

The Language of Caricatures in Tanzania's Political Landscape: The Case of Selected Masoud Kipanya's Cartoons

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Abstract

This paper argues that representations of burning issues in artistically created cartoons provide an alternative option to understanding socio-economic and political themes prevalent in many communities. Based on Masoud Kipanya's cartoons, the paper demonstrates that the choice of texts and portrayal of politicians complement one another in the delivery of the intended message to the public in Tanzania. This claim is obtained from the analysis of selected stylistic devices in the cartoons. In fact, the register used revolves around terms coined by politicians in the country. The diction in Masoud Kipanya's cartoons utilises terms such as *mchwa* and *njaa* 'corrupt people' and *malofa* 'cowards, idiots' which are coined in political arena. Metaphorical expressions used to advance points related to civic rights, corruption, favouritism and developmental plans emerge as main topics of representation in political cartoons in the country. Such subject matters are indirectly pinpointed through metaphorical devices associated with termites, food, eating and majority support as corruption practices and favouritism are equated to food and eating whereas development is downplayed by termites.

Introduction

The representations of many emerging burning topics artistically in form of cartoons (also referred to as caricatures herein) provide the best contexts of understanding socio-economic and political themes prevalent in a given society. Generally, the literature on cartoons treats such caricatures that represent socio-economic and political issues as editorial or political cartoons (Bergen, 2003; Schilperoord & Maes, 2009; Bush, 2012) though they are mechanisms through which ideas advanced in artistic works are channelled (Medhurst & Desousa, 1981). Specifically for Tanzania and based on the discourse analysis approach, Kritomus (2010) examines political cartoons in Kiswahili newspapers in terms of the representation of power relations in society, attitudes of cartoonists to ideological matters in the country, and events happening in the Tanzania society. Lugome (2012) analyses political cartoons for representation of gender matters during the elections in Tanzania. In the current contribution to political cartoons¹, attention is paid to how stylistic devices and thematic contents of these cartoons are in consonant with the realistic political happenings in the country.

The motivation towards the composition of this contribution emanates from an outline of arguments in the previous studies. In fact, the study of political cartoons provides the best link between linguistic signs, artistic pictures, and cognitive power of the artists and audiences in interpreting the contents of the cartoons produced for the depiction of political issues in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, using a case study of South Africa, Bal, Pitt, Berthon and DesAutels (2009) demonstrate how caricatures link the case facing President Jacob Zuma with his life experience and the face of justice during his administration. These scholars underscore the usefulness of cartoons in the representation of burning issues in South Africa. Similarly, Lugome (2012) displays how pictures of women symbolise constituencies and how politicians lure women (i.e. voting citizens in constituencies) during the General Election campaigns in Tanzania. Kondowe, Ngwira and Madula (2014) present a synopsis of the promises on economic changes

¹ In the course of discussion in this paper, frequent references are made to political organisations. For the 2015 General Elections, references to these political organisations cannot be avoided at least for the present contribution (TEMCO, 2015; LHRC & TACCEO, 2016): (i) CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi ['Revolutionary Party'], the incumbent political party in Tanzania. Its presidential candidate was Dr. John Pombe Magufuli); (ii) CHADEMA (Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo ['Democracy and Development Party']) and Mr. Edward Ngoyai Lowassa was the presidential candidate; (iii) CUF (Civic United Front) led by Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad as the Secretary General; and (iv) UKAWA (Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi ['Coalition of {4}political parties']) under the leadership of Mr. Freeman Mbowe and Mr. James Mbatia, among others. In the course of discussion in this paper, any mention of these names will have reference to the explanation given in this footnote. In addition, these three registered political parties (CCM, CHADEMA and CUF) account for the largest share of the current political parties in the country (Gahnström 2012; Kappia 2013). The other registered political parties include NCCR-Mageuzi, United Democratic Party (UDP), The Tanzania Labour Party (TLP), ACT-Wazalendo etc.

of ex-President Joyce Banda and the expectations of Malawians. In the Tanzanian situation, the stylistic devices employed in consonant with pictures in these cartoons have yet to receive attention. This paper, therefore, provides a detailed analysis of the stylistic devices in the depictions of political ideas in the country in line with Suleiman, Jauro and Job (2012), who insist that stylistic devices allow the audience to pause and reflect further on the points that the author presents.

The second motivation for the examination of political cartoons revolves around the manipulations of language by the cartoonists to arrive at a targeted purpose. Studies of stylistic devices affirm that numerous techniques are employed to exhibit a point in literary works. For instance, Mutia (2003) discusses the employment of stylistic devices in Bakweri oral literature to underscore a point. In this community, songs have chant and antiphonal forms, the occurrence of parallelism, and the use of figurative language (imageries, metaphors, symbolism, personification, etc.) (ibid.). Suleiman *et al.* (2012) offers another exemplary case by displaying the use of the device of characterisation, eristic argument as a device, and the point of view as a device. In analysing political cartoons, Lugome (2012) employs personification as a major means of representation of physical constituencies in Tanzania. In analysing stylistic devices employed in political cartoons herein, two stylistic devices: (i) the register employed by the cartoonists (mainly diction and voice) and (ii) figurative language associated with metaphorical representation of ideas. This choice is in line with Toolan (1996) who argues that a study of selected fascinating stylistic devices enables researchers to arrive at the best conclusion.

The third motivation for the current research stems from the shallowness of the literature on the analysis of political cartoons in Tanzania. Although the literature for the analysis of stylistic devices in Kiswahili works is broad (see Jilala, 2008 and references therein), analysis of devices in political cartoons is available in a few publications such as Kristomus (2010) and Lugome (2012). This shortfall is accentuated by the reality that stylistic devices are plentiful (Toolan, 1996; Mutia, 2003). Thus, the selection of a few devices becomes important. Whereas Lugome (2012) focuses on imagery, this paper underscores the importance of register and metaphors in the realisation of the truth.

In this paper, I articulate selected stylistic devices employed in the representation of political matters pertaining to campaigns during the 2015 General Elections in the country in consonant with the idea that political cartoons manifest as commentary political cartoons (in which 'the artist proffers the reader a perception as "truth" without' criticisms (Medhurst & Desousa, 1981, p.206) or contradiction political cartoons (in which the artist 'reveals the dichotomies' therein (ibid. 207)). This article seeks to unravel messages embodied and portrayed by political cartoons provided in Kiswahili. The focus is on the political commentary and contradiction inherent in political cartoons artistically created by Ali Masoud (Kipanya) between July and October 2015. The choice of this time-frame is based on the reality that Tanzania was gearing up for elections and electoral campaigns were on.

There are existing literatures on stylistic devices employed in the delivery of the message to the audience in a number of works dealing with Swahili, the main language of politics in Tanzania. However, most of the studies deal with artistic works, namely novels, short stories, poetry and plays (see, for example, Marijani, 2014; Mbutia & Iribemwangi, 2014; Kobia, 2015, and references therein). A few studies have dealt with stylistic devices in non-literary works such as wedding songs (Rayya, 2002) and hip-hop music (Jilala, 2008). In the Tanzania context, most of the references are made to the following stylistic devices: similes, metaphors, personification, proverbs and sayings, symbolism, imagery, irony, and register (see Rayya, 2002; Mbutia & Iribemwangi, 2014). In this paper, the focus is on two stylistic devices, namely (i) metaphorical representation of message and (ii) register (the choice diction and voice in the texts). In the analysis of these stylistic devices, attention is paid to the way the cartoonist employs to hit the audience with intended message.

To allow readers to understand the political cartoons discussed in this paper, I sit as follows. This introduction is followed by an exposé of the cartoonist. Thereafter, I discuss the creation of images in selected cartoons by looking into their graphic disposition. Based on the theory of caricatures (the sympathy-gap-differentiation paradigms, as described by Bal *et al.* (2009), this section seeks to reveal the motive for the selection of the images and accompanying texts

in the selected political cartoons. Using three case studies, the paper analyses of the choice of diction and the voice used in the texts to show how the cartoonist chooses some registers in the delivery of the intended message to the public. The paper then discusses the application of metaphorical expression in the creation of message in political cartoons.

The cartoonist and cartoons in question

This section addresses salient issues in the analysis of political cartoons: the traits of the cartoonist, the artistic creation of the images in relation to the reflection of real events and situations. These features assist in the subsequent interpretation of the texts. Generally, cartoonists use several linguistic and graphic devices to introduce the political issue they address. In so doing, they 'describe the issue or label a subject' (Bush, 2012, p. 34). In addition, 'the cartoonist works with a multiplicity of images and texts. Any individual cartoon may have several of those units' (ibid., p. 48).

Ali Masoud (Kipanya), *the cartoonist and his style*

The creator of the cartoons analysed in this paper is a Tanzanian named Ali Masoud, popularly known as Masoud Kipanya. He was born on 23rd June 1972 in Dar es Salaam and started his career as an artist at Kijitonyama Primary School. His career's history demonstrates that he is a prominent cartoonist for Tanzania's newspapers. Between 1988 and 1993, his cartoons appeared in media outlets such as Heko Publishers, Baraza, Business Times and BBC Focus in Africa. In 1994, he joined Majira Newspaper, and worked for Sanifu tabloid as well. In 1999, he joined Clouds Entertainment as a radio presenter.

Masoud Kipanya is also involved in youth awareness creation projects. Since 2012, Masoud Kipanya founded Maisha Plus, a reality Television show which involves contestants from all over the country. According to Data Vision International Limited, Maisha Plus has recently extended its contestants to all East African countries. In this project, winners, who are awarded up to 20 million Tanzanian shillings, are obtained by casting votes through mobile phones.

Scanty literature is available on the analysis of Kipanya's cartoons. Lugome (2012), for instance, vaguely states that Kipanya's cartoons appear

in *Mwananchi*, a daily Kiswahili newspaper in Tanzania. His cartoons are characterised as political caricatures or 'drawings of fictionalised characters engaged in some kind of verbal exchange' (ibid., p. 69). Kipanya's prominence has also appeared in the Parliament of Tanzania (Bunge, 2009). In describing artists in Tanzania, Habari (2005, p. 4) reports about this cartoonist:

Ally Masoud is now the leading cartoonist with the Business Times Group and published earlier in the Majira. He is now also the cartoon editor in Sanifu—the groundbreaking weekly humour tabloid, which started publishing in 1998. His 'Kipanya', nowadays a character with human body and mouse-like head has been very popular. Kipanya is always present at events or with persons of political interest and then comments the news and politics.

Masoud employs a mouse-like caricature which is the main character, the initiator and/or monitor of the dialogues contained therein. The rat-like character is called Kipanya, meaning a small mouse in Kiswahili.

Kipanya creates cartoons which are sexist in nature. Using Kipanya's cartoon, the report by LHRC and TACCEO (2016, p.98) is sceptical that 'in the Tanzanian context regarding readiness and confidence of women voters to their fellow women who dare to contest for political positions.' Here the cartoonist portrays a woman failing to support her fellow woman in the country. In our patriarchal community, sexism in Tanzania's experience is also reported by Jilala (2008) and Lugome (2012) in that women are portrayed as dependent to men.

Understanding *images* in question through the utilisation of the theory of caricatures

Many political cartoonists present real politicians together with their allies and constructed ideas in a given country. Bush (2012, p. 37) put it correctly as 'cartoonists have used many methods to label subjects. But the most popular form is "tagging" them'. In so doing, cartoonists improvise tags which take 'many forms including depicting something similar to a price tag that hangs from clothes in a store with a name on it, or depicting a name tag similar to that used by a person attending a conference' (ibid). Kristomus (2010) argues that a political cartoon involves a caricatured image(s) and/or text(s), which are connected to political issues in a given country.

Under the theory of caricature, interactions of three elements—sympathy-gap-differentiation—

facilitates the analysis of political cartoons. In this paper, the element of sympathy refers to the ability of the audience (mostly Tanzanians in this case) to identify the real referents of the images in selected cartoons. In the course of presentation, it is evident that the images of politicians are drawn in a way that makes Tanzanians easily identify with them. Figures 1 and 2, for example, are of two influential candidates of the 2015 General Elections in the country, namely John Pombe Magufuli and Edward Ngoyai Lowassa:



Figure 1: *The caricatures of John Magufuli and Edward Lowassa*



Figure 2: *CCM and UKAWA presidential candidates*

Tanzanians can differentiate between these two important politicians in the country. This ability is called differentiation or the ability of the audience to pinpoint some of the differences between the images in the cartoons the real persons in the world. Bal *et al.* (2009: 232) underline issues surrounding differentiation as 'the object of caricature must have some sort of unique attribute that differentiates the object from other objects in a given context.' Critically, the differentiation has two components or dimensions: physical and ideological. In Figures 1 and 2 above, the physical appearances of these politicians is caricatured in a way that Tanzanians can easily separate the two.

The connection between sympathy and differentiation is through the gap in the theory of caricatures. In fact, a drawing becomes a cartoon if the image shows vivid differences with the real object (Bal *et al.*, 2009). Thus, Tanzanians will differentiate the photographs of these politicians from the drawings. Perhaps, I should add more cartoons to substantiate this point. In Figure 3, the image in the cartoon represents Professor Ibrahim Lipumba, one of the prominent politicians in the country. Figure 4 represents one of the celebrities in the country, namely Wema Sepetu, who contested for Member of Parliament under the CCM's special seats. According to LHRC and TACCEO (2016, p.124), 'a number of celebrities also emerged as contestants for various positions. Such people include Wema Sepetu and Irene Uwoya who tried their luck under CCM's special seats for Singida and Tabora, respectively, but they did not succeed either.'



Figure 3: *Identifiable image of a famous political leader in Tanzania (Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba)*



Figure 4: *Image of Tanzania's celebrity in the 2015 General Elections (Wema Sepetu)*

The theory of caricature allows five components to be analysed with reference to the selected political cartoons in Tanzania. Firstly, the images presented above have one common component, which is the representation of bona fide images of political leaders and celebrities involved in politics as caricatured images. The transfer of the bona fide images into caricatured images has major impact in politics. Drawing on the South African experience, Bal *et al.* (2009: 230) support contend that among politicians 'image management is one of the major components of successful political campaigns'. This is because images of political leaders constitute more than 30 percent of the voters' final decision-making (*ibid.*). An image of the politician is placed on the ballot-paper and during the polls, electorates re-call the various images of the right political leader of their choice from the images appearing in the media. This happens because 'political cartoons, by definition, strive to exploit the most obvious or grotesque features of a leader and put them on display' (*ibid.*). In this regard, cartoonist Masoud Kipanya makes use of the images of political leaders in representations of his message to the audience. In short, the facial-images of prominent politicians are portrayed in these caricatures, namely John Pombe Magufuli, Edward Ngoyai Lowassa, Ibrahim Lipumba and Wema Sepetu.

The second component of the caricature, which allows for proper utilisation of three sections of the theory, that is the axis of sympathy-gap-differentiation, involves additional attires. As figures 1 and 2 above illustrate, the CCM candidate for the presidential position, John Pombe Magufuli's image is caricatured in spectacles with an unusually "big" head whereas the UKAWA (under CHADEMA party) presidential candidate, Edward Ngoyai Lowassa appears in spectacles and with greyish hair. Their costumes compliment the colours of their political parties' attire. Moreover, the image in Figure 3 presents a recognisable face of Ibrahim Lipumba with the texture of his teeth on lower jaw, complimented by a moustache which is naturally maintained by the politician. The portrayal of Wema Sepetu in colour-matching attire is a typical representation of her real life as a beauty pageant in the country.

The third component of Masoud Kipanya's cartoons involves images of caricatured political institutions. The characteristics of the postures and costumes provide basic clues towards interpreting the targeted political leaders and/or institutions. The image in

Figure 5 portrays an exhausted gigantic person in a gym. The green outfit and signs reflects the real CCM attire. Hence this figure reflects the image of the ruling political party. Figure 6 has an image that represents two soccer players in a penalty situation. On the one hand, a shooter has soccer jersey and shorts representing CHADEMA party whereas the goalkeeper has a CCM colour (greenish). These are typical political cartoons, which represent two opposition camps in the country—CCM in greenish and yellowish costumes and UKAWA (CHADEMA) in bluish and reddish attires.



Figure 5: An imaginary image of caricatured political party (institutions)



Figure 6: Imaginary images of caricatured political parties (institutions)

Another component of the images analysed involves the size of the images caricatured. Figure 5 represents CCM, which is the largest and ruling political party in the country (Kappia, 2013; TEMCO, 2015). Based on the size of the picture in the political cartoon, Lugome (2012) interprets a fat man as a representation of a political leader in the context

of the political avenues in Tanzania. Even in our case here political cartoons caricatured by Masoud Kipanya represent politicians, political parties and corrupt business firms as gigantic bodies, which profiteer from the exploitation of citizens. This observation supports a claim by Medhurst and Desousa (1981) that political cartoonists draw information from the real life situations, for example, political commonplaces. Finally, in other instances, caricatured images represent the institutions, which deal with administrative, political and bureaucratic matters. In Figure 7 the Tanzania government is portrayed as a burning pot whereas Figure 8 caricatures the Parliament of Tanzania as a building.



Figure 7: Portraits of the Tanzania government



Figure 8: Portraits of political institutions in Tanzania

So far, the utilisation of the theory of caricature allows for the understanding of the meanings embedded in the images. First, the element of sympathy allows the audience to distinguish between real objects in society and the caricatured images in cartoons. The second element—differentiation—compares the real object with its properties against the images in cartoons. Thus, characteristics of politicians are transferable into cartoon images. In this regard, the gap, which is associated with exaggerations in size and colour, warrants the proper interpretations of the contents.

Register as a stylistic device in political cartoons
in three cases of *diction* and *voice*

In the discussion on stylistic devices, register assumes an equally important part. Toolan (1996) insists that the choice of *voice* and *diction* is geared towards enabling writers to ensure the audience follow the argument. In the context of Kiswahili speaking countries such as Tanzania and Kenya, Rayya (2002, p.177) argues that “occasional use of vocabulary in certain registers evokes emotions”. This section analyses the choice of register (voice and diction) to shed light on how it evokes the emotions of participants in the political cartoons. The paper then dwells on how register constitutes a stylistic device which Masoud Kipanya employs to exhibit the socio-economic and political issues in Tanzania.

The six stylistic devices discussed in Medhurst and Desousa (1981) include the discussion of texts in political cartoons in Tanzania, namely the ‘relation of text, both caption and balloon, to visual imagery’. The ‘texts of political cartoons function simultaneously as commentary, explanation and revelation’ (ibid., p. 217). In other words, the texts in political cartoons provide either dialogue or labels which comment on, clarify and/or disclose some information about a certain political issue.

This section analyses only three selected cases as the choice of vocabulary is extensive and cannot be covered in this paper. Rayya (2002) argues that register is associated with imagery and symbolism, which are stylistic devices. As such, this section analyses a few cases that engage conversations because the realisation of voice and diction is apparent when dialogue is involved. The dialogue, which allows two parties to express their feelings, is apparent in political cartoons. The following analysis reveals the true picture of what happens in Tanzania. In this regard, Toolan (1996: 184) suggests:

The language of dialogue involves, in essence, acts of exchange: conversationalists typically use language in the exchanging of information or services. The term ‘exchange’ may not be entirely satisfactory, largely because it suggests that there is normally a return, from interactant B to interactant A, in compensation for whatever A has supplied.

It is apparent that the cartoonist employs dialogue between the subjects of the political critique and Kipanya.

Figure 2 above provides a serious conversation, which is repeated hereunder for easy reference. The text shows that two main contestants in the presidential race in Tanzania's 2015 General Elections—Dr. Magufuli and Mr. Lowassa (TEMCO, 2015; LHRC & TACCEO, 2016) are engaged in a conversation. In this case, Kipanya stands in between these rivals as citizens do during campaigns in the country.



The diction and voice in the words assigned to these contestants involve the metaphorical use of three important words *mchwa* 'termites', *njaa* 'hunger, poverty' and *ulofa* 'idleness, laziness'. Guided by conversation analysis by Toolman (1996), the first participant (in the CCM attire) baits the public to maintain in power the ruling party. In the conversation, the CCM presidential candidate accuses the opponent of being corrupt. On the contrary, using the public as the conduit, the opponent (in CHADEMA attire) questions the authenticity of the claims by his opponent. Both participants (politicians) do not speak directly to one another; rather they engage Kipanya (citizens) as the conduit to pass their message.

Guided by Rayya (2002), there appears to be literal and intended interpretations of the vocabulary in the texts. Briefly, the vocabulary used in this conversation can be analysed as follows:

Diction	Literal reading	Intended interpretation
<i>Bora m'baki na mchwa wa zamani</i>	It is better to maintain an old termite	vote for the ruling party (CCM)
<i>Mchwa mpya ataingia na njaa...</i>	A new termite will come hungry	do not vote for the corrupt opposition party
<i>Mpaka ashibe</i>	until he is full (satiated)	the contestant will use office for person gains
<i>Mwambie aache ulofa</i>	Tell him to stop being a lazy person	don't mind his words, ignore his proposition
<i>Nani ana njaa?</i>	Who is starving?	CHADEMA is not a camp for corrupt politicians

An exchange of accusations pertaining to corrupt politicians is made between Magufuli, the running CCM candidate, and Lowassa, an ex-premier who decamped to the opposition. According to the LHRC and TACCEO (2016), defection of the former Prime Minister (Lowassa) to the opposition camp (UKAWA) produced heated political campaigns.² This is apparent in the dialogue above whereby the CCM contestant accuses Lowassa of being corrupt and the mastermind of major corruption scandals while in power. The opposition camp fires back, accusing politicians from the ruling party (CCM) of being corrupt.

In the political discourses in Tanzania, the three words were introduced by two eminent politicians (Kappia, 2013; Masabo, 2014; TEMCO, 2015; LHRC & TACCEO, 2016). The words *mchwa* and *njaa* were introduced by Lowassa while working as the Prime Minister (2005-2007). In the pursuit of corrupt bureaucrats, Lowassa referred to employees in the Local Government as *mchwa* (termites) that bore at the public funds because they were hungry (with *njaa*). The cartoonist utilises such vocabulary succinctly. The words mean corrupt workers and politicians in Tanzania. Likewise, the word *lofa* (lazy person, redundant person) was coined by former

² In the TEMCO (2015, p. 4) statement, many politicians are portrayed to have decamped from the ruling party to the opposition. Particularly, these include Edward Lowasa (former Prime Minister), Frederick Sumaye (also a former Prime Minister), Kingunge Ngom-bale Mwiru, once a deputy minister and three regional party chairmen, who defected from CCM to CHADEMA. Lowassa became UKAWA's presidential candidate.

President of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa during the inauguration of CCM campaigns in Dar es Salaam in 2015. He used *ulofa* to refer to former MPs who defected to the opposition camp to mean they were cowards. In fact, LHRC and TACCEO, 2016, p. 133) report that “at Jangwani grounds, Dar es Salaam, the former President, Benjamin Mkapa, called those who defected to UKAWA and purport to champion for change as ‘*Malofa*’ and ‘*Wapumbavu*’ idiots and fools).”

The second conversation in Figure 3 (repeated hereunder for exposition purposes) involves dialogue between Kipanya and Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba. The dialogue opens up with a passive-like construction: *Nasikia umevuta* [Literally: ‘I am told you inhaled’ or ‘It is said you smoked’; but it could also mean ‘I hear that you extracted’]. This kind of question seeks to distance the speaker from the point under discussion. Thus, one of the participants, Kipanya is distancing himself from the accusation embedded in the statement.



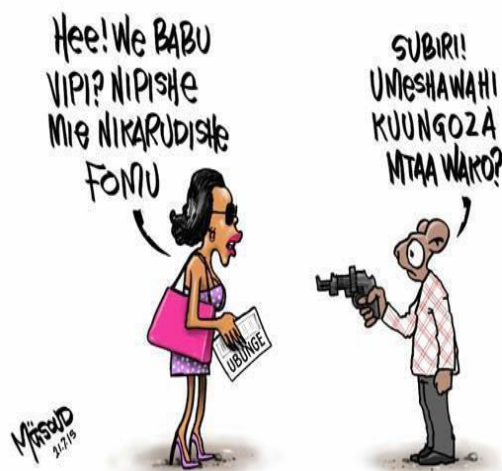
The reply is in a form of active voice in satirical expression: *Nimevuta nini? Bangi? Hebu niondolee nzi* ‘What did I smoke? Marijuana? Stop that nuisance’. The voice of the politician is meant to realise his position against the allegations that he had been bribed. The choice of such words such as *vuta* ‘extract, pull out’ and *nzi* ‘flies’ is a manifestation of the cartoonist’s ability to understand the real situation in which these contexts would allow *vuta* to mean extract, something from someone (engage in corrupt behaviour) and *nzi* entails making noise (irritating voice of flies).

This text attests to the register the cartoonist employs. In line with the analysis offered by Rayya (2002), the following picture can be obtained from Figure 2:

Diction	Literal reading	Intended interpretation
<i>Nasikia</i>	I hear, It is said	the rumour, public cry of...
<i>Umevuta</i>	You inhaled	accusation on being corrupted
<i>Nimevuta nini</i>	What did I inhale?	satirical denial of the accusation
<i>Bangi</i>	Marijuana	satirical denial of bribery
<i>Embu niondolee nzi</i>	Get out butterflies	stop unconfirmed accusations

In the reports by TEMCO (2015) and LHRC and TACCEO (2016), it is indicated that Prof. Lipumba (the then Chairperson of Civic United Front [CUF]) and Dr. Wilbrod Slaa (Secretary General of CHADEMA) were against the defection of Lowassa to the opposition camp. However, these politicians were accused of being used by CCM to manoeuvre the opposition camp (ibid.), hence the corruption charges levelled against Prof. Lipumba.

The third case study involves a dialogue on the equal participation in the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania. In fact, a number of Tanzanians of different calibres (women, musicians, celebrities, etc.) participated as candidates. This created a heated debate on the qualifications of the candidates who run for Members of Parliament in the country. On the question of participation of women, as Figure 4 (repeated below) illustrates, LHRC and TACCEO (2016, p. 96) reports: “[T]he second unique situation about 2015 campaigns was the participation of two women in the contest of the highest political position.” The report mentions ACT-Wazalendo’s Anna Mgwhira as flag bearer for presidential race and CCM’s Samia Suluhu Hassan as their presidential running mate. However, there had been issues relating to qualifications of women and free and fair contest, as discussed below:



In the text above, a female applicant is being interrogated at gunpoint because it appears that the other (male) participant doubts her electoral credentials. The female candidate employs active voice in her pursuit of equal participation in elections in the country. She questions equality in the registration of contesters in political parties and complains about barriers to freedom of contesting. The male participant in the dialogue uses the passive voice to distance himself from the central theme of the conversation, i.e. barriers to women's participation in the elections. The dialogue runs as follows:

Diction	Literal interpretations	Intended readings
<i>Hee! Wewe babu vipi?</i>	Alas! What is wrong old man?	Questions gender criterion for registration of contesters
<i>Nipishe mie nikarudishe fomu.</i>	Make a way for me to	Questions subsequent barriers to freedom of participation in leadership
<i>Subiri!</i>	Wait!	Averting women participation
<i>Umeshawahi kuongoza mtaa wako?</i>		Questions the qualifications of the applicants

Despite these allegations made against the Tanzania Elections Committee (TEC) and the National Executive Committees of political parties, in the discourse for equal participation in elections, it is assumed that equality prevailed (TEMCO, 2015;

LHRC & TACCEO, 2016). It is argued that "overall, NEC handled the nomination process in accordance with the law and handled appeals in a manner that satisfied political parties" (TEMCO, 2015, p.10). The report also states that "it is also worth noting that women who were nominated by NEC were very few and this raises questions [regarding] the efficacy of interventions geared at emancipating women to participate in elections as contestants" (ibid.).

Metaphoric representation as a stylistic device in political cartoons

Introductory remarks on metaphors in texts

The use of metaphors is a major stylistic device evident in Kiswahili works (Rayya, 2002; Jilala, 2008; Marijani, 2014). In line with Missiková (2003), I analyse the choices and uses of metaphors as linguistic and aesthetic means towards achieving a goal of a political cartoon. as According to Missiková, texts allow for the investigation of linguistic means and devices of a given text when this approach is used as it enables the researchers to obtain the message, topic and content of the texts analysed. This method of stylistic analysis can be applied to the study of language use in texts given in selected political cartoons.

Schilperoord and Maes (2009) have established that interpretations of political cartoons require a complex blend of political, cultural, historical, and contextual knowledge in a given society. Probably a quick look at the political culture in Tanzania will highlight important points here. This is in line with Edwards (2004), who states that topics discussed in political cartoons reflect the real events, situations, cases and other matters which happen in society. Cartoonists select various sources of information which is then captured in the political cartoons they artistically create. Bush (2012, p. 47) found that 'quotations from politicians are also used by cartoonists to introduce the subject'. Other scholars, namely Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014, p. 40) argue that 'for the cartoonist to construct relevant cartoons he has to find out what the people are doing and what they are saying especially politicians and what the feelings of the audience are in reaction.'

the Tanzania context, the political matters 30

unfolding during the General Elections for both parliamentary and presidential positions offered fascinating grounds for the discussion of topics related to corruption, ethnicity, religion, peace and security, economic plans and their executions, civic education etc. (Nyang'oro, 2006; Kristomus, 2010; Gahnström, 2012; Kappia, 2013). These topics came up in discussions on ideological matters, fraud and corruption issues, and power relations in society, parliamentary proceedings, and electoral campaigns. Evidence for the prevalence of such themes in the selected political cartoons is provided below.

The main theme discussed in political rallies for the General Election in 2015 had been corruption, which is assumed to be the main stumbling block towards the initiation and implementation of proper development plans and strategies for the country. In fact, in the country, corruption is a hot topic discussed daily in the media (Lugome, 2012). In similar vein, Masabo (2014, p.158) contends that 'increased corruption and rent seeking behaviour in Tanzania have increased following the adoption of new economic reform.' Masabo pegs his argument on the point that 'corruption and fraudulent culture are thus core characteristics characterising the transition to capitalism process in Tanzania' (ibid). This is the case portrayed by political cartoons in Figures 1 and 2 above (repeated hereunder for convenience purposes).



As briefly stated above, metaphorically, the word MCHWA 'termite(s), white ants' represents corrupt leaders in the country. The main issue at stake here

is that both John Pombe Magufuli of CCM political party and Edward Ngoyai Lowassa of CHADEMA political party (for the UKAWA coalition) had been mentioned in scandalous dealings during their terms of service as ministers in the country. Thus, their propaganda to initiate developmental plans in the country attracts questions linked with their past. Based on these cartoons, the innuendo associated with the past, whether true or not, appears to hamper MAENDELEO 'development, advancement, transformations' from a very poor country towards a mid-income earning country.

The use of metaphoric expressions enables the cartoonists to create and deliver the message to their audiences. In this line, Schilperoord and Maes (2009, p. 235) opine that 'the interpretation of metaphors in editorial cartoons illustrates the pervasive force of message form in establishing meaning'. Kristomus (2010) points out that there are metaphorical expressions depicted by political cartoons in Kiswahili newspapers. Two metaphorical use of words evident in the texts presented in the selected political cartoons are CORRUPTION IS FOOD and ELECTORATES AS A CAPITAL.

The metaphor CORRUPTION IS FOOD

As noted above, it appears that corruption is characteristic of the electoral procedures in Tanzania (Kappia, 2013; Masabo, 2014). Thus, one of the metaphoric representations of the corrupt situation and fraudulent political leaders and the government official is through the metaphor of EATING IS CORRUPTION or CORRUPTION IS FOOD. This representation is evident in several of the dialogic depictions provided by the texts in the selected political cartoons. The texts in the cartoons (see Figures 1 and 4) refer to the words MCHWA 'termites, white ants' which tend to bore through hard bodies such as timber products. Metaphorically, this refers to the bureaucratic and political leaders whose main trait is fraudulent and corrupt. The metaphor of EATING is manifested in the way MCHWA 'termites or white ants', which refers to fraudulent politicians boring (EAT[ING]) timber products (which refers to public funds).

The question of corrupt politicians manifests itself in the texts KUWA NA NJAA 'to be broke, to be poor, to be bankrupt'. The texts in cartoons (Figure 8) politicians refer to some campaigners whose manifestos involve contestants who aspire to obtain

personal gains when they win during the General Elections. Here the metaphor of CORRUPTION IS FOOD is apparent in the way hunger 'KUWA NA NJAA' and eating 'KULA] had been used to refer to fraudulent and corrupt behaviour of campaigners.

Indirect mechanisms used to realise the metaphorical indication of CORRUPTION IS FOOD is made possible through the use of the word KUVUTA 'to pull out, to extract, to haul out'. Figure 1 presents Kipanya asking whether one of the political leaders had been bribed so as to step down from his position. Here the metaphorical use of the word KUVUTA entails 'taking a bribe, bribery or corruption'. Thus, someone who takes a bribe is able to provide food on his/her table, hence EATING. In other words, bribery allows the corrupt person to obtain an income which gives him/her power to purchase food for his/her family, thus perpetuating the notion of corruption is food.

Another indirect way in which the metaphor CORRUPTION IS FOOD is through the expression TENDA KUBWA KUBWA 'big tenders'. Tanzanians are involved in corrupt practices with the politicians. As Figure 6 illustrates, a businessman calls a politician and declares his position that his involvement in political campaigns have interests in doing corrupt business after winning the election. In reality, once tender-based government projects are granted to the corrupt businessmen, the performance slumps and the government officials fail to hold the firms accountable. It is in this line that Mallya (2012) argues that we must establish proper mechanisms for the separation of power between business persons who venture into politics and declaration of interests once their firms obtain government projects to execute. Since these two matters appear to mingle in Tanzania, then the fate of the developmental projects established by the government tend to fail.

The discussion above obtains support from the existing literature. For instance, the metaphor of CORRUPTION IS FOOD is discussed by Polzenhagen (2007) who found that the food metaphor—eating—in West Africa is highly associated with political leadership and bureaucratic positions. In his analysis, many words which are used metaphorically to mean bribe include *kola*, *soya*, *egunje*, and *commission*. In Nigerian, *kola* and *soya* are essential food substances. Scholars such as Taiwo (1998), Opefeyitimi (2009) and

Makinde (2012) discuss the importance of *soya* and *kola* in the preparation of numerous traditional Nigerian meals. Therefore, *kola* and *soya* are directly associated with the metaphor of CORRUPTION IS FOOD. With regard to *egunje* and *commission*, both terms allow employees to obtain an income which contributes to the procurement of food in the Nigerian society. Ogege (2014, p. 223) argues:

Corruption in Nigeria has persisted and grown in magnitude. It is almost growing into an indispensable way of life as it pervades virtually all facets of the Nigerian society. This explains why the word corruption is known and used by both the young and old in the society with different names in different languages. The Yorubas call it *egunje*, the Igbos call it *igbuozu*, the Hausas call it *chuachua* and the Urhobos call it *ekpaje*. It has become so entrenched in the Nigeria society that people openly and proudly demand for it, complain when it is not forthcoming and an individual can hurriedly resign if a present position does not give the opportunities for *ekpaje* or *egunje*.

In other cases, terms such as *commission* are used to refer to fraudulent means of obtaining an extra income in West Africa. This extra income allows people to purchase food for their families and, hence, is equated to corruption for food. Polzenhagen (2007) asserts that, though such words are used metaphorically, they are highly lexicalised and conceptualised in the entire West African society.

Another corruption issue during the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania is on the defection of Lowassa to the opposition camp (LHRC & TACCEO, 2016), as evidenced in Figures 9 and 10. In the former, the list of shame once provided by Wilbrod Slaa, which included Edward Lowassa, appears to be ignored by some of the opposition camp. This is the case of an ex-CHADEMA party secretary. In fact, this list of shame, which was formerly supported by party members and leaders such as Tundu Lissu (MP) during the General Elections, had included Lowassa. In this case, it appears that some political leaders from CHADEMA party (e.g. Lissu, MP) have betrayed their former mission of campaigning against corrupt politicians. As a result of the act of nominating Lowassa as the presidential candidate for CHADEMA, Slaa stepped down, claiming to be

against the nomination.



Figure 9: *The portrayal of corruption matters in Tanzania*



Figure 10: *The canny part of politicians in Tanzania*

Corrupt and fraudulent leaders are reported in many studies on General Elections and Democracy in Tanzania (see Gahnström, 2012; Lugome, 2012; Kappia, 2013; LHRC & TACCEO, 2016). It appears that this culture is pervasive in Sub-Saharan Africa, as Uneke (2010, p.115) argues:

Evidently, both private citizens and business enterprises seeking access to government services contribute significantly to corruption, since without the offer of tantalizing bribes, most political and bureaucratic corruption would be limited to illegal taxation, favouritism, and appropriation of public benefits by public servants.

The other topic covered by Kipanya cartoons is on civil rights and obligations of the citizens in Tanzania. Rioba (2008) argues that the Tanzania government practices multi-party democracy in which citizens obtain civic education, mostly provided through the media, to allow them to participate fully in the General Elections. In addition, the electoral procedures and the outcomes for the Parliamentary and Presidential elections in Tanzania are generally characterised as democratic, free and fair (Nyang'oro, 2006). Nonetheless, there are sentiments that civic education on democracy and multi-party elections is low for many of the citizens in the country. Kappia (2013, p. 147) reports that there are election activities which in turn 'caused many citizens not to attend civic education rallies and thus low education.'

Metaphorical expressions for ELECTORATES AS A CAPITAL

The metaphor ELECTORATES AS A CAPITAL manifests directly in the selected political cartoons. The central point here is the participation of the majority of citizens in voting for both Parliamentary and Presidential elections provide the government for the people. Kappia (2013, p. 142) puts it rightly as follows:

In a country like Tanzania where democracy is still nascent, popular participation in elections plays a key role of not only getting majority leadership, but also, it a process of consolidating democracy. Democracy which should entail the rule of the majority that is 'power of the people' then narrowly tends to imply the rule of the few.

It appears that the number of citizens who participate in the rallies for the political campaigns during the 2015 General Elections has become an important parameter in the country. A LCHR and TACCEO (2016) report stipulates that the participation of youths, women and persons with disabilities had been impressive. For the contestants, attracting many followers is very essential.

Politicians are aware that the role of citizens is to vote for a good leader. In the 2015 General Elections, two camps, namely CCM and UKAWA (mainly CUF and CHADEMA), strived to attract as many followers to their political campaigns as possible. Figure 11 shows a politician urging citizens to fulfil their civic right by voting for him. The words KUNUNUA ALBAMU 'to buy "music" albums' are indirectly used to refer to 'voting'. Thus, the number of citizens who come to the campaign grounds is a significant indicator that a certain politician is politically strong. Nonetheless, a final decision is always drawn from the polling booths and the number of votes cast in favour of a certain political leader.



Figure 11: Participation in voting for political leaders in Tanzania

This kind of observation is available in the literature. For instance, Kappia (2013) argues that the turnout at polling stations is an important indication of the rule of the people for the people. Indeed, participation in voting is also captured by the selected political cartoons. Thus, Figure 11 represents the politicians who insist that citizens should participate in both political campaigns and in casting ballots. This topic indicates a low level of civic education of the voters in the country (ibid.).

Another case involves politicians baiting the electorates. In the country, politicians come in with a number of projects and plans which they use to bait the electorates. In Figure 12, a candidate is listing promises to the citizens. Though such promises cannot all be fulfilled, politicians are aware that they attract the electorates; hence the majority of voters is a capital.



Figure 12: Participation in voting for political leaders in Tanzania

The realisation of the promises is another case that satiates the metaphor VOTERS AS A CAPITAL. According to the LHRC and TACCEO (2016, p.77),

during campaigns, the electorates did not have opportunities to ask the candidates questions, at least for clarifications of some of the issues pertaining to their promises and voters' expectations. Since questions could not be asked, it follows that the attraction of the electorate is central during campaigns.

Conclusion

This paper has articulated manifestations of the political issues in caricatures. It has shown that the selected political cartoons generally reflect of the real socio-economic and political matters apparent in the Tanzania context during the 2015 General Elections. The analysis herein has satisfied the three pillars of the theory of caricature, namely sympathy, gap and differentiation. The use of facial expressions, as part of sympathy, allows the identification of eminent politicians in the country. In addition, the portraits in the cartoons have exaggerations which constitute a gap. This gap allows differentiations between the real politicians (Dr. John Pombe Magufuli, Mr. Edward Lowassa, Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba, Hon. Tundu Lissu, etc.). It is plausible to argue here that the theory of caricature is fulfilled by Masoud Kipanya's cartoons. In addition, two major political issues emanating from this analysis include the manifestation of corruption matters and the free and fair election procedures. Such topics had also been reported in other research reports such as Nyang'oro (2006) on the influence of democratic and free and fair elections in Tanzania, Gahnström (2012) on ethnicity and religion as prominent cases for mobilisation of voters that have effects on Parliamentary and Presidential elections in Mwanza region, and Kappia (2013) on corruption and civic education in Dar es Salaam region. These topics appear in political cartoons in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, although Bal *et al.* (2009) discuss how Jacob Zuma abuses the Legal (Justice) System in South Africa. Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014, p. 39) report issues related to the ills in nominations within political parties as they argue that 'the party nominations were evidently a sham, marred by corruption, violence, bribery and other social ills.' In Malawi, Kondowe *et al.* (2014) argue that the financial difficulties and economic turbulence coupled with inflation tended to shake the power of ex-President Joyce Banda which ultimately led to crisis in the country.

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