentage
Social	29	21.17
Political	83	60.58
Economic	25	18.25
Total	137	100

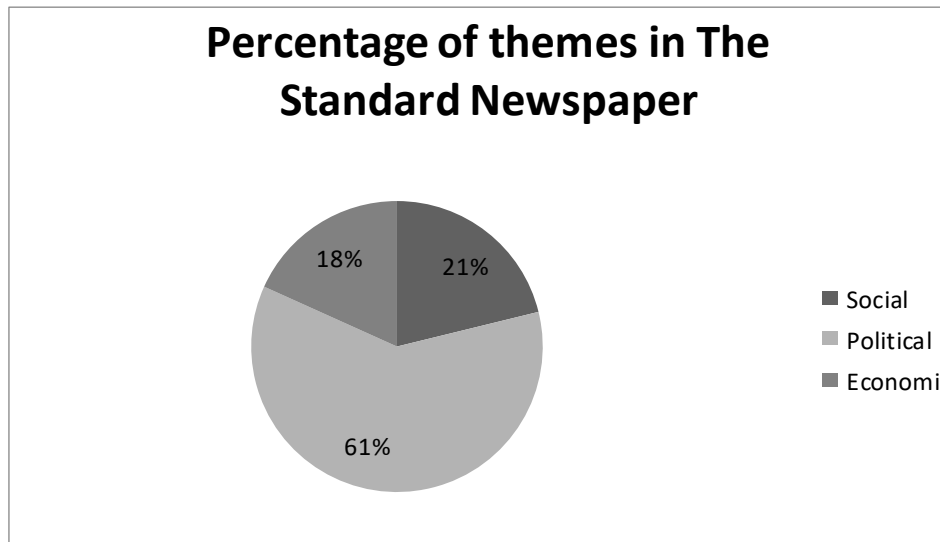


Figure 5: Pie chart on the Percentage of total themes in The Standard newspaper

Comparison of total themes in Daily Nation and The Standard newspaper

Table 5: Comparison of total themes in Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper

Themes	Daily Nation	The Standard Newspaper
Social	40	29
Political	71	83
Economic	27	25
Total	138	137

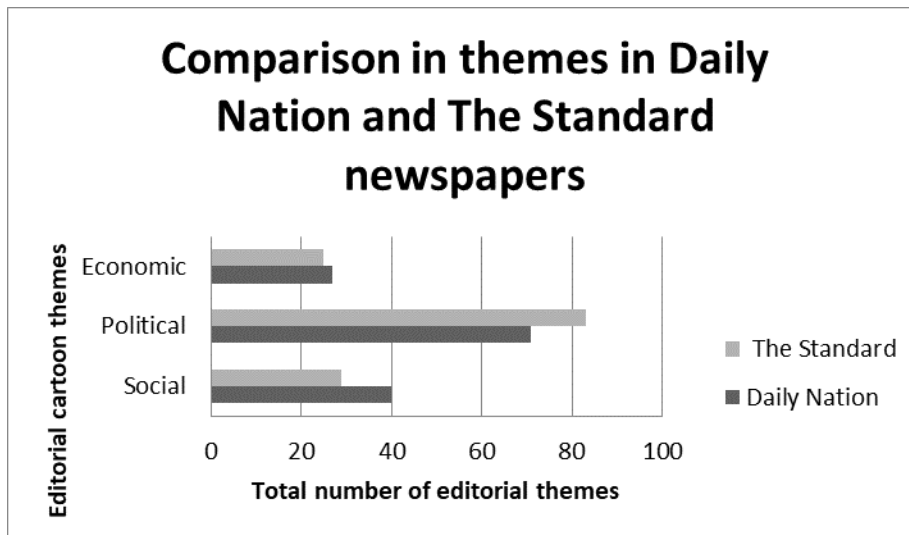


Figure 6: Bar graph on comparison of themes in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers

Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers.

Table 6: Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers

Features and persuasive techniques	Total	Percentage
Symbolism	92	33.45
Distortion	31	11.27
Irony	63	22.91
Stereotype	21	7.64
Analogy	68	24.73
Total	275	100

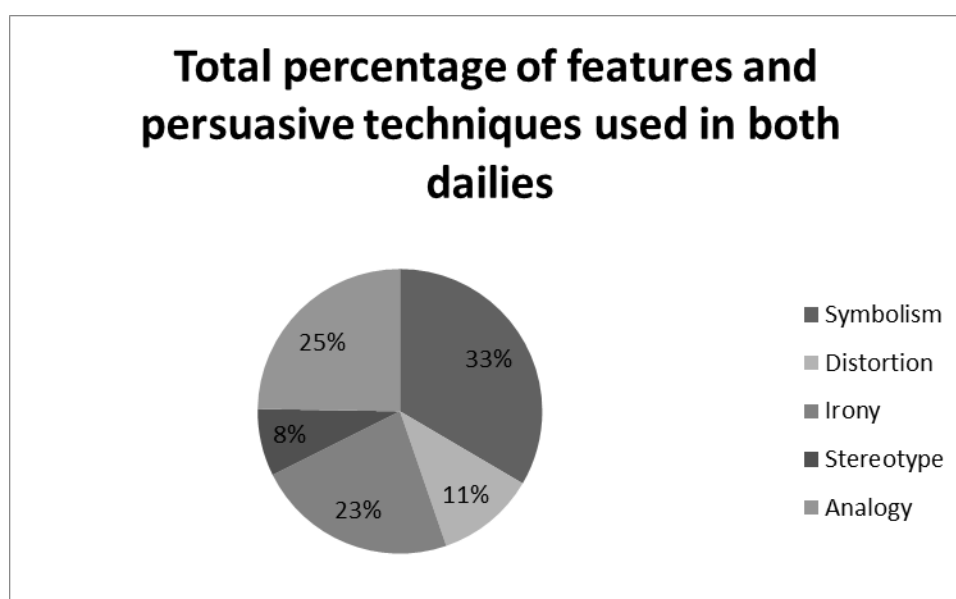


Figure 7: Pie chart on the Percentage total of features and persuasive techniques used in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers

Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in the Daily Nation newspaper

Table 7: Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in the Daily Nation newspaper

Features and persuasive techniques	Total	Percentage
Symbolism	48	34.78
Distortion	15	10.87
Irony	35	25.36
Stereotype	12	8.7
Analogy	28	20.29
Total	138	100

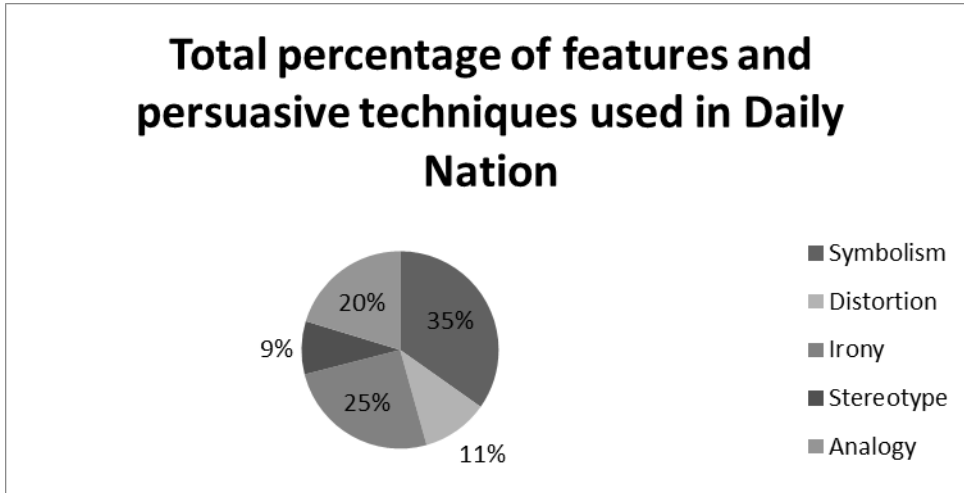


Figure 8: Pie chart on the Total Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in the Daily Nation

Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in The Standard newspaper

Table 8: Total and Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in The Standard newspaper

Features and persuasive techniques	Total	Percentage
Symbolism	44	32.11
Distortion	16	11.68
Irony	28	20.44
Stereotype	9	6.57
Analogy	40	29.2
Total	137	100

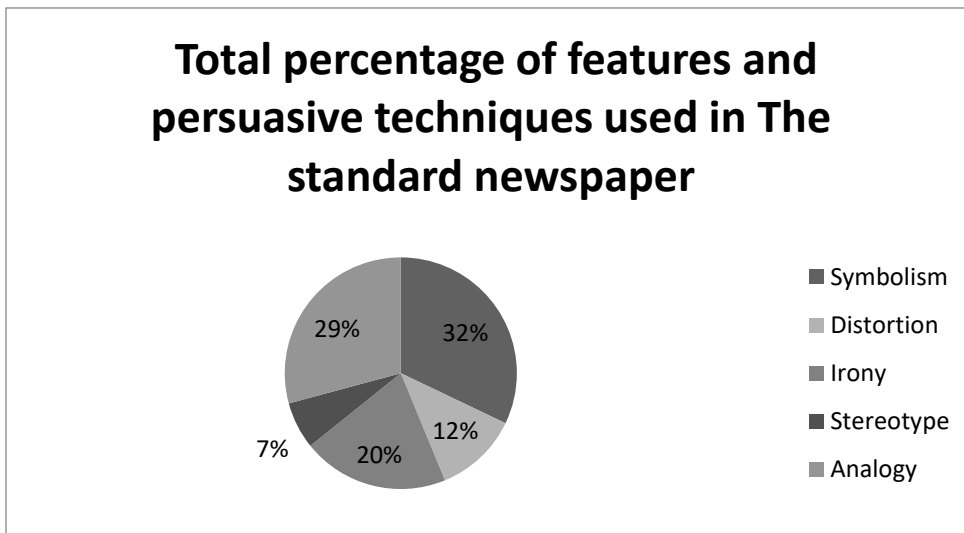


Figure 9: Pie chart on the Total Percentage of features and persuasive techniques used in The Standard newspaper

Comparison of total features and persuasive techniques in Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers

Table 9: Comparison of total features and persuasive techniques in Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper

Themes	Daily Nation	The Standard Newspaper
Symbolism	48	44
Distortion	15	16
Irony	35	28
Stereotype	12	9
Analogy	28	40
Total	138	137

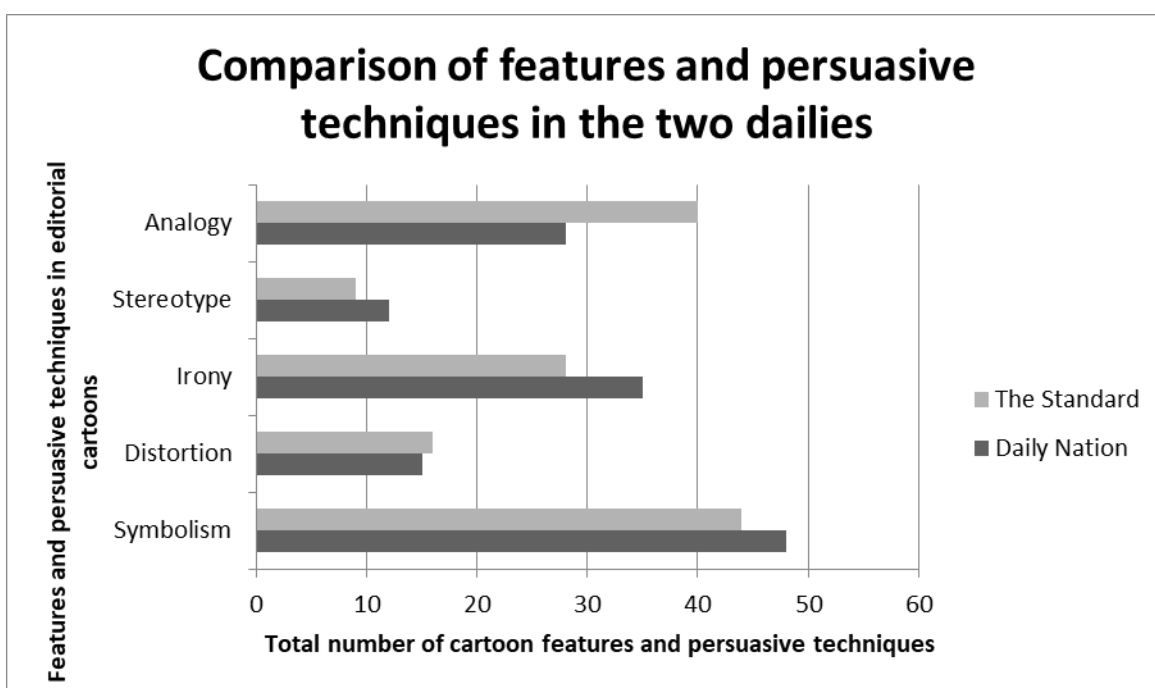


Figure 10: Bar graph on comparison of features and persuasive techniques in the two dailies

As shown in Table 1 and Figure 2, a total of 275 editorial cartoons were analysed from the two newspapers selected for the study. They were fairly evenly distributed, with the Daily Nation accounting for 138 (50.18%) and The Standard for 137 (49.82%). As shown in Table 2 and Figure 3, political issues were the most common themes in editorial cartoons, with 154 (56%), followed by social themes, with 69 (25.09%). Economic-related issues had the fewest representations, with 52 (18.91%). As shown in Table 3 and Figure 4, the Daily Nation featured a total of 138

editorial cartoons. Among these, political issues were the most frequent theme, with 71 (51.45%), followed by social themes, with 40 (29.98%). Economic issues had the fewest cartoons, at 27 (19.57%). As shown in Table 4 and Figure 5, The Standard had a total of 137 editorial cartoons. Political issues were the most common theme, with 83 (60.58%), followed by social issues with 29 (21.17%), while economic issues had the fewest cartoons, at 25 (18.25%). Based on Table 5 and Figure 6, the Daily Nation had the highest number of social-themed editorial cartoons (40), compared to

The Standard's 29. Conversely, the Standard featured more political cartoons (83) than the Daily Nation's 71. Additionally, the Daily Nation had more economic-themed cartoons (83) compared to The Standard's 25.

As shown in Table 6 and Figure 7, symbolism was the most common feature and persuasive technique used, occurring in 92 (33.45%) of editorial cartoons in both the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers. It was followed by analogy at 68 (24.73%), irony at 63 (22.91%), and distortion at 31 (11.27%). The least frequently used feature and persuasive technique in both newspapers was stereotype, appearing in 21 (7.64%) cartoons. As shown in Table 7 and Figure 8, the Daily Nation newspaper featured a total of 138 editorial cartoons, with symbolism as the dominant feature and persuasive technique at 48 (34.78%). It was followed by irony at 35 (25.36%), analogy at 28 (20.29%), and distortion at 15 (10.87%).

The least used feature and technique in the Daily Nation was stereotype, at 12 (8.7%). As shown in Table 8 and Figure 9, The Standard newspaper had a total of 137 editorial cartoons, with symbolism again being the most frequent feature and persuasive technique at 44 (32.11%). It was followed by analogy at 40 (29.2%), irony at 28 (20.44%), and distortion at 16 (11.68%). The least used feature and technique in The Standard was stereotype, at 9 (6.57%). As shown in Table 9 and Figure 10, the Daily Nation had a total of 138 editorial cartoons analysed, while The Standard had 137. The graph indicates that the Daily Nation used more symbolism (48) than The Standard (44). The Standard had more distortions (16) than the Daily Nation (15). The Daily Nation used more ironic features (35) compared to The Standard (28). Additionally, the Daily Nation used more stereotypes (12) than The Standard (9). Conversely, The Standard employed more analogies (40) than the Daily Nation (28).

This study is in a position to once and for all say that cartoons are necessary to newspapers, in contrast to the concept that cartoons are harmless and simply visual banter. This is often as a result of the very fact that with the growing influence of visual media in modern society, learning to interpret editorial cartoons is inevitable. What is more, editorial cartoons haven't received a great deal of profound attention due to their use of humour that is seen as "useful,

however abject". Whereas studies on editorial cartoons are done, only a few studies have centred on the many roles played by editorial cartoons in reflecting socio-economic and political problems. As such, this study probed the essential role played by the editorial cartoons in agenda setting.

This study has given extra insights into the discourse regarding editorial cartoons. Analysis indicates that editorial cartoons are capable of affecting readers' attitudes (Brinkman, 1968); though the study wasn't designed to get proof concerning how newspaper readers reacted to editorial cartoons, it was absolutely clear that thousands of those visual pictures were disseminated to the general public in scores of daily newspapers. Proof suggests that these editorial cartoons have resonated with the public. As an example in Kenya, Godfrey Mwampembwa "Gado" William Ruto's editorial cartoon as shown in figure one, printed on twenty second May 2013 within the Daily Nation newspaper dubbed "Hustler's Jet", created major headlines in media houses, from which there were positive and negative responses from the general public and also the National Assembly. This was after Ruto's four-day visit to West and Central African countries, which arguably cost the Kenyan taxpayers Sh100 million after hiring a Vista jet. Such an editorial cartoon was virtually definitely accepted as truth by several readers. This could be a fictional cartoon; however, it prescribes real problems with the necessary political and socio-economic consequences of our political leaders.

Also, this study offered insight into the agenda-setting theory. It demonstrated how editorial cartoons have been accustomed to depicting topical problems in newspapers as a technique of setting an agenda to reorient and form opinion, particularly in the Kenyan socio-economic and political context. Throughout this study, it was absolutely established that almost all editorial cartoons tend to be essential. This study conjointly showed how editorial cartoons are often necessary symbolic and visual messages in agenda setting. One feature of editorial cartoons is that they regularly possess ambiguity that permits multiple interpretations. However, as per Carl (1968), this ambiguity is a crucial rhetorical feature because it permits readers with quite totally different attitudes to understand a similar theme and work it into their

rhetorical vision. Therefore, it is evident that editorial cartoons function as persuasive messages that draw significantly on visual elements for their effect.

Editorial cartoons are studied from a range of views. However, so far, they have not been utilised as a way of agenda setting on socio-economic and political problems in our society these days. The editorial cartoons from The Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers of Kenya were compiled over a period of 6 months and indicated a wide variety of instances and opinions to make the case for the importance. This study foremost analysed what cartoons are and also the agenda-setting role they play in society. As mentioned within the Introduction, editorial cartoons are the foremost extreme type of expression found in newspapers, as they're not bound by the norms of print media judgment. Yet, if they seem in a very newspaper bound by media laws, editorial cartoons are equally bound by similar legislation and should be prime targets for censorship.

This study contextualised the understanding of the editorial cartoon, as practised in the context of freedom of speech. This study reviewed 275 editorial cartoons within the two dailies, i.e. The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers, through content and semiotic analysis. Content analysis of these cartoons, as per this work, found that the media sets the agenda through the publication of editorial cartoons in newspapers. Though these cartoons could also be fictional, they agitate real problems with necessary socio-economic and political issues poignant in our society today. This study conjointly indicates that a spread of editorial cartoons reflects a selected viewpoint that's closely aligned with partisan political movements, thus falling under the agenda-setting editorial cartoons class.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion: An analysis of 275 editorial cartoons in agenda setting in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers reveals that cartoonists in the two newspapers use editorial cartoons to reflect and criticise the socio-economic and political issues in society, hence setting an agenda. Although this study

was not designed to obtain evidence about how newspaper readers reacted to editorial cartoons, it is clear that literally thousands of these visual images were disseminated to the public in millions of daily newspapers. Evidence suggests that these messages are likely to have resonated with the public. For example, Godfrey Mwampembwa "Gado" William Ruto's editorial cartoon, as shown in figure 1, published on 22nd May 2013 in the Daily Nation newspaper, dubbed "Hustler's Jet", made major headlines in media houses, from which there were positive and negative responses from both the public and the National Assembly. This editorial cartoon illustrates Ruto's four-day visit to West and Central African countries, which arguably cost the taxpayer Sh100 million after hiring a Vista jet. This study examined the role of editorial cartoons in agenda setting in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers and established that, though editorial cartoons may be fictional, they play a significant role in agenda setting by reflecting socio-economic and political issues on current events in society.

Recommendations: With the rapid growth of the influence of visual media in today's society, learning to interpret them is inevitable. This study aimed to contribute to the understanding of visual analysis and visual attainment, a vicinity of discourse analysis. Visuals use a variety of rhetorical devices, but understanding the effectiveness of those devices remains a challenge. For the readers to grasp visual analysis and be ready to simply interpret editorial cartoons, there ought to be symposiums on editorial cartoons, which can make the general public susceptible to the role and importance of editorial cartoons in newspapers as a communication tool. Some editorial cartoons analysed carry additional ridicule or attack, which will cause additional harm to the concerned party. This is often most likely attributable to the very fact that cartoonists aren't bound by the norms of print media judgment. As such, it'd be acceptable to possess a self-regulatory body for editorial cartoons, created from senior members of the newspapers' editorial groups, that checks lapses within the presentation of honest comment.

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