A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017
“THE JOB OF THE MEDIA IS TO COMFORT THE AFFLICTED AND AFFLICT THE COMFORTABLE”

- Finley Peter Dunne (July 10, 1867 – April 24, 1936).

Disclaimer:
The Opinions expressed in this Research findings are not conclusive and are not entirely the Researchers’ own. There may arise limitations while asserting areas under research and thus may be inadequate. PPC and the team of Researchers party to this report regrets any short-comings that may be a part of this report.

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When the basic fabric of a delicate democracy is threatened then the role of the media, as the fourth estate, as the watchdog for full implementation and the adherence to the rule of law becomes even more sacrosanct.

The general elections 2017, presented such an enormous opportunity for the Kenya Media to not only rise up to its watch-dog role but also to firmly and unwaveringly pursue uttermost adherence to the professional code of conduct.

In this research report “Media Besieged - A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017” Peace Pen Communications embarked on the deliberate path to spotlight the role of the media in a highly contested poll period.

It is through amplifying the call for strict professional ethics especially during volatile periods such as the elections that media’s role becomes even more urgent.

PPC is grateful for the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Dar-es-Salaam that has affirmed and enabled the production of this report.

We thank the excellent team of researchers who braved a myriad of challenges and fleshed-out the gist of media malpractice that enriches this report.

We thank senior media mentors and facilitators who took the time to court sobriety of the analysis within this report and infuse worthy content to boost its presentation.


In a delicate democracy that is Kenya, the Media commits a grave disservice to its people if at the spur of political upheaval the tools and code of ethics are left to smoulder in the embers of political polarization.

We hope that with this analysis, the media in Kenya will reflect and act proactively to strengthen its professional conduct.

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The Kenya 2017 general election was the longest and perhaps the most challenging one for media. The election management body, the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission, local and international election observers, monitors were equally challenged.

This was to some because the election laws and policies remained fluid and changing even a few days before the general election held on 8th August 2017 and after the Supreme Court of Kenya ordered a fresh presidential election in 60 days.

During the intense political campaigns, insults and incitement to hatred, discrimination and violence ("hate speech") became common in political debates and discussions in the media and other public platforms.

Consequently, the use of indecent language and incidents of retaliatory provocative and incendiary expressions by political party representatives were not uncommon either online or offline. This had the potential of inciting citizens leading to possible violence if unchecked.

It is therefore worth commendation that Peace Pen Communications undertook a comprehensive media monitoring project that sought to sanitizing the airwaves and isolate incidents and cases that may require review and sanctions as the media in Kenya professionalizes and seeks to guide political debates to move from insults to issues.

That the report is the first to also look at the issue of gender related violence during elections is timely. However, this issue would have benefited from a detailed assessment to inform the continued discourse around gender parity in political representation in Kenya.

That the report finds that most of the mainstream newspaper and television reports, for the period under review showed a hallmark of professional and in depth coverage of most of the election issues during the entire cycle is welcome. However, we realise that some local language radio stations had a flurry of unchecked incidents of use of the platforms by political party actors or media professionals to incite hatred and discrimination.

These findings point a finger at gaps in the regulatory framework and the fact that some of the regulators selectively sought to implement the law. Some regulators tended to see no evil and hear no evil in a very convenient manner. They would wake up from slumber when their preferred political actors seemed to be afflicted by a section of the media.

The findings of the project must not just be used to name and shame users of “hate speech” and indecent expressions across some of the most influential media houses in the country, they must help in public education and self-regulations mechanisms that each media house must adopt and entrench.

However, we must note that mitigation against incitement to hatred, discrimination and violence cannot be purely by criminalization. Holistic approaches that entrench equality and non-discrimination are necessary.

Similarly, for the media and media professionals to discharge their functions effectively especially during highly contested elections beyond sensational and salacious reports, there is need to invest
in developing and implementing clear policies around working with professionals from different disciplines.

Such professionals would help clarify issues and offer in depth perspectives unlike when they rely on binary narrow perspectives as framed by the supporters and sympathizers of the two main political persuasions in the country. Such processes would ensure diversity and pluralism among the panellists engaged on live radio and TV programmes.

It is not lost to me that the report equally isolates the systemic and structural problems that face the mainstream media in Kenya like state advertising and the lack of a clear policy framework to ensure that state agencies do not deploy advertising as a tool of manipulation of editorial decisions.

Henry Maina
Executive Director, Article 19.
The hallmark of democracy is in the ballot and the media is key in the promotion and success of this democracy in any country. It is the responsibility of the media to sensitize the public and hold the state to account so that elections can be free, fair and credible.

The media plays a critical role in democratisation process as it provides information that is key to voter education. Being a watchdog of society, the conduct of the media towards political players and electoral process is key to democracy, especially in a country such as Kenya.

For this to happen, the Media must stay true to its ethics during the electoral process. In the event, that this does not happen, the will of the people is subverted.

The 2017 General election and holding of the subsequent fresh Presidential elections on October 26, was a challenge to the media in Kenya in many ways.

Media House were spread thin due to limited resources but most importantly media Houses, Media Owners, Editors and journalists contributed to subversion of democratic ideals. Majority of Media owners, Editors and Journalists across the board took sides in Jubilee Vs. NASA political contest thus failing to provide correct information to the voters that was key to the choices they made. Whilst this monitoring process focussed on a wide range of media houses, it established that media platforms such as The Star Newspapers and community radio stations such as Namlolwe, Kameme FM and KASS FM were notorious for airing or printing sensational, unbalanced, hate speech, Inflammatory, ethnic profiling and generally unethical content that goes against media ethics in Kenya.

There was a meltdown of gate-keeping roles in mainstream media houses such as Nation Media Group and Standard Group. The Editors, either by design or just negligence passed stories for either broadcast or publications that were sensational, biased or slanted to suite political interests of either Jubilee Party or NASA. Opinion pages in the print editions and panelists assembled by broadcasters to add value to political discourses were mostly biased or the moderators just failed to contain rogue panelists out to influence and shape the public agenda in favour of their political parties. In the month of September, Daily Nation and Standard joined The Star in ramping up sensational news. This went hand in hand with self-censorships genuine demonstrators were suddenly as labelled looters and violence escalated as police killings increased. Although, the 2017 General elections was a challenge to cover, it also exposed the soft underbelly of media houses in Kenya.

Data collection:

A team of 16 media practitioners, journalists working in mainstream media as well as free lancers were recruited as Research Assistants from Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret & Nandi. They were trained on research techniques, the key elements of malpractice to look out for during data collection and the national policies guiding media practice in Kenya.

The researchers reviewed daily and weekly newspapers, watched and made observations of TV news and panel discussions, reviewed online news streams and social media discussions, and listened to radio talk shows and news.

The researchers collected newspaper cuttings, TV and online video clips, social media links and radio audio clips.
The research assistants held regular monthly feedback and briefing meetings and presented their monthly reports to media experts from AMWIK, Media Council of Kenya and a collection of senior media experts who provided instant analysis and feedback on gaps to improve the quality of the reports.

Both qualitative and quantitative data generated has been subjected to analysis by the PPC staff and expert media partners for quality assurance.

1.1 Development of Media in Kenya

For more than twenty years, the media in Kenya has played a key role in advancing democratic governance, reforms and accountability in the country. A strong, independent and professional media contributes to the development of the country. The media in Kenya mushroomed from one- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) - to more than 100 with majority being community radio stations. The TV stations morphed from one to over 70 satellite and cable services and an increase from four daily newspapers to five, 16 weeklies and the digital media that has since changed journalism in the country(Ali, 2010, p.9). Democratization of media in Kenya means that the print media has to deal with digital media, hastened by growth of Internet and cheap cell phones (Communication Commission of Kenya (CCK) 2012/2013 first quarterly report, P.2).

1.2. Media and the 2017 general elections

The place for journalism in society cannot be disputed. Their role of entertaining and educating the public has earned journalists an informal title of the fourth estate, derived from the association with their readers. This part has elevated the profession to the same league with Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, which are the pillars of democratic state (Allan, 2009).

In the role of educating and entertaining the public, journalists sometimes act as public watchdogs by uncovering social ills, which they disseminate in the service of the public. This social contract exposes journalists to competing interests, which have pulled journalism in different directions leading to censorship, threats or control by government (KÖYLÜ, 2006).

As watchdogs of society, journalists must be above reproach and the public service they do as journalism must be in accordance with values of accuracy, fairness and honesty so that the society does not question the journalist's morality and ethics that are enshrined in codes of conduct.

The reverse can have a negative impact on news gathering practices (KÖYLÜ, 2006). Although MCK and Communication Authority plays a regulatory role for professionalism, the two were unable to reign in MOA, Media Houses, Journalists and citizen journalists.

These resulted in lawless state of affairs. The inability of the Media Houses to stay true to the code of ethics, jeopardised the lives of journalists who work for the institution.

For instance, Citizen TV’s Francis Gachuri and NTV’s Jane Gatwiri were roughed-up by NASA supporters, who believed that the stations were biased against their presidential candidate Retired Prime Minister Raila Odinga http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Nasa-youths-attack-journalists/1056-4163580-yr6fs0z/index.html.

Before then, NASA had called on its supporters to boycott all Nation Media Group products http://www.nation.co.ke/video/1951480-4090340-format-xhtml-autr8m/index.html NASA and Nation later made peace and the boycott was called off http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Orengo-endorses-NTV---Nation-/1056-4090234-bfa0cdz/index.html.
Police also joined the queue, a protest that turned violent in Kisumu, saw them beat up journalists, who were covering demonstrations. Police officers believed journalists were exposing them to danger https://businesstoday.co.ke/police-injure-journalists-covering-kisumu-demo/

However, there also many times during the period that Nation media Group and Standard Media Limited stayed true to the code of ethics.

Social media usage during the 2017 General elections was problematic. Fake news pervaded the digital space and mainstream media like the National Media Group and Standard Media were sucked into the cycle. The urgency of being the first one to break a story resulted in their inability to fact check.

Cases studies were on July 3rd, 2017, when NMG supposedly used a fake tweet to do a story that stated that businessman Jimi Wanjigi had threatened a Nation Reporter. The businessman was supporting NASA. Despite realising it was a fake account, NMG failed to own up.http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Twitter-post-threatens--Nation--journalists-Wanjigi-expos--/1056-3998606-ipcxc0z/index.html

Standard Media Limited on November 16, 2017 used a picture of an accident that occurred in Oklahoma, US to state that NASA supporters burnt cars in Nairobi during the NASA leader homecoming. These are some of the classic cases where the media openly gave false information in 2017 General elections to the public but failed to own up.

This Monitoring project by peace Pen Communications of the 2017 general election started in the month of June to November 28th, 2017 and ended when President Uhuru Kenyatta was sworn in as the President of Kenya.

During this period, the media was engaged in sensational, unbalanced, hateful and inflammatory content. Radio stations, which forms the bulk of the reach broadcasted hateful content and ethnically profiled Kenyans as ‘Them vs. Us’. Political analysts morphed on live TV broadcasts’ and Kenyans were bombarded with biased opinions and hateful views from the panellists with little control from the hosts, who were expected to be the gatekeepers.


Capital FM is owned by billionaire Chris Kirubi. It broadcasts in the Capital City of Nairobi County and major Cities in Kenya.
Community radio stations like Kameme FM, KASS FM and Namlolwe preached to the converted by whipping up ethnic emotions to rally supporters of either Jubilee or NASA supporters.

Kameme FM, a Kikuyu outfit of MediaMax Limited had a free reign on anti NASA Candidate Raila Odinga and the Luo community hateful content. Kameme, which is part of Mediamax is linked to President Uhuru Kenyatta. It broadcasts to mainly the Kikuyu community, President Kenyatta’s support base. An Educationist and a Presidential Candidate in the 2017 general elections Prof. Wainaina captured the Kameme FM hate on his inflammatory blog during the protracted 2017 electioneering period. http://profmichaelwainaina.com/mr-uhuru-kameme-fm-highjacked-wakikuyu-wenye-siasa-kali-shut-now.html

“Anū a nyūmbaitū, mwārekereriaūthamakiūthūmūrūoreire o ma o ma. Mwarekūūūrūūūtūūūnūkūtīūūkūth iūoūthamakinūūūnūdūūūrūūūrī′ū? Nūmūūūiandūūūyanūūūmatwūūūūhūūūtūūūre? Ta mwūūūɔandūūūikūūūwūūūtūūūignmentūūūndūūūtūūūthūatūūūtūūūco ɔ̃kūūūhūurūūūtūūūrūūūrūūūsūūūtūūūgūūūtūūūútūūūrūūūrī′ū”

“The people of the house [of Mūmbi] , have you let our kingdom be taken from us as you sit by and watch, really? You are letting leadership be snatched from us by alien tribes? Don’t you know that these people have sworn [to finish us]? Register in large numbers as voters I beg you we return Uhuru we secure the [Gīkūyū] kingdom, and defend our tribe”.

On July 7th, 2017, a survey published in The Star on page 2 titled: Kameme FM leads in hate speech-media survey shows. The survey was an indictment of the editorial team of Kameme FM.

KASS FM’s Breakfast show leneemete (What the Nation is saying) was engaged in hate speech during the period. KASS FM broadcasts in Kalenjin community. It is owned by businessman Joshua Chepkwony. Mr Chepkwony is allied to Deputy President William Ruto, also a Kalenjin. The call to incite the Kalenjin community against the communities was on numerous occasions broadcast to the Kalenjins on this show during on 24th, 27th and 28th July are some of the cases in point.

On 23rd June, 2017, Radio Namlolwe airs a very inflammatory story allegedly quoting President Uhuru Kenyatta as having said:

“If Uhuru can say that who does not know that it is the Kikuyus and Kalenjins who fought for the independence of this country and he says tuambiane ukweli…..”

However, the radio station goes ahead to quote former Assistant Minister Dr Oburu Odinga castigating President Kenyatta and in the process broadcasts the remarks over and over again.

The report was biased, inflammatory and sensational as the Head of State was not given an opportunity to respond to the claims. Attributing such sentiments to the President, would have incited NASA supporters and escalate conflict in a charged political campaign.

In the month of July, as the campaigns’ pace increased ahead of August 8th election, the media seemingly threw caution to the wind.

A few stories stood out. On 5th of July 2017, The Star published a story titled: “Sinister plot a foot against Raila, cops trail him-Orengo on page 2. The story was sensational and without facts. The paper used Ugenya Senator James Orengo’s quote but without facts and failed to interrogate Mr. Orengo to provide further details for the story, which presumably suggested that the Government wants to assassinate NASA Presidential candidate.

The paper further publishes another story on July 11th, 2017 titled: Kenya to protest over NASA tally centre in TZ. The headlines and the entire story was based on hearsay without any evidence or a comment from NASA or the Tanzania Government.
On July 26th, 2017, Nation ran a story titled: Man in ethnic hatred race freed on bond. The writer and editor went ahead to repeat hateful comments that saw the man prosecuted.

It was not only hate speech but inflammatory and sensational. The story should have been edited to remove hate speech in his Facebook post. “Warning luhya community not to participate in Uasin Gishu politics nawarudi kwao”.

He also used the same page to warn Kikuyus against their own. “The kikuyu will not dominate us in own Wareng, let the fire burn”. The editor failed in his gate-keeping roles.

Before then, the Nation had run unbalanced story on 25th July, titled: “DP woos Nakuru voters, accuses Raila of planning Mau evictions” on Page 4. The story was outrightly a fabrication and Raila as the leader of the opposition was not awarded a right of reply.

There were also cases of unfair treatment of stories. In the Standard of July 27th, 2017, Jubilee party was allocated eleven pages to publicise its manifesto while NASA had half a page.

Again, on 14th July and 17th July Respectively, Standard had two headlines titled: Kenyatta: I will concede defeat if I lose but will Raila?, on page 8 and We are ready for you, which started on the front page and turned on page 8.

During the same month, The Star published hate messages that had been circulated in Nakuru. The hate massage read as follows:-

“Wakikuyu wa Munyaka, Bahati, Mwitiriria and Cyrus watakiwa kuhama Uasin Gishu county kuamkia usiku 08/08/2017 kama hamtampigia Governor Jackson Mandago,”

Puuza ilani hii nautajuta cha mtuma kuni!”.  


KTN News morning express show on July 26th, 2017 was not only unbalanced but the host was not prepared for the panellist. Because, he was not prepared, he allowed the host to run all over him with unsubstantiated claims that were one sided.

The media handled stories on judiciary in unethical manner and seemed to take politicians’ words for truth. On 10th of July, NTV ran a story in the news bulletin at 7:54 minutes.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzyqQTwa8HM&t=83s

“JUBILEE ACCUSES JUDGES IN IEBC CASES OF BEING CONFLICTED

“Jubilees onslaught on Judiciary brings up claims on conflict of interest.

Tonight daggers are drown over the Judiciary onslaught by the Jubilee Party top leadership

They also accused the Judiciary of playing to NASA’s tunes and vows to appeal the decision rendered last week by the High Court on public participation”

The judges had no right of reply in the story as Jubilee’s word seemed to pass for the truth. This is despite the judiciary having a spokesman who could have responded to such claims on behalf of the judges.

The general election was held on August 8th, 2017. Before then, the media ramped up sensational, inflammatory and biased news as the day approached. The story of Rosemary Odinga and closure of a foundation bank accounts linked to her was spiced up by The Star in the August 2 edition on page 2. It
turned out that Ms Odinga was not the owner but the chairperson. It also emerged that the organisation was yet to be registered as claimed by the NGO Council and that claims that the funders of the Foundation were foreigners pushing for the regime change in Kenya were false.

*The Star* went ahead to write another speculative and sensational story on August 6, claiming that the killers of IEBC IT Manager Chris Musando were arrested in Uganda.

The story was not only unbalanced but false. It turned that the suspect, a Kenyan, arrested escaping the country to South Sudan was being sought following the murder of Morris Macharia from Nyeri not Musando.

There was no link between the three (two Ugandans and a Kenyan) to the murder of Musando as the Ugandan police spokesman denied having evidence to link them to the murder.

On the same day, the Nation had a story: *Munya vs. Murungi: Clash of age, ideology and 2022 plans.* In the story, the writer says:

> “But the fight between Mr. Kiraitu and Mr. Munya has metamorphosed into a contest between the aspirations of the young in Meru and the interests of the establishment.” “It is political guerrilla warfare, being fought village by village, street to street.”

The writer exaggerates and spices up a story. The writer becomes part of the story and uses framing theory by seeing himself/Nation Media Group in the story.

On August 10, page 19, *Nation* ran a sensational headline titled: *Mother beats son in hotly contested Bomet East Parliamentary race.* The headline was not only misleading but false. In fact, the mother had 22,796 votes against her son who was distant fourth with a paltry of 2,410 votes thus a sensational headline and misleading content.

On August 17th, the Star published a story on page 5, the headlined: *IEBC results reveal glaring contradictions, analysis shows.* The headline does not bring out the glaring contradictions. There is a disconnect between the headline and the story.

The claim by the Star that 800,000 Kenyans voted for their presidential candidates only was not true. The Star used the IEBC figures on the portal to make the calculations but had not taken into account the transmission rate.

IEBC CEO, Mr Ezra Chiloba confirmed that some areas had low transmission rate. Even though a voter is issued six ballot papers, no one is forced to cast a vote for a particular candidate.

The case of Media failing to hold public institutions to account was in the Star of September 8, on pages 2 and 6.

The headline of the story: *Kaparo unaware of Kuria, Waititu hateful remarks.* “Manhunt is on tonight for the 200,000 people who did not vote and 70,000 that voted for that other ‘demon’.

The writer failed to put the public officers to account. He/she went ahead to work on the story by allowing Kaparo space to mislead the public. The writer should have pointed to Kaparo that the remarks were on social media.

The star once again carried a headline on 8th of August, page 21: *Venomous Uhuru unfit to lead.*

The headline was sensational. Even though President Kenyatta expressed his dissatisfaction with the nullification of his re-election, it does not amount being likened to a snake. The Editor should have exercised his gate-keeping role to edit out such words.
On 12th September on KTN news TV had a live coverage in Kibera, where one of the politicians stated:

“……tunaambia Uhuru kwamba bangi haipandwi state house pekee yake……wakiwash Tunawasha, wakipiga tunapiga

Although live coverage is tricky for Media Houses especially in a charged environment like Kenya's electioneering period, it is paramount for News Directors to cut off the politician who is “allowed to incite the public” for about two minutes on air.

1.3 Shimmers of commendable professionalism

However, in the month of October, NTV and Standard stayed true to their calling when they spotlighted acting Interior Cabinet Secretary Dr. Matiangi for calling on an outlawed group to fight NASA supporters. This was commendable. It showed the public the seedy and devious side of politicians. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UgtC4cg1mVM&feature=em-lss

NTV also did a professional job when on this panel https://youtu.be/4tJdUrHT83c

On 26th October 2017 on Decision 2017. The panel was balanced, equal airtime was given to all panellists. The host was very sober since he conducted the talks maturely, moderated well, the debate was constructive. He balanced his panel too.

This was a contrast to how Media Houses ran their panel discussions. They failed regulate opinion writers and panellists on TV/ radio stations as Fresh Presidential elections drew closer. https://youtu.be/YR0vjo8b7X4?list=PL5nQj7eIok966FCNtQjPaiY6-HnMjLx3z

https://youtu.be/OLdKSLbCGgY

https://youtu.be/kYF7IVzYPX
Various stakeholders, partners and media personalities capture their experiences during the 2017 General Elections and Fresh Presidential Elections. Their views show how media failed to tell the whole story during the elections.

2.1 Media as Part of the Conspiracy of 2017 Election Injustice

In the wake of the prolonged and highly contested 2017 Presidential Elections in Kenya, there has been intense debate within the media, political and other circles about the role of the media in the 2017 General Elections.

The major debate has revolved around whether or not the media lived up to the public expectations on reporting the entire election process accurately, in depth, fairly and in a manner that offered adequate space to the contesting parties, especially the two major fiercely competing political formations – National Super Alliance (NASA) led by Raila Odinga and the Jubilee Party led by Uhuru Kenyatta. The latter was eventually declared the winner after a controversial repeat election on November 26, 2017.

The debate is whether or not the media served the broader national good, identifying and prioritizing key national issues and presenting, analyzing and projecting them in a manner that help in the country’s democratic transformation and in conflict resolution. This comparison is being made within the return of multi party period of the 1990s and the 2002 General Elections and during the constitution reform processes of 2005 and 2010 when Kenya made important strides in the democratic transformation trajectory.

Uhuru’s victory during the August 8 Election was annulled by the Supreme Court which cited massive illegalities and irregularities and directed the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission to conduct a fresh presidential Election “in accordance with the constitution and the law”.

After the repeat elections on November 26 and the swearing in of Uhuru Kenyatta as president, the debate on media role has increasingly shifted to the question of whether or not the media was part of the conspiracy to legitimise what is generally recognized as serious electoral injustice on Kenyans, whose short and long term effect constitute a threat to the peace, cohesion and stability of Kenya as nation.

There were key issues around the elections which the media was expected to intensely focus on as part of helping to ensure that the entire election process was free, fair, transparent, credible, verifiable and peaceful.

These issues included among others, the following:

- The mass voter registration process and the audit of the voter register to weed out dead voters who are believed to have compromised the 2013 Elections
- Complaints over the deployment of election officials and domination of the positions by specific ethnicities and fears – expressed by among others, leaders from Western Province over the deployment of most officers from one community (Kalenjins) as Returning Officers in that region;
- The capacity, commitment and independence of the IEBC, including internal wrangles between Secretariat and the Commissioners, which eventually boiled over during the elections and significantly undermined the trust of some Kenyans in the electoral process;
Concerns by the Opposition about the voter register, incomplete audit and the procurement processes including the ballot printing tenders;

Concerns about the heavy deployment of security officers in largely opposition areas and the potential to intimidate or interfere with the voting process, a factor that has ballooned into a bigger contestation. This has led to confrontations between opposition supporters and the security agencies in which more than 200 people have been killed and scores of others injured and women raped;

Concerns over the mapping and allocation of network coverage by different internet service providers and fears that the declaration of large swaths of Kenya did not have the 3 and 4 G network to transmit results electronically may have compromised the results;

The prolonged court cases around the electoral issues by political parties, the IEBC and other stakeholders and their effect on the process of elections;

The controversy over results transmission methods and the Court ruling on the constituency as being the primary point for declaration of presidential results.

The coverage of the elections, the role of the observers and the actual transmission and tallying of results and the final declaration;

Media’s role in the transparency of the voting process, results transmission and tallying and its failure to publish its own tally despite declaring massive preparations and deployment of journalists to polling stations and all the constituencies;

To a large extent, the media gave satisfactory coverage to the electoral process and focussed on the issues above, but with a varying degree of fairness, accuracy and ethical conduct. The debate about media complicity in the conspiracy in electoral fraud and injustice is based on a number of considerations, which continue to be contested given the highly polarised nature of the Kenyan society, from which the media and individual journalists have not be spared.

There have been a series of reflection meetings on media’s role in the elections of 2017, reviewing media performance and the gaps.

These have been convened by different stakeholder groups including Article 19 and the Media Sector Working Group, Kenya Union of Journalists and UNESCO, Media Council, UNESCO and the Kenya Media Sector Working Group and the Kenya Correspondents Association (KCA).

KCA convened regional media and elections reflection meetings in Lodwar, Kisumu, Meru and Mombasa, which also brought on board views from other stakeholders, especially from the civil society and religious groups.

In all these sessions, a number of things emerged regarding the role of the media in the electioneering process.

There was broad recognition that the media did well in reporting the electioneering process and generally helped the citizens follow up on the issues. The media also faced challenges of internal capacity, editorial and management ethnic and party polarisation, threats from different players including political party leaders and supporters, state agencies, including the Communications Authority (CA) and the Ministry of ICT which issued edicts against the media tallying and releasing results, and security agencies.

But there have been key areas of criticism and perceived weaknesses and perceptions of media bias and complicity in denying the people critical information, helping building certain narratives through skewed stories, editorials, talk shows, or failure to cover certain issues based on political considerations or fear.
There have been observations that the media failed sufficiently cover, and give the necessary weight to and probing of the concerns of lack of preparedness by the IEBC, flaws in voter registration and voter register audit. Most of these were raised by the Civil Society organizations and the opposition but in some cases, the main media outlets seemed to give more voices to those in government and Jubilee and their supporters who in many instances dismissed the concerns and constantly defended the IEBC. The same trends were seen in the cases involving concerns in procurement, vote printing tendering process and the court processes where in many instances the IEBC itself initiated court cases or filed counter court cases, which affected the processes. Most mainstream media editorials, commentaries and talk shows tended to focus on the need for “peace, respect for the constitution and faith on the electoral agency and other state institutions”.

So the major criticism of the media has been largely the lack of proper focus and call for accountability and transparency by the IEBC arising from the apparent ineptitude, wrangles, state capture, including lose of interest in the murder of the ICT expert Chris Musando.

The IEBC’s lack of structured dialogue and no responsiveness to the demands by the political class were not sufficiently questioned with the media largely portraying the opposition as being intransigent and making “unrealistic demands” through the “irreducible demands” by NASA.

Questions over training of special security units and heavy deployment of officers in opposition strongholds, violent break up of demonstrations and tear-gasing of opposition leaders were highlighted but with a more dominant counteraction from state and Jubilee voices dismissing the claims of security officers bias or brutality, or claims of opposition supporters “threatening peace, life and property”.

During the campaigns, there were loud murmurs from journalists about control of editorial content by state operatives and for TV, video clips from the Strategic Presidential Communications Unit rather than from journalists deployed to the field were reportedly routinely used, in the process, demoralising most journalists.

At least two media houses – Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and Capital FM, Senior managers were reported to have issued strict instructions through memos that the opposition activities would not be carried by their stations and those that were carried were largely negative.

The biggest criticism of the media has been of the apparent acquaintance to state threats via the Communications Authority and the Ministry of ICT not to tally and publish results from the polling stations and constituencies as declared by the IEBC officials even at a time when the electoral body itself had, in press statements and engagement with media stakeholders stated that the media were free to do so based on the results declared by its officers in the field.

A number of major media houses: Nation Media Group, Standard Media Group, Royal Media and Mediamax indicated they had committed significant resources to monitoring the elections and tallying the results as part of enhancing accountability and transparency but no tallies were ever declared and instead, they waited to project the contradictory and contested figures from the IEBC’s National Tallying Centre at Bomas in Nairobi.

Published figures from the constituencies by the media could have enhanced the transparency and accountability of the process and by IEBC amid the political contestations. Instead, the major media outlets went quiet about the figures collected and the presidential vote tallies. Just before the repeat presidential elections on October 26, 2017, NTV flashed a clip on the screen on tallied presidential results giving NASA 8.5 million votes against Jubilee’s 7.1 m but this was quickly pulled down, although a screen grab of it circulated on social media for days.

Journalists within the media houses have intimidated at the tension and difficult decisions on whether or not to publish the results, “even if partial, from the constituencies tallied”. Some managers and legal
officers advised caution and in some instances used the issue of the case filed by the Opposition at the Supreme Court as a justification for not publishing the tallies as doing that could be “subjudice”.

In the Post-Election period after August 8, the media were under pressure not to cover Opposition press conference and statements for fear of “causing chaos and instability”. There was minimal coverage of police brutality and killings of Opposition supporters in Nairobi and Nyanza, with the media choosing to go by the state version about the demonstrators being “looters, criminals and militias destroying property and being armed”.

Journalists on the ground filed credible information about the cases of brutality, killings and even rapes – including of children, but the media was seemingly feeble about accountability by the police and shied from publishing the figures, later choosing to go by the data from the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights.

Although the coverage of the nullification of the presidential results of August was given prominence by most media houses, the slant, editorials and commentaries differed from one media house to another. The landmark nature of the ruling, hailed globally as progressive jurisprudence, was not entirely celebrated within the media circles, or given rave commentaries and reviews. The media remained cautious, fearful and in some cases, appeared to suggest that the Judiciary was bent on upsetting the status quo and could destabilize the state through the ruling. Yet, in the eyes of many Kenyans who felt aggrieved by the election process and outcome, it was a huge celebration and a statement of faith in the Supreme Court.

Prior to the NASA suit at the Supreme Court, the major media outlets had packaged stories of “a peaceful, credible election”, even copiously quoting observer missions, both local and domestic as giving the election a clean bill of health. In the Process, the media joined the chorus of those calling on NASA leadership to concede defeat, stop the threat of demos and boycott “for the good of the Nation”. These were done in editorials, talk shows and generous spaces given to opinion writers who believed in the narrative of the Presidential Election being “free and fair”.

The deeper and critical questions surrounding the elections, the faulty processes, from the mass voter registration, incomplete audit, procurement questions of election materials, executive interference with the IEBC, problems with results transmission and tallying, over deployment of security in opposition areas, ethnic profiling and police brutality, failure of the electronic transmission system and KIEMS, unstable internet environment and interference with the IEBC serves by state operatives, the raid at NASA parallel Tallying Centres by security agencies, among others, were not sustainably dealt with by media. All these were crucial indicators that would otherwise have infused a sustained media attention for the greater good of the presumed democratic process in the country.

Indeed, voices emerged even among journalists both within the mainstream media and on social media platforms pressurising NASA and the CSO claiming electoral fraud, to “table evidence instead of whining and putting the country on edge”.

The extent of discontent with the mainstream media and feeling of complicity in the perpetration of electoral injustice was evident in the outrage on social media platforms, which most people turned to for real time, albeit raw and in some cases, fake news. There were cases of planted stories in the media, notably the Wanjigi and Mudavadi stories in The Nation.

KCA, through its regional forums established a degree of anger and hostility against journalists and media houses, of course in varying degrees, for either failing to capture the issues critical to citizens, accurately reporting the electoral issues or failing to give the final vote tally.

The use of state resources and agencies to intimidate, brutalize and force dissenting citizens into accepting the electoral outcome has either been grossly under reported, glossed over or deliberately suppressed by the main media outlets.
At some point, a number of stakeholders: sections of the clergy, human rights groups, and communities, beside the opposition, felt visibly frustrated by the local media for not capturing anger, the issues and the mood of the country on the issue of electoral injustice and turned to the international media for airing their views. James Orengo of the NASA Coalition even declared a ban on the Nation Media Group and its products over perceived unfair coverage, the impact of which has not been made public although the ban was later lifted.

The debate on the perceived complicity of the media in what is widely viewed as electoral injustice is inconclusive and more examples keep being given as the coverage of the political crisis facing Kenya unfolded.

Like in 2013, the media is likely to suffer a crisis of public confidence over its reporting of the electoral contestations and going forward, the reporting of the sustained rivalry between NASA and Jubilee in the 2017 Elections.

2.2. Role of Government Advertising Agency (GAA) in the 2017 General Election

The Government Advertisement Agency (GAA) was established in 2015 under the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology to centralize government advertisements to save government unnecessary cost, but with a hidden agenda of controlling editorial content in the media.

GAA was given more teeth to bite early this year by the introduction of a state-owned publication known as MyGov, which carries government advertisements and circulated by inserting in major daily newspapers on weekly basis.

The editorial content in MyGov cannot be edited by media houses to meet the set standards due to contractual obligation of no alteration of what the government has presented whether they are factual or not. This thoroughly affects the editorial independence of media houses to carry news articles that meet professional standards and code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya.

This obviously violates the cardinal rules of fact-checking, accuracy and balance in any news article published by a newspaper that is worth its salt.

The head of public service Joseph Kinywa in a memo dated February 8th, 2017, directed all ministries and departments not to place advertisements on newspapers, warning that accounting officers will be surcharged for such costs. The advertisements, Mr Kinywa said were to be channelled through GAA for placement in MyGov for onward presentation to newspapers as a package.

MyGov, which is produced by Kenya News Agency, was used during the campaign period to spread unbalanced news stories on achievement of the ruling Jubilee administration. Ban on direct placement of advertisements on newspapers by ministries and government departments forced media house to embrace the publication that had both advertisement and editorial content from the government.

This affected the independence of the media because editorial content was produced elsewhere and newspapers forced to circulate as their own content just to get revenue from advertise placed on MyGov. This was replicated in electronic media by the Presidential Delivery Unit’s documentaries, which highlighted the achievement of Jubilee administration over the past five year.

The idea of MyGov was mooted at a special Cabinet meeting where the senior government officials complained that the private media was not promoting positive image of the ruling administration in their editorial content, and there was a need to devise a new way of forcing the media to carry articles done by government-friendly journalists employed by KNA. A memo directing ministries and departments
not to place advertisements was issued immediately after the Special Cabinet meeting on February 8, 2017.

However, payment for the advertisements has not been smooth due to allegedly deliberate efforts by GAA to withhold the funds to demand for positive editorial content.

Delayed payment came to the limelight in 2016 when Nation Media Group contracted a debt collector to push for release of funds it was owed by the government to the tune of Ksh155 million as of October 2016.

As at the end of 2015/2016 financial year, the government owed various media houses cumulatively Ksh800 million, which was attributed to lack of enough budgetary allocation by the Treasury. Denis Chebtweyi, who headed GAA at the time the complaint was lodged, acknowledged the debt but attributed it to inadequate funding by the Treasury.

Ngare Gituku, current CEO of GAA said media houses are owed money because Treasury has not released the funds, and the whole issue should be treated as pending bills in the government.

Media houses have been left with no option but to dance to the tune of the government and beg for the release of funds being held by government, a development that causes friction between advertisement and editorial departments in newsrooms.

Reduced advertisement budget by GAA is a major contributor to redundancies in a number of newsrooms, which have been on a cost-cutting spree to balance their books and survive in a tough business environment.

For some media houses to survive, they have opted for self-censorship in order to remain in the good books of the government, which in the special Cabinet meeting held in February 8, 2017 noted that placing advertisement in newspapers with negative stories on the government was not adding any value to the ruling administration. In 2015, President Uhuru Kenyatta said while launching My Gov as an online news platform that the government will no longer advertise on traditional media.

In the run-up to elections, Nation Media Group, Royal Media Services, Radio Africa Group and Standard Group rendered jobless dozens of journalists due to shrinking advertisement revenue, which was largely attributed to this association with the GAA. Standard Group Limited, for instance, has already issued a profit warning for the 2017 financial year.

Generally, the dynamics caused by GAA and the scramble for advertisements had an impact on how the media covered the 2017 general election as journalists were accused of turning a blind eye to some of the concerns, especially post-election protests in Kisumu, Mathare and Kibera where people were being killed but TV stations aired cartoon network instead. A senior editor with Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, for instance, asked his team in a WhatsApp group not to cover the protests. In other words, he asked KBC to give the Opposition NASA side a media blackout.

The media therefore did not have a free to convey accurate information to guide a democratic process and help the citizens to make an informed choice in the 2017 Elections.

In addition, the Kenyan media was not bold in treatment of the stories compared with 2002 and 2007 general election where factual stories guided the campaigns. The answer to this is out there – the media was presumably selective in its coverage due to a supposed unwritten rule in newsrooms not to upset the ruling administration.

Opposition, National Super Alliance, raised the red flag when it called on its supporters to boycott Nation Media Group products, which it accused of churning out propaganda in support of the ruling Jubilee party.
2.3 Corruption in the DNA of Kenya’s Election Coverage

When IEBC chairman, Wafula Chebukati walked to the podium and announced Uhuru Kenyatta as the President elect for the second term, thousands of Kenyans went to the streets either in celebratory mood or in protest September 1.

It was a final moment of a process that had been faced with twists and turns since the year begun. While many would choose to side with their political leaders’ perceived correctness, there is one key player in the whole quagmire that remained crucial and that was the media.

In this age, it requires no emphasis the fact that media plays a vital role in channelling views and shaping the public opinion.

That there were huge glimpse of media bias in the coverage of the 2017 general elections is not a secret. When you look back to the hours after the announcement of the first results in August 11th results, take a few steps to the wailing souls that filled slums and villages due to police brutality, there is every reason to feel that indeed the media restrained itself. Why didn’t anyone cover all these? Is it really true what the local media took sides in reporting police brutality or any other incidences of election malpractice? Is there a chance that Editors, reporters and media owners were compromised out of covering certain issues?

It is understandable for any local journalist to come out in solidarity and dismiss such murmurs of corruption in the Kenyan media. However, it’s always known that ‘if it bleeds, it leads’. And there was a lot about media compromise being said that this fact could not be ignored.

The Kenya Media Act (2007) incorporates a “Code of conduct for the practice of journalism”. Article 3 of the code stipulates that journalists must not “accept gifts, favours or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage” or “engage in activities that may compromise their integrity or independence”.

In a recent article in veteran journalist Macharia Gaitho in his Daily Nation weekly column published on August 20th opined that journalists did their best during the electioneering period. It has to be clear that Mr. Gaitho, a luminary senior editor with a commendable media record was aware of the experiences of those manning the newspaper’s Elections Desk and thus was privy to nearly everything going on all around the newsroom.

His views may not stand to be, especially not to the complainants that mostly emanated from opposition followers. The narrative that the National Super Alliance (NASA) followers were subscribing to was that “leading media houses had gone to bed with the ruling Jubilee government” was an open secret.

The failure to bravely report on the alleged “killing spree” that was being carried out by police sadly led to NASA leaders warning supporters never to consume information from Nation Media group on August 20. However, media practitioners are always the target in political duel and any efforts at neutrality will always end up in victimization as Gaitho indicated in his article.

“We are always caught in the middle of the contending forces so you have on one side the Government which is also an interested party in the elections, and the Opposition and each expect the media to see their exclusive point of view. If the media remain neutral, then each of them says the media are against us,” he wrote.

Unfortunately, not many reporters in the field believe in being neutral. It is just an aspect that is set on paper as they are all human beings with political affiliations which they wish to protect or make a killing from.
Back in 2013, a national survey was carried out to examine the prevalence of corruption or rather the brown envelope journalism malady in Kenya. **Shocking findings revealed that a 74% of respondents believe that corruption is rife in Kenyan media.** Nearly 46% of Kenyan journalists learned the art of corruption through the source–journalist relationship, followed by the legacy inherited from older generations (20.3%). Furthermore, the study showed that cash money (40%) is the most common form of corruption—and politicians are the top bribe-givers to local journalists, followed by businessmen. Interestingly, 77% of Kenyan journalists viewed that corruption in the local media compromises objective journalism.

Brown envelope journalism has graduated into “Briefcase journalism” owing to the sheer amount of monies changing hands between some scribes and politicians or businessmen. This phenomenon is not a new to the Kenya media.

However, glimpses of its growth were noted when President Uhuru Kenyatta invited journalists to Statehouse, Nairobi in the famous ‘karibu chai’ phrase back in 2013. This was an invitation which many believe upgraded that particular aspect of the game. It made field reporters anticipate freebies or brown envelopes in exchange for positive coverage.

To budding journalists, it may sound strange to get a biased story being published. Ideally, such stories shouldn’t even go to print as there are gatekeepers in the newsroom.

However, after the media’s conduct in the past elections, many a critic opine that gate-keepers no longer exist thus the entire media profession is in a mess.

The **Star** cartoonist Patrick Gathara points out that the gap created when veterans who graced Kenyan media in the 90s joined boards leaving budding journalists with no mentors is to blame.

It may not be fair to say that all journalists in the local media indulge in this maligning aspect. There are a good number who have tried to put themselves on the line for the truth. These are individuals who even in the face of death will go ahead to see to it that truth prevails. One good example was **KTN TV** reporter Patrick Khaemba who was arrested with his cameraman in Kibera for wearing protective gear while covering protests. It is this extra mile that journalists are urged to brave the tide and objectively say it as it is rather than sugar-coating it.

However, dealing with corruption in the media needs a lot more. Journalism cannot be practiced outside the culture and political system in which it is practiced. As seen in Kenya, which has a strong tradition of clientelism, journalism practice adopts a habit of nurturing ties between reporters and sources. One should however not know how best to handle this relationship. When it reaches an extent where investigative reporting will be subdued because the reporter and the source have a mutual interest in not exposing the scandal; the reporter for financial reasons, and the source for status reasons, then the whole objective of journalism is lost.

As the former Media Council of Kenya (MCK) Charles Kerich once pointed out, mentorship of young journalists is important especially on election reporting.

“Some media houses have training editors who don’t talk about the culture of the newsroom but concentrate on grammar. I think older journalists should go the extra mile and make the younger ones understand much more than just how to write stories and be ethical,” Kerich said.

Mr. Kerich further highlights a dominating aspect that may have also led to low professionalism in media houses thus nurturing brown envelope journalism. His views that the rising inclination to journalists with pretty faces and tons of make-up and a hour-glass shape in tight clothes, clear voices, good-looking then over brains and quality is to blame for the current mess.
One thing that became clear after the post-election violence in 2008 was media bias especially vernacular languages stations. It showed that media was equally divided as was the rest of the country instead of standing for the truth. Delving deeper, one can easily acknowledge that commercial interests began to outweigh public interests. Fast forward to the 2017 General election and we encounter a well irrigated media corruption syndrome as the outspoken political analyst Miguna Miguna says:

“Brown envelope journalism is destroying Kenya because it is placing incompetent people at the top of society, these people will loot billions and give handouts during campaigns and the media broadcasts it but will ignore Miguna because he will not give you anything,” said Miguna during a recent live TV show hosted by Jeff Koinange.

As a profession, media has rapidly dragged itself towards the establishment hoping to attract adverts and other monetary benefits. This sharply contrasts the traditional role that was to act as a government watchdog.

Corruption in media is not deniable given the necessity to conform and survive. This was the case again in this year’s elections. Everyone can remember the initial threats by ICT CS, Joe Mucheru, who warned media houses against streaming results and announcing the winner. The CS waded in to threaten of License cancellation and total internet blackout if ‘things took an unexpected twist’ during the election. This is just on the crude side of intimidation; one which commercial interests beat by a major score in the just concluded election as evidenced by a restraint coverage of police brutality.

There is thus urgent need for different sectors to come together and shun bribery in the media. Strict monitoring of the editorial process alone won’t help especially when the source-journalist relationship is deeply rooted. All available platforms of discussion especially media councils and journalist unions should work harder and faster to salvage what remains of objective reportage.

2.4. Violence Against Women “ignored” in Elections Coverage

Violence Against women was rife during this period but the media ignored or totally failed to look at such incidents that needed to be highlighted.

The media was unable to report from an early warning perspective despite tensions and hate speech being reported from several politicians. Just 10 days to the General Elections on July 27th, women from 12 informal settlements in Nairobi gathered at the Freedom Corner to express their fears over violence during the electioneering period.

In a campaign dubbed #WomenAreAfraid convened by Peace Pen Communications, women from 12 informal settlements including Mathare, Kibera, Kawangware, Korokocho, Mukuru, and Kariobangi
voiced their fears over insecurity in the slums during elections and urged for the protection of the government.

The plight of the women of the #WomenAreAfraid was covered negligibly by the local media but given top priority by internal media. It was only after the international media had picked up the focus on impending violence in the slums that the mainstream media decided to highlight their issues.

Violence against women in the tense elections period was heightened by several factors. For instance, Women who were married from across the political divide were perceived as enemies or moles and these would have formed critical human interest stories for media in relation to the gender perspectives that come from election related conflict in Kenya.

Women and children remained most affected and pictures of police invading homes and violating women including those who were pregnant were more visible in social media than mainstream media.

Violence Against women and girls never made it to media headlines within local media and when it was covered, it was reported negligibly and covered sporadically.

Ahead of the Fresh Elections on October 26th About 20 women’s rights organisations wrote to the Inspector General of Police, Cabinet secretaries of Interior and Health highlighting the over 60 cases of sexual violence that had been reported across the country. Many more still went unreported because of the nature of the violation and the stigma associated with such cases. In their statement the National Gender Based Violence Working Group noted: “Early accounts of the chaos that followed the announcement of the August 8, 2017 presidential election results indicated that rape and sexual violence occurred in affected communities. Since then, we, the organizations listed herein, in collaboration with community actors, human rights defenders, health workers, government institutions, and development partners, have received, recorded, and assisted numerous victims of sexual violence from Nairobi, Kisumu, and other parts of Nyanza and Western Region.

Preliminary findings of in-depth research conducted by Human Rights Watch confirmed incidences of sexual violence in Dandora, Mathare, Kisumu, and other affected areas.”

The letter went further to say: “Women, girls, and men are all affected and have suffered varied forms of sexual violence, including rape, gang rape, sexual assault, indecent assault, and forced nudity, in some cases accompanied by severe physical assault. Sexual violence experienced by the victims has been gruesome and terrifying. Some victims were raped collectively with others from their communities by the same perpetrators, while in other cases, children and husbands witnessed their mothers and wives being raped.”

Polarised within the mainstream politicking campaigns, the media seldom focussed on these case of abuse thus treating issues of violence against women with triviality. The media failed to be accountable to the women and children of Kenya in terms of sexual and physical violence that they experienced including nursery schoolchildren who were tear-gassed by the police on several occasions.

However, even as the media ignored all that is stated above, women peace monitors were able to document several incidents of violence, tension, and hate speech among other issues that should indeed have formed the basis of sustained media coverage during the electioneering period.
2.5 The stories of Violence that the Media missed

Below is a category of events as reported by PPC Peace monitors before during and after the General Election.

Hate speech

Actions as a result of the violence
- People armed themselves, including women, in anticipation of attacks
- Many communities were moving to their rural areas as a way of safety for fear of being attacked

Challenges faced as a result of the violence
- Food insecurity
- Women are unable to continue with their business could not feed their families
- Children suffocate due to teargas some fear going to school

Actions taken by women peace builders and monitor
- Talked to different people especially in groups-prayer and women groups and asked them to preach peace.
- Held peace forums in the community with the county peace committee, security agencies opinion leaders and aspirants
- Met the aspirants even before the elections and agreed on the dos and don’ts especially giving youth alcohol and holding night meetings during the campaign we had the mandate even to reprimand them.
- Encouraged people who felt wronged to air out their concerns rather than bottling them up. This helped people remove all the hatred they had in their hearts reducing possibility of conflict.
- Encouraged mothers to talk to their sons and husbands about the evils of war.
- By use of old guards and other aged members of the Gikomba community we were able to talk the young men out of the planned attacks.
- Peace forums and meetings held in churches, mosques as well as within women’s and youth groups meetings with the help of the county peace committees.
- **Women were able to meet and share the challenges they were facing as a reflection and agreed to live as one tribe of women**
- Women forum from different political parties to air out their views and build bond among themselves
- Active nonviolent ways trainings for community leaders in case they demand for justice.

Recommendations from peace builders and monitors
- Have trauma healing forums that will help the affected families
- Have more trainings on peace and conflict monitoring
- Need training on how to quell a dissenting group and how to approach different sets of situations on the ground.
- Trauma healing forums needed to help the affected families especially those that lost members of their families or businesses.
- Women forum from different political parties to air out their views and build bond among themselves.
- Active non-violent ways trainings for community leaders even as they demand for justice.
- Facilitate inclusion of different religious leaders to the peace forums.
- Have open forum community dialogues where the people living in the community can discuss their issues and concerns and chart the way forward.
- Encourage sporting activities for the youth which can help them in building trust and unity amongst themselves.
- Increase the number of women in the peace committee since they are the most vulnerable during conflict.
Peace Pen Communications monitored electronic media (Radio and TV), Print media and Social meeting, which represents Citizen Journalism. The scope of election media monitoring was targeted on August 8th, 2017 general elections and the repeat Presidential elections on October 26th.

This monitoring process was done from 1st June to November 28th, when President Uhuru Kenyatta was sworn in. The genre of content monitored was news and news bulletins, current affairs, opinion, panel discussions of TV and radio. All content was subjected to the same standards on biased reporting, hate speech, sensationalism, inflammatory and ethnic profiling in both national and community media Houses and community radio stations.

The sample included the following:

Print Media: Media monitoring for this category targeted the 05 main dailies i.e. the Daily Nation, the Standard, the Star, the People daily and the weekly citizen. These are the main newspapers widely distributed; e.g the People daily is given freely within the major towns.

Television (TV): PPC identified 05 TV stations at project inception based on their popularity, strength and length of coverage, viz NTV, KTN News, KBC, K24, and Citizen TV.

Radio: PPC identified 07 radio stations for purposes of monitoring hate speech in the country. These were identified based on regional balance, conflict prone areas being their target community and how big this community is, their political affiliations in terms of ownership and their listenership. The stations are: Namlolwe FM, Kameme FM, and Radio Rahma (which broadcasts in the Coast), Kass FM, Pilipili FM, Pamoja FM.

Social media: For Social media, we targeted to monitor 05 platforms namely: Twitter, FaceBook, Instagram, google-plus, and Whatsapp. Citizen Journalism popularly played out on social media platforms was key in this election as both factual and fake news were relayed here and it was therefore paramount to monitor it.

3.1 Monitoring and Colour Grading – Score Board

The research, data collection and analysis was done against the following elements of malpractices in journalism coverage and reporting of issues during the election period. Below is a summary of Key words, elements monitored & their Definitions:

Biased reporting: Reporting bias is defined as “selective revealing or suppression of information”; it is capturing people’s tendency to under-report all the information available. Bias is a tendency, trend, inclination, feeling or opinion especially one that is pre-conceived or unreasoned. Bias is unreasonably hostile feelings or opinions about a social group; prejudice.

Alarmist reporting: Someone who is considered to be exaggerating a danger and so causing needless worry or panic. A tendency to raise alarms, especially without sufficient reason, as by exaggerating dangers or prophesying calamities,

Fake NEWS: Publishing or broadcasting false or non-existences news.

Sensational reporting: (Yellow journalism); Material is factual but is exaggerated news, use of big, bold, screaming headlines to announce the news, with purpose to increase sales, circulation, grab
attention. This is low intensity hate speech, which has no call for action but it creates a negative image of the targeted victim – mostly inflammatory.

Inflammatory: Refers to speech or writing / something that excites anger, violence, rebellion, or similar strong unhealthy emotions, tending to excite anger; disorder, causes a local reaction and among others has a dormant call for action. Inflammatory speech or writing is arousing or intended to arouse angry or violent feelings: arousing to action or rebellion.

Dangerously inflammatory: This is the highest intensity of hate speech as it has the strongest potential and purpose to directly lead to violence and or discrimination.

Hate speech: According to the National Cohesion & Integration Commission (NCIC), this is a statement or views that can cause disharmony amongst groups or communities. For instance, Ethnic profiling leading to extermination of a group/community

Unethical e.g. Pictures used: Especially of violence are unethical, may be gruesome,

The Colour Grid:

The media houses were scored based on the colours ranging from Red which indicated the highest level of danger to purple which indicated positive reporting (or messages of peace) as described below.

- **Colour RED** indicates a media house is guilty of spreading hate speech
- **Colour Yellow** indicates a media house is guilty of all three elements: Biased, Sensational and Inflammatory coverage and reporting.
- **Colour Blue** indicates the media house is guilty of two elements: Sensational & inflammatory reporting
- **Colour Green** means the media house is guilty of only one of these elements either: Sensational or inflammatory
- **Colour Grey** means the media house is guilty of Biased/unbalanced reporting
- **Colour Purple** means the media house did positively well in balanced reporting
Communication practices influence the public agenda. This is done through agenda setting and framing theories of communication.

In Journalism, it is expected that the agenda being set is in the interest of the public and within the realm of the code of ethics.

The inability for Media Owners Association (MOA), Media Houses, and journalists to abide by the code of Ethics and Media Council of Kenya and Communication Authority to enforce the law brought about sensational, unbalanced, hate speech, inflammatory, ethnic profiling and unethical content that could have contributed to subversion of democracy in the 2017 general election and fresh presidential elections.

Media owners influenced agenda of their media houses. Majority were think-tanks for either Jubilee party or National Super Alliance (NASA) coalition.

They offered their media assets to political parties as mouth pieces for party campaigns. They fiddled and meddled with editorial policies, which left journalists vulnerable and insecure. Journalists played along to save their jobs in the process breaching code of ethics and media laws.

Consequently, Media partners, stakeholders and regulators- Media Council of Kenya and Communication Authority- became spectators. The institutions, mandated by law to provide checks and measures, regulate print; broadcast media and citizen Journalism were paralysed by group indecision in exercising their mandate. And when they flexed their muscles like banning live Television coverage, it was outside the constitution. Like the Kenyan community, the institutions were glaringly divided between Jubilee and NASA, which sometimes made it difficult to enforce the law objectively. The voices of reason were drowned by noisemakers from both sides of the divide. This resulted in indecision that could have crippled their operations.

Information, Communication and Technology Ministry set up Government Advertising Agency (GAA) to handle all its advertising needs. GAA was a noble concept, when it was set up. However, over time it became a competitor of media houses through the production of the insert publication MyGov.

MyGov is a weekly publication for the government of Kenya. All Government Advertising revenues that used to go directly to media house are channelled through MyGov. Because Government lacks distribution networks similar to that of media house, they opted to ride on goodwill of media houses to distribute this pamphlet at a monthly fee that is less than Ksh 40 million. This is way below what some media houses would make monthly from direct advertising.

It is therefore the analysis of this report that this way, the government has been able to remotely control editorial content by dangling the carrot and stick.

Regardless of the interests of the Kenya Government, Journalists took sides in Jubilee/ NASA political contests.

They were the oil in the engine that pushed sensational, unbalanced, hateful, inflammatory, ethnic profiling and unethical content to the public that could have contributed to questionable reporting.

Editors and writers pronounced and flaunted their political affiliations publicly. They expressed their tribal or political affiliations views on social media contrary to their social media policies.
This ended up in their print content and broadcast bulletins/panel discussions et al. Any reader or TV viewer did not need to delve into the story to know its content all but read the by-line or the host.

Newsrooms became cesspits of corruption, tribalism and playing field of political influence peddlers and brokers.

There was a serious collapse of gate-keeping roles of editors. Journalists who were not affiliated to Jubilee or NASA failed to do the right thing for fear of being sacked.

Therefore, conclusively, this research report asserts that the conduct of media in 2017 General elections and Fresh Presidential elections exposed gaps in the laws governing media of which the following recommendations proposes to address in future elections:-

4.1 Media Owners Association

5.1.1 Media owners should publicly state their party affiliations to enable their staff align their objectives to the political affiliations and for the various publics to understand their editorial policies.

5.1.2 It should be mandatory for Media Owners, especially those without a media background to attend short media courses to acquaint themselves with the knowledge business.

4.2 Media Partners/ Regulators

5.2.1 Regulators should sponsor legislation in the Kenya National Assembly against cross media ownership.

5.2.3 MCK should go beyond licensing of journalists and punish rogue journalists.

5.2.4 MCK should establish alternative revenue streams away from stranglehold of Government resources for its independence.

5.2.5 MCK/CA should establish a self-regulating toolkit within the framework of the law that allows Citizen Journalists to decide their own ethical guidelines.

4.3 ICT Ministry

5.3.1 ICT Ministry should get out of the media advertising business.

5.3.2 Review of Media Act 2013 to bring regulatory regime under the Media Council of Kenya

5.3.3 Increase budgetary allocation to Media Council of Kenya to boost its capacity to enforce code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya.

5.3.4 Escalate advocacy by non-state actors in the media industry against state interference with media freedom and editorial independence

4.4 Editors and Writers

5.4.1 Media houses and senior editors should jealously guard editorial independence.

5.4.2 MCK and Media Houses should enforce code of ethics and so should the media houses on editorial policies.
5.4.3 Media Houses must avoid employing and embedding political journalists of an ethnic group in a political party allied to the same community. This breeds tribal activists instead of professional Journalists.

5.4.4 Kenya Union of Journalists should be strengthened to protect Journalists who feel insecure to make the right editorial judgement. It should have all journalists under its wing with journalists promptly paying membership fees.

5.4.5 Editors and Writers should cover more issues of equity/inequality in society.

4.5 Citizen Journalism

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1,932,871</td>
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<td>84,000</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
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<td>19,732.2%</td>
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<td>4,000</td>
<td>444,376</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
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<td>290,000</td>
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There is 4-5.5 million Kenyans, who engage in social media activities daily. Hateful, tribal and fake news pervaded social media in the Kenya Elections 2017. This content extended to social media sites for mainstream media. [http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats1.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats1.htm)

5.5.1 MCK, CA and stakeholders should provide measures of accountability.

5.5.2 The media houses should work on policies to govern their social media pages and make them known to their audiences to encourage sobriety and civil participation on these pages.

4.6 Academia

6.6.1 Cohesion should be part of journalism schools college/university curriculum

6.6.2 All Journalism school’s curriculum should be uniform in all Colleges and Universities

6.6.3 It should be mandatory for journalists to attend short refresher courses to earn credits before being licensed by MCK.

6.6.4 There is need for formalisation of Citizen Journalism in Kenya’s education system.
The Majority of Media in Kenya are owned by a few families. This political families who are engaged in cross media ownership are aligned to either the political coalitions of Jubilee or NASA. Editors and writers were also split between the two party candidates.

Gate-keepers failed in their duty and writers became political consultants. These could be attested to their social media groups which were supposed to be professional but turned out to be lethal political battle platforms.

This research provides contradictory media versatility to the ensuing challenges of covering the multiple 2017 General elections. Mixed. The findings therefore display that the media could have contributed in subverting democracy.
With the intention to include the sentiments of ordinary Kenyans mostly in Nairobi, we set out on a generic Vox-pop to speak to citizen on what they thought of the media conduct during the electioneering period of 2017.

Many Kenyans we spoke to were dissatisfied by the media for failing to live to their expectations. About 90 percent of the respondents believe that the media was skewed in its coverage more so, giving much more attention to the ruling government compared to the Opposition.

Samson Juma, a resident of Kibra constituency and a gospel artist by profession stated that the media was balanced and objective in their coverage before the elections period kicked in then changed completely as August 8th approached.

“The media was not very objective at all during the elections and especially in this area the media were only interested in negative news as way of portraying the people here as very violence and rowdy and yet were very peaceful. The way reporters were asking their questions was very irritating and this clearly indicated that the media was under the control of those in power,” Juma believes that the media did this purposely and with the help of the police in order to create a state of fear among the voters.

“I was shocked when the journalist in Kibra were only targeting NASA supporters for their interview but I believe this was a well-choreographed plan by either their bosses and were following up orders from above. This kind of order reduced the journalist on the ground to puppets and conveyer belts, this also put the reporters’ lives at risk since they can be attacked by people”.

Daniel Odour, a barber in Olympic area in Kibra constituency –Nairobi County said that the media failed to deliver in terms of elections coverage to all Kenyans.

“Earlier before the August elections the media made it clear that they shall have their tallying centres where they were expected to tally the results as they trickle from the polling stations countrywide, but instead of sticking to that, the media “entered into some-sort of a pact” with both the Government and IEBC to which was a blind move since most Kenyans lost trust in their coverage “.

Patrick Musyoka, a Matatu driver in Mathare expressed his disappointment with the mainstream media.

“During live events the mainstream media was very lazy and asking very irrelevant questions that are not important to issues affecting the people of Kenyans and I felt that the media especially the TV and Radio presenters had no clue of what they were talking about. Instead of concentrating on issue that can help in educating the voters, they were busy playing tribal politics and massaging the egos of the politicians”. He however acknowledged the media for their efforts to report police brutality especially in hot spots area.

“If there is something that I can credit the media during and after this elections period is showing the police brutality which very cruel and indeed portrayed the media as the agent of change in our society”.

Everlyne Warner, a shop owner in Central Business District-Nairobi County believes that the media were being controlled by the Jubilee Government.

“2017 General Elections were peaceful but in hot spots areas, we witnessed violence which was
wrong for Kenyans to be used by their tribes-men to attack their neighbours whom they have lived alongside for many years. The media in their parts did their part by ensuring that Kenyans are updated on what is going on around the country, there was nothing they could do since the government had begun the crackdown on media a year before elections and this really affected their coverage since they were not sure if they reported independently there would be consequences”.

Billian Ojiwa, a youth leader in Mathare blamed the mainstream media outlets for constantly airing content from the two main coalitions, the National Super Alliance (NASA) and the Jubilee Party (JP).

“It was very clear that the mainstream were only interested in airing interviews of two parties leaving out other candidates who were also taking part in the elections, these candidates were offered limited coverage and Kenyans never got the chance to understand their manifestos at all. This created impact within the Mathare area and there were two camps created just because of the media. I think the media should have offered each candidate equal time to share their agenda with Kenyans”.

Nancy Aseko, a Kiosk owner in Jacaranda area—one of the hot spots in Nairobi—thinks the media contributed to the violence.

“The media should understand that they have the power to unite or break this country. The media really focused on these hot spots and in return we saw violence erupting in these areas since a certain community felt that their fellow communities were been attacked in these areas, so they hit back by attacking other communities. Had the media been sensitive on how they report then what we experience in “Jacarada would not have happened where the police were overwhelm and resorted to shoot to killing tactics as a way of ending the violence”.

Philip Musembi, a Newspaper vendor within Jacaranda blames both the media and police for the violence. He believes that these two groups acted out of emotions while discharging their duties.

“We had reporters being partisan in their reportage and this affected their professionalism and at the end of the day, it's the voters who had to pay with their lives. The police would act on what the media had reported for instance we had journalist who would rely on hearsay and end up reporting yet it's on a live event, they should have done their investigation and get to know the truth of what is really happening on the ground”.

Sumaya Athman an accountant student at KIMS and resident of Jacaranda felt that the media failed to adhere to the principles of truth and accuracy, independence, fairness and impartiality.

“We had some journalists who could not balance between the personal attributions and the professional journalism, this played on social media platforms of most media pages of some journalist”.

Vincent Ogada a lawyer by profession in Nairobi is of the idea that the elections had a range of issues which required some kind of training for the media to understand.

“Let’s call it facts, we don’t have journalist who are well versed with constitution and who could quote facts in their reporting. This really played out clearly during the so-called lives’ shows where the so-called political experts and analysts, many who couldn’t make contributions that justified their titles. Television stations paraded what they called “eminent” and “super” panels too little effect. Beyond being large in size, the panels were often thin when it came to substance”.
Annex 1.0: Research Findings

RESEARCH FINDINGS: PRINT MEDIA - JUNE 2017

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: June 5th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism, Justification: The headline (Jubilee, NASA clash over free education) for the story covered on page 2 & 3 portray a picture where the two popular parties are actually going on war and this might present a different picture to the voters who are illiterate who might decide to attack each other thinking that since their leaders are also clashing, they should also help them fight.

Media: THE STANDARD; Date: June 5th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism, Justification: (Title: Uhuru: My fear and hope over poll, published on the front page and pg 8). In an exclusive interview with the Standard, the president explained how he was going to seek a second term. Note the headline can be interpreted wrongly as the President fears something wrong might happen in this election and cause panic. The statement ‘not taking his opponents lightly’ can be taken out of context.

Media: THE STAR; Date: June 8th, 2017; Rating: Blue
Sensationalism/inflammatory: Justification: The commentary is outrageous- that the Kalenjin’s will not vote for President Uhuru Kenyatta as a way to protest in what they consider DP Ruto’s high handedness. “Something akin to a political tectonic shift out of pen up anger is brewing in Kalenjin speaking population”. The comment is obviously intended to tilt Kalenjin’s to believe that the DP has lost the grip among the kalenjin community. It does not reflect what is in the ground.

Media: THE STANDARD; Date: June 11th, 2017; Rating: Green
Inflammatory coverage: Justification: The terms “hit back” and “trash” on the headline “Independents hit back, trash NASA 6 piece plot” on Pg 26 is uncalled for, demeaning and one may wonder whether Independent candidate are going to war with NASA over an alleged “plot”.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: June 13th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification: The use of word ‘Under Siege’ in the headline ‘Kalonzo: A man is under siege’ of the story on Page 4 & 5 portrays a different scenario and can easily be interpreted as if Kalonzo is on war with the government. This can create panic and result into war.

Media: THE STANDARD; Date: June 14th, 2017; Rating: Blue
Sensationalism and Inflammatory coverage: Justification: Story titled “Uhuru and Raila clash over election plans” published on page 4 and 5, was in relation to the ballot printing tender saga. But headline is alarming and can influence supporters from either side into conflict.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: June 15th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification: The usage of the word bomb on the headline ‘Musalia drops ballot bomb as IEBC calls talks on Page 4 sounds as if the NASA team are going to war with the IEBC. This might be misinterpreted by their supporters that IEBC is supporting and favoring other players in the upcoming General Elections, such words can easily create tension.
**Media: THE STAR; Date: June 15th, 2017; Rating: Blue**

**Inflammatory/sensational: Justification:** The headline “You are foolish to back Kimemia, Waithaka scolds residents” on page 29 of the paper sounds inflammatory and sensational. It is absolutely illogical to report that a section of people with their democratic rights are foolish or ‘empty-headed’ as said by Governor Daniel Waithaka. The headline was sensational. The reporter should have edited it to remove such statement. That could incite the supporters of Kimemia to retaliate in different manner of anger. “Nyandarua residents are ‘empty headed’ that is why they support Jubilee governor candidate Francis Kimemia”

**Media: THE STAR; Date: June 17th, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Sensational: Justification:** The headline “Uhuru and Raila in war of words”, published on pg 7 is in itself disturbing as it portrays the two to be in verbal exchange of words which could affect the voters.

**Media: THE STANDARD; Date: June 19th, 2017; Rating: Blue**

**Inflammatory/sensational story: Justification:** The headline “Blame Raila for any post-election violence in August”, of the comment published on page 19 of the paper is emotive. One would imagine that in a scenario violence erupts after elections, even without Odinga’s involvement he will be blamed. It sets up Odinga per say. This is personal attack. “The words Kenya will burn have been used quite liberally by his team. Clearly, we might need to prepare for the possibility of election-related violence” residents are ‘empty headed’ that is why they support Jubilee governor candidate Francis Kimemia”

**Media: THE STAR; Date: June 21st, 2017; Rating: Blue**

**Sensational/inflammatory headline: Justification:** The story titled “Uhuru preparing military to rig the election, claims Raila” is simply propaganda with no background on how military will rig elections in favour of President Uhuru Kenyatta. In the story, there is no link between the government and military to rig elections. In an event the opposition loose elections, their supporters will believe that the government and military rigged elections.

**Media: THE PEOPLE DAILY; Date: June 21st, 2017; Rating: Yellow**

**Sensational/inflammatory/ imbalance coverage: Justification:** The story of the headline “Ruto, Raila clash over elections rigging claims”. On page 22 the same story on use of military to rig elections appeared, is all about blame games and propaganda which should not have ended up to public domain. There is no evidence to suggest that the military will be used to rig elections. Such story that involves rumours and speculations against a discipline force requires one to be factual not to be used by baseless claims. President warns Raila against derailing poll. The story lacks details on how Raila want to derail elections.” Tunajua anataka serikali ya nusu mkate, lakin ihiyo haita fanyika’

**Media: THE STANDARD; Date: June 24th, 2017; Rating: Blue**

**Sensationalism/Inflammatory: Justification:**-The headline ‘Uhuru:NASA is dividing country along tribal lines’ can easily spur hatred among citizens. A reader who already hates NASA principals will promote hatred and ‘preach hate’ about the alliance. Writers could have chosen better words to express themselves by not necessarily using the words ‘tribal division’.

**Media: DAILY NATION; Date: June 24th, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Inflammatory: Justification:** The headline of the opinion piece “How to quickly place Uhuru and Ruto back in the dock at the ICC” by Kwamchetsi Makokha is inappropriate, sounds very hateful and can cause uproar. It is also ill wish against the two leaders.
Sensational/imbalance: Justification: The story, titled “DP Ruto ally Tunai swindles revenue from Maasai Mara”, evokes the emotions against Maasai community. The allegations made by Raila that over Sh3 billion collected from the park ended in Ruto’s pocket has no basis. Tunai was cleared by the Senate public Accounts Committee and EACC over the matter. The story said…. “The reason why the people of Narok are languishing in abject poverty is because these two leaders have been fleecing park revenue money”. There is no comment from both Ruto and Tunai over the matter.

Inflammatory/sensational: Justification: The headline, “Nasa funded by corruption cartels and NGO’s”, published on page 29 is sensational. One will believe so, but the story diverted the real issues. The story relied on what Aden Duale said referring to a businessman Jim Wanjigi. “Their entire campaign is paid for by corrupt cartels with money stolen from Kenyans. How will you fight corruption when the choppers you are using and your entire secretariat are paid for by corruption cartels”. However, the said individual has not publicly declared his interest on funding NASA.

Sensationalism: Justification: In the article titled “Kabogo renew his attack against Ruto” published on page 5 of the paper, the writer is clearly taking side in his reporting by highlighting how Kiambu governor William Kabogo and DP William Ruto are in a fight and this might affect the relations between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin whereby Ruto supporters in Rift Valley region might decide to attack their Kikuyu counterparts in areas such as Eldoret and Uasin Gishu.

Inflammatory coverage: (Uhuru-Ruto to attack Raila big promises. Tit for tat- front page headline) the words tit for tat and tug of war between Odinga and Ruto seem to suggest animosity and may affect their supporters negatively.

Bias & sensational: Justification: (Ballot papers tender row, 9pm) Opposition Wants Tender for Ballot Papers Annulled. “We’re just very disappointed with IEBC that every time NASA says something then they run like headless chicken to respond”. “Jubilee alleges that NASA’s objection to the Al-Ghurair printing contract is a case of sour grape”. This report can be considered as bias because for the entire session IEBC was not given a chance to respond. It’s also sensational by the virtue of running the clip where Tuju tells off IEBC to be running like a headless chicken.

Inflammatory/Sensational coverage: Justification: The Inflammatory aspect on the story titled “Jubilee party’s complaint on Raila” reported during the 9pm cast was captured on Raila’s speech speaking at Kajiado calling the Masai community not to sell their land.

Sensational coverage: Justification: (Story reported by Ken Mijungu at 9pm, titled “Moses Kuria at it again, slams Nasa’s Flag bearer Raila Odinga) Gatundu MP Moses Kuria claims that Raila Odinga is planning to sabotage the 8th August Elections and warns the international community not to intervene in case of post- election violencein case they arise.
Biased/inflammatory: Justification: (ODM rivals clash, 1pm news) “ODM Supporters allied to two camps clashed over the preferred candidates for the disputed Malindi Town Ward sit. Trouble started after supporters of Malindi Town MCA Jared Chokwe called a press conference to dispute calls for fresh nominations just a moment after his competitor David Kadenge held another press briefing conference saying he was ready for that exercise. The groups stormed the venue and ordered those briefing the media to stop mentioning Kilifi Woman Representative Aisha Jumwa. Commotinal suits as two groups engage in a fierce exchange of words, Chokwe supporters accused their rivals of being bribed to disrupt the briefing.” This report is both biased and inflammatory. It can cause war rift between supporters of the two political candidates.

Sensational coverage: Justification: (News title “Charity Ngilu, Julius Malombe supporters clash in front of Kalonzo Musyoka” 9pm) The political rivalry between candidates for the Kitui governorship played out in the open in front of Wiper party leader, Kalonzo Musyoka, as supporters of Narc’s Charity Ngilu shouted down the incumbent, Julius Malombe denying him an opportunity to address the crowd. The coverage may raise tension among the supporters of different parties.

Biased/Inflammatory/Sensational: Justification: The report “NASA is accusing Uhuru and the Jubilee government for planning to use the military to rig elections” is sensational and ill intended. In the report, NASA presidential candidate accused jubilee of deporting military personnel to jubilee strongholds so that they can steal elections. No tangible evidence is provided to substantiate the claims.

Inflammatory: Justification: In the report titled “Chaotic Rally in Rarieda” which read “A certain car came with some strangers and unplugged independent candidates’ banners like Susan Kwere and Neto Adhola, as I approached the road someone held me by my back and threw me to the crowd who descended on me but I managed to escape as my mouth and nose were bleeding……..they had chains and some hadstones”. Thesesentiments clearly show that the guest belonged to a certain political alignment. Therefore by giving him airtime and his sentiments disseminated might make persons his supporters want to peak vengeance which might in turn result to violence.
Social Media June 2017 Reports

Rating: Blue; Sensational and Inflammatory: Justification: This was dangerous reporting in the sense of the pictures that were shared. The pangas and knives were in a position to create some sort of fear among ODM supporters who had planned to attend more rallies during the period.

Rating: Blue; Inflammatory and sensational reporting: The choice of words in this tweet made the message very ambiguous. One could easily interpret the speaker is advocating for tribal cocoons in the Senate.

Print Media Reports - July 2017

Media: THE STAR; Date: July 4th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification: (Violence looms, Kenyans must play their role to avert it-European Union (EU). Page 8) .This kind of report can easily be misinterpreted by the illiterate in the society and the unemployed youth who have always been used as tool for violence. The reporter should have used a friendlier headline like, ‘EU tells Kenya to conduct credible Elections to spur prosperity’.  

Media: THE STAR; Date: July 5th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification: (Sinister plot a foot against Raila, cops trail him-Orengo. Page 2) -The story headline seems to suggest of something sinister plotted by opposition leader Raila Odinga.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: July 5th, 2017; Rating: Blue
Inflammatory/Sensationalism: Justification: (Danger as leaders beat drums of war, Page 2-3)  -This kind of headline shouldn’t have passed as the subject is literally quoted preaching hate speech. As the leading media house in East and Central Africa, I think the paper failed to gate-keep this kind of stories from the public. This can easily trigger emotions which will result into violence.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: July 5th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification: The usage of word battle in the title “Uhuru and Raila battle shift to undecided voters”, on Page 7 sounds as if the two presidential candidates are at war and this can easily be misinterpreted by their supporters to mean that they are at war. The word also describes the ‘Undecided Voters ‘as enemies of democracy.
**Media:** THE STAR;  **Date:** July 7th, 2017;  **Rating:** Yellow

**Sensationalism/Hate speech: Justification:** (Kanerme FM leads in hate speech-media survey shows. Page 2). It was this kind of broadcasting style that ignited genocide in Rwanda and I think it would be better if the station is shut down to act as an example to other vernacular stations.

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**Media:** THE STAR;  **Date:** July 11th, 2017;  **Rating:** Green

**Sensationalism: Justification:** (Kenya to protest over NASA tally centre in Tanzania) The headlines and the entire story is based on hearsay without any evidence. This kind of reporting can easily trigger emotions that can easily lead to violence. By simply showing the picture of Raila Odinga during his trip to Tanzania to congratulate President John Pombe Magufuli when he gets elected tells a lot about the whole story.

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**Media:** THE STAR; **Media:** DAILY NATION;  **Date:** July 11th, 2017;  **Rating:** Green

**Sensationalism:** The use of word ‘Lock horns in round two of battle for Kiambu’ in the title “Kabogo, Waititu lock horns in round two of battle for Kiambu”, on Page 19 portrays a different scenario and it can easily be interpreted as if the two are actually heading for a physical war which can be misinterpreted by their supporters.

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**Media:** THE STAR;  **Date:** July 14th, 2017;  **Rating:** Green

**Sensationalism: Justification:** (Thika thugs disrupt Raila, says its pay back for Kisumu) -The headline depicts a revenge mission planned by the Jubilee supporters to disrupt the rally in returned to what happened in Kisumu when the jubilee held a rally in the county. This kind of headline can easily trigger war between the Luo and Kikuyu and should a jubilee presidential candidate decided to visit the region then the NASA supporters would definitely hit back.

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**Media:** THE STANDARD;  **Date:** July 17th, 2017;  **Rating:** Green

**Inflammatory: Justification:** (We are ready for you. Front Page and pg 8) the headline and content itself is alarming as it paints a picture of the police ready to fight civilians at all cost. “We have imported new and deadly hardware such as water canon vehicles, teargas & additional guns and bullets”

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**Media:** THE STANDARD;  **Date:** July 20th, 2017;  **Rating:** Green

**Inflammatory:Justification:** (President rift with Joho, Kingi deepens. pg 19) The paper reports about bad blood between the president and 2 governors and further reads that Gov. Kingi & Joho are crossing swords with the president. A threat from the president quoted “The governors who will be jailed after August elections are many and this one of yours is one of them. You wait and see” is also likely to elicit negative reactions.

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**Media:** THE STAR;  **Date:** July 20th, 2017;  **Rating:** Grey

**Sensationalism: Justification:** (Raila hires US pollster who says he’s a head. Page 4-5)- In the article the writer is clearly taking side in his reporting by highlighting how NASA will win the elections based on their stronghold and undecided voters’ zone. The headline can easily be interpreted by the NASA supporters that they have already won the August and should their candidate fail to win then it might create panic which can easily result into elections violence. The statement not taking his opponents lightly can be taken out of context.
Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: July 24th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Inflammatory/ sensational: Justification: (Jubilee plans to sponsor violence in our strongholds)
-It is an outrageous headline. “Nairobi will have a very high degree of militarization with all major roads heavily patrolled by army units”. This sends panic mood to NASA’s supporters.

Media: THE STANDARD; Date: July 24th, 2017; Rating: Green

Inflammatory coverage: Justification: (CS warns NASA on poll threat, pg 7) - This was a tug of war between Interior CS Fred Matiangi and opposition leaders who threatened to have their own agents at the polling stations despite being warned against it. Such information can be potentially dangerous to citizens of opposing sides who think their election is stolen.

Media: THE STANDARD; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Inflammatory & Sensational coverage: Justification: The opinion Piece (As elections draw near, here’s why we could lose a country) on Pg 16 is wanting. The headline itself is alarming and can create unnecessary conflict. Also, the opinion piece itself is shallow, is filled with unverified facts, and it does not coincide with the topic. It talks about allegations of tension between various communities which could trigger the real conflict.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Grey

Unfair coverage/lack of objectivity: Justification: (DP woos Nakuru voters, accuses Raila of planning Mau evictions. Page 4) - It is a campaign period; the authors ought to have reported on oppositions campaigns too. Little space was allocated to critiques of Uhuru-Ruto campaigns.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Inflammatory/ sensational: Justification: The headline “I watched my dad get stoned and burned to death”, published on page 22 appears to invoke the memories of the 2007/8 post elections violence. Kenya had unpleasant experience that time. How would one imagine such scenario happened to ‘one of their own’ just two weeks to elections? It was in bad taste to carry such story.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Green

Inflammatory: Justification:-(Lempurkel plea in racial case deferred)-The racial attack to any community can escalate conflict and therefore for a reporter to quote exactly what the MP said over Europeans in Laikipia amounts to inflammatory. The MP was quoted saying, “All Europeans will be driven out of Laikipia should Raila Odinga win the August, 8 general elections.” Also in page 2 of July, 22.

Media: THE STAR; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Yellow

Inflammatory/ Sensational coverage: Justification:-In its online publications, the star newspaper had some sensational and inflammatory message. In Eldoret Town there were leaflets being circulated forcing the deployment of police officers to carry out investigations and find the culprits. The leaflets with Kiswahili messages were distributed in Munyaka, Bahati, Mwitiriria and Cyrus estates, where many members of the Kikuyu community live and i quote “ILANI ILANI ILANI” “Wakikuyu wa Munyaka, Bahati, Mwitiriria and Cyrus watakiwakuhamaJasinGishu county kuamkiausiku 08/08/2017 kama hamtampigia Governor Jackson Mandago, “Puuza ilani hii nautajuta cha mtetamu kuni!”. The paper went ahead and published the leaflets online, such inflammatory message may cause panic to the public.
Media: WEEKLY CITIZEN; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Green
Inflammatory: Justification:- (Leaflets spark tension in Ngong, Kitengela) Insightful remarks published to instill fear among residents. A statement says, “Puuzailaninautakiona cha mtemakuni”.

Media: THE DAILY NATION; Date: July 26th, 2017; Rating: Blue
Inflammatory/sensational: Justification:- The story of the title “Man in ethnic hatred race freed on bond” should have been edited to remove hate speech part in his facebook post. “Warning luhyia community not to participate in Uasin Gishu politics-nawarudikwao”. He used the same page to warn the Kikuyu against their own for elective positions in the county. “The kikuyu will not dominate us in our own Wareng, let the fire burn”

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: July 29th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensationalism: Justification:- In the article titled “Raila kicks up storm over plot to rig polls on Page 4-5” it seems to suggest that the August polls will be rigged by their opponents, this clearly indicates that even if the NASA team losses the lections fairly then their supporters would not understand the loss but would rather prefer to violence to ensure that their leader is sworn in as the next president.

Media: WEEKLY CITIZEN; Date: July 31st, 2017; Rating: Grey
Bias/Unbalanced reporting: Justification:- The headline “Orengo,Midiwo war explodes” is ambiguous with no proof in the content/body of the story indicating war. The writer deviates from the main war issue and mixes himself up with Oburu and Gumbo, no clear war explode as the headline suggests. The journalist seems to write in favour of Midiwo, which is unbalanced reporting evident.

TELEVISION REPORTS - JULY 2017

Media: NTV; Date: July 23rd, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensational: Justification:- (Rigging plot claims, reported by Andrew Ochieng)-In its reporting NASA claims that the government is trying to use the military and rig in the fourth coming election. The exchange of words between the NASA leaders and the government my elicit emotions with the NASA supporters.

Media: NTV; Date: July 24th, 2017; Rating: Grey

Media: CITIZEN TV; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Green
Inflammatory: Justification: In the Citizen Nipashe report by Hassan Mugambi, Uhuru Kenyatta blamed the media for not supporting him in the elections now and back in the year 2013. Inflammatory statement to the media and audience, it is injuring the media’s reputation such that the public can easily perceive it negatively yet it is the watchdog of the society.

Media: KTN NEWS; Date: July 25th, 2017; Rating: Green
Inflammatory: Justification: Uhuru threatened chiefs in Maueni over using motorbikes and allowances to support and campaign for the opposition. He openly said “tutaonana na nyinyi baada ya uchaguzi”. A statement that was not received very well. In the video background people can be heard saying,--- ‘acha kututishia watu bwana’.

Media: NTV; Date: July 26th, 2017; Rating: Green
Sensational reporting: Justification: In the item titled “3 shot as chaos rock President Kenyatta’s
Marsabit visit”, - The coverage was sensational by using the clan factor — I think it can elicit more hatred between the two clans.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** July 27th, 2017; **Rating:** Yellow

**Biased, sensational and inflammatory content:** Justification: In the story titled “Burning Desire” which reads attempts by youth to spread “rao miaka kumi” message halted. “A protest organized by a group of youth in Kisumu County was cut short by another fraction of youth allied to the Orange Democratic Movement. The ODM supporters alleged that the group which had planned the demonstration was sponsored by the rival Jubilee Party to discredit the NASA presidential candidate Raila Odinga.” It elicits biased, sensational and inflammatory content. Jubilee is not given time to respond. The report by the 2nd sentence in the quote is sensational as it creates some perception concerning Jubilee among ODM supporters. It’s also inflammatory as supporters of the two parties may engage in a physical War craft.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** July 27th, 2017; **Rating:** Yellow

**Biased, sensational and inflammatory content:** Justification: In the story titled “Burning Desire” which reads attempts by youth to spread “rao miaka kumi” message halted. “A protest organized by a group of youth in Kisumu County was cut short by another fraction of youth allied to the Orange Democratic Movement. The ODM supporters alleged that the group which had planned the demonstration was sponsored by the rival Jubilee Party to discredit the NASA presidential candidate Raila Odinga.” It elicits biased, sensational and inflammatory content. Jubilee is not given time to respond. The report by the 2nd sentence in the quote is sensational as it creates some perception concerning Jubilee among ODM supporters. It’s also inflammatory as supporters of the two parties may engage in a physical War craft.

**Media:** NTM NEWS; **Date:** July 27th, 2017; **Rating:** Blue

**Inflammatory/Insightful reporting:** Justification: During the 1pm News on a story titled “Row over results”, the station allowed clips of agitated aspirants to run while threatening IEBC officials that they may be sacked just as their fellows who were sent packing a while ago. This could lower the confidence of the public in the electoral body at this critical period.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** July 29th, 2017; **Rating:** Green

**Sensational:** Justification: (Row over KDF plot, 9pm news) Politicizing security issues at this electioneering period and exchanging of words between the Government and politicians about the security of the country, exposing security issues to the public are dangerous to the country at this time.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** July 29th, 2017; **Rating:** Blue

**Sensational/Inflammatory:** Justification: The report that read NASA leaders say KDF documents show sinister motives. “NASA leaders maintain that the Jubilee Administration has incorporated the KDF in a plot to cling to power. The NASA leaders say that the letters that they published were confirmed by the military and that the language in the letters indicates a sinister motive” is inflammatory and sensational. Dropping these allegations to the common citizen may not sound as mere allegation but as an actual threat. This may cause mayhem among them and hence violence.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** July 31st, 2017; **Rating:** Green

**Sensational: Justification:** The report that read, body of missing IEBC ICT guru at city mortuary. “All those who saw the body in the morgue could only imagine how he had met his death painfully. How was the body, has it been injured. Injured, tortured. The guy has been injured everywhere”, was sensational and evokes emotions. The way the journalist asked questions before the respondent said “injured, tortured……” were really irritating hence unethical.
no response of the acting Interior CS in the entire news session. This is simply lazy journalism hence lack of professionalism.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** July 27th, 2017; **Rating:** Yellow

**Inflammatory, bias and sensational: Justification:** The news item by Olima Gonzaga that read “Different youth alignments in Kisumu have clashed after one group went demonstrating NASA’s presidential candidate should be given two terms of presidency should he win the August 8th elections. This caused chaos in Kisumu as the person alleged to have this youth’s remains incognito. Nominated MP Dr. Oburu Oginga and Nyakach MP Aduma Owuor held a press briefing condemning a minister in Siaya County alleging him to have hired the youths.”. “We are aware of the actions of the former minister who originates from Siaya County who is actually coordinating the Jubilee affairs and who has paid youths to demonstrate," holds bias, inflammatory and sensational content. Bias comes when the reporter seems to be overexcited over this issue while the other two factors coming from Oburu Oginga which may conflict supporters of the two political divides to engage in violence.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** July 28th, 2017; **Rating:** Yellow

**Bias, inflammatory and sensational: Justification:** The news broadcasted by Sammy AwuorSeda that read, “NASA principles have rebuked President Uhuru Kenyatta’s plan to rig elections in order to serve a second term, using the army whom some of them have already been trained for that purpose. Holding a press briefing at Nairobi, NASA’s presidential candidate Raila Odinga and his running mate Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka have clarified that the government in a secret move are training 226 army men at Mariakani Military barracks to rig elections in favor of President Uhuru Kenyatta with his Deputy William Ruto. Raila Amollo Odinga has said that this plan was initiated in a secret meeting in State House with allegations that the National Intelligence Service did a research and found that President Kenyatta could not surpass Odinga in a freeand fair elections”, has content that is biased, sensational and inflammatory. The president is not heard speaking on this or responding. Also having not alleged the issues by the media house makes the listeners who are actually supporters of different political alignments pick then as true sentiments hence a possibility of violence eruption.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** July 30th, 2017; **Rating:** Blue

**Biased and sensational: Justification:** The item “NASA’s principles in Machakos County have condemned the spread of leaflets with the message that after Raila Odinga ascends to power he shall pursue for ten years otherwise two terms, not only one term for five years, contrary to the agreement NASA’s principles had. Machakos Senator Johnston Muthama accused Jubilee Party of spreading these leaflets with intentions of barring the Kamba community from voting for NASA’s Presidential candidate Raila Odinga,” has content that is biased and sensational. Involving the Kamba community drives the whole issue into ethnicity which might be negatively picked by supporters of different parties hence violence.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** July 31st, 2017; **Rating:** Blue

**Biased and sensational: Justification:** The 7pm news item that read, “There is plenty of reason to believe that this cruel and selfish act is related to the elections. Mr Musando’s tragedy death is a tragedy in its own right”, is biased. No security experts were involved to give their view on this issue. It’s also inflammatory baring this electioneering period where supporters of different political alignments are sure of clinching the top seats. So should the latter turn out negative they will claim the other divide has rigged them out, hence possible eruption of violence.
SOCIAL MEDIA MONITORING JULY REPORT

Rating: Blue; Inflammatory and sensational; Justification: The tweeted statement could have been avoided because it added no value to the conversation. It only has the potential to stir emotions from NASA supporters who could react by spewing hate speech against each other.

Rating: Blue; Inflammatory and sensational; Justification: This implies that the Luhya as a whole were going to vote in one voice. The tweet inclined more to tribalism than a technical assessment of how the voting will happen. This could have brought disarray among the Luhyas who didn’t understand why one person has to speak for them yet each individual’s vote is their power. It seemed like a harmless message out there not until one gets into the details of what it could mean.

Rating: Grey; The writer could have used different words that didn’t have to come out as though Raila was threatening Uhuru. Such a write could create tension amongst die-hard supporters from both factions because of unnecessary suspicion.

Rating: Green; sensational; Justification: Quoting the careless remarks by President Uhuru Kenyatta to attract readers had the potential to create unnecessary conflict because the person he was promising to jail was running for office. He chose not to respect his supporters.

Rating: Green Sensational; Justification: Such comments should be tabled before a court of law since they need evidence to be authenticated. The Star should have noticed this and be clever about reporting this allegation instead of posting it as it was said, for the sake of cushioning the tension such words caused. The timing was very crucial.
A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

AUGUST PRINT MEDIA 2017

Media: THE STAR; Date: August 1st, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: Justification: (NASA, IEBC clash over calls for international ICT expert for polls, Page 10). The usage of ‘word CLASH’ tells a different picture of what is actually is written in the headline of the story. Perhaps the writer should have used words like’ DIFFER/DISAGREE’. Should there be a breach of the IEBC server system then the NASA supporters would easily believe that the system was compromised to deliver victory to their main competitor, which can trigger violence and riot that we have witnessed in the past.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 3rd, 2017; Rating: Grey

Unfair opinion: Justification: In the commentary titled “Kenyans need a visionary leader to deliver them to the Promised Land” The author talks of a leader who can take Kenyans to the Promised Land yet in his writing he attacks Raila Odinga more than President Kenyatta. In one paragraph, he is quoted saying “It is not clear why he finds fault (referring to Raila…) in the security and governance institutions-the IEBC, police, military and the anti -corruption agency…” It is in the media limelight that such institutions have issues and it’s the duty of Raila Odinga who is also an aspirant to raise questions.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 3rd, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: Justification: The use of word ‘FIRES’ on the title “CJ fires warning to Jubilee, NASA politicians over attack on judges”, published on page 4 is misplaced since it can be easily taken as if the CJ used a gun to fire at the two political parties. This creates perception that there is war and guns are being fired. The editor and writer would use alternatives like ‘CJ warns politicians against attacking judges’

Media: THE STAR; Date: August 7th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: Justification: (Epic Battles to Page-5)The graphic clearly describe the highly contested counties as battle fields and aspirants as generals going on a war, this kind of reporting can trigger tension which can easily lead to violence should one of the ‘so-called generals ‘loss to their opponents.

Media: THE STAR; Date: August 9th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: Justification: If you critically analyze the story titled “Local poll observers tell off EU,AU colleagues against blanket approval,” on page 8, you will realize there was a tag of war between the local poll observers and EU-AU observers and this can easily be interpreted by experts that the international observers were favoring the incumbent and when this is picked by opposition supporters then it will create tension and violence .This can also put foreigners living in Kenya at risk.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 12th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensational: Justification: The use of the word ruthless on the headline “how calculated, ruthless strategy won it for Uhuru”, published on page 4 of the paper presents a sense of combat which could make the opposition supporters feel that they were unfairly treated during the elections. Such words could trigger emotions from opposition supporters having in mind that there are claims of election being rigged.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 20th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: (Uhuru team gets down to work in election court battle, page 6) -The usage of word battle sounds as if the two presidential candidates are at war at the Supreme Court.
**Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 21st, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Inflammatory reporting: Justification:** (Clash looms in Narok as two rivals take office) such an outrageous headline can trigger emotions among supporters of the two politicians; it may prepare them for a battle.

**Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 23rd, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Inflammatory reporting: Justification:** The headline“How Jubilee staged coup in Wiper’s Ukambani turf” is quite outrageous. The word coup means a sudden, violent, and illegal seizure of power from a government. By use of that word, the author portrays a violent act of power being taken from Kalonzo Musyoka the perceived king pin of Kambaland. To the supporters of Kalonzo, this may seem to them that power was taken from them by Jubilee unfairly thus sparking emotions.

**Media: DAILY NATION; Date: August 25th, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Sensational: Justification:** The choice of words on the headline “Battle lines drawn for governor’s races” on page 9 of the paper is quite alarming. Words like “battle lines drawn” presents a scene of combat to the supporters of different aspirants for the positions which would make them be ready for anything in terms of war.

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**TELEVISION REPORTS –AUGUST 2017**

**Media: KTN NEWS; Date: August 1st, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Insensitive reporting:** During the Kivumbi 2017 show, in an item titled “Mutua storms KTN set” The reporter (Mashirima Kapombe) got too personal with her questions, showing the text that was sent to the governor. KTN allowed the governor to use words that were not appropriate “…Kama sio Mimi kusema awachililiwe mngeona vile angefanywa na wananchi….” Such language could trigger violence to members of the other side. The use of the word ‘storms’ featured in the headline was inappropriate and thus making it look like a battle. The whole live event looked like an argument which was inappropriate.

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**SEPTEMBER 2017 PRINT MEDIA REPORTS**

**Media house: THE PEOPLE DAILY; Date: September 1st 2017; Rating: Green**

**Sensational: Justification:** “Kenyans hold their breath” the headline was so alarming that it caused more tension that it was there among Kenyans. The choice of words being used by editors matters a lot and in this case the editors decided to show that Kenyans are tense waiting for the Supreme Court decision. However truth it was because of the circumstances and the way Kenyans were waiting to get Supreme Court verdict on the presidential petition, it was unjustified for the editors to use such headline.

**Media: THE PEOPLE DAILY; Date: September 22nd 2017; Rating: Green**

**Sensational: Justification:** The headline is accompanied by photographs of protesters, some in cars and others holding stones which is bad for the audience. Such type of photographs in front page can ignite more demonstrations in areas where there are no demonstrations hence plunging the entire country into chaos. Editors should avoid such photographs in front pages and in fact they should not be published completely. There are good pictures which can be used to show that there are demonstrations going on but not the violent ones during a time when the country is facing political tension.

**Media: THE STAR NEWSPAPER; Date: September 25th, 2017; Rating: Green**

**Sensationalism: Justification:** The usage of ‘words SECRET WEAPON’ tells a different picture of what is actually written in the entire story. Perhaps the writer should have used words like’NASA WILL
NOT TAKE PART IN RE-RUN ELECTIONS UNLESS IEBC TEAM IS RE-ORGANIZE” Having such a story as the headline not only promotes tension but also hate speech. Jubilee supporters would easily believe that the NASA plans to rig their candidate into which can trigger violence and riot that we have witnessed in the past.

Media: THE STAR NEWSPAPER; Date: September 26th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Hate speech and sensationalism: Justification:- Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta the incumbent president is clearly promoting ethnicity which have been the code of their campaigns by simply sidelining other regions through selective usage of words that targets certain communities mostly NASA party followers. These remarks not only portray the president as a TRIBAL KING but also a selfish leader who only cares for those who supports JP because for him any attack on JP hurts the economy forgetting that NASA is also part of Kenya.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: September 27th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensationalism: Justification: The usage of the word FIGHT BACK portrays that Safaricom and NASA are actually at war with each other. The editor should have used words like Safaricom responds to rigging claims. This kind of headline not only puts Safaricom employees at risk and they can be attacked by NASA supporters.

Media: THE STAR; Date: September 4th, 2017; Rating: Green

Inflammatory: Justification: The Commission met, but regarding the ouster of the Chiloba and Nyabuto it was not concluded. “As Nasa we will not go back to the ballot if the ‘thieves’ will still conduct the polls. Those thieves at the IEBC must go. Hyenas cannot be shepherds,” Odinga. Supreme court judges in their ruling found no evidence to link Chebukati and IEBC officials to August 8th elections.

Media: THE STAR; Date: September 8th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Sensational, Inflammatory: Justification: The headline is sensational. Even though President Kenyatta expressed his dissatisfaction on the nullification of his re-election, it does not amount being a dictator as commented by Kabatesi. “The President has an ideological side of him that few Kenyans are familiar with; traits of a vicious dictator”. Former Cuba president Fidel Castro, Mugabe and Yahya Jameh are a few vicious and bizarre dictators in the world. The commentator found it wrong to equate such dictators with the leadership of Kenyatta and perhaps Kenya which has moved.

Media: THE STAR; Date: September 27th, 2017; Rating: Blue

Sensational/ inflammatory: Justification: The words in which Babu described President was totally demeaning. He said “if Gaddafi was removed by citizens, if Gbagbo was removed and if Jammeh was removed, who do you think you are, you are a son of bitch”. If he likened the person to long-term presidents who were removed from power, then the person leading Kenya is president Uhuru Kenyatta. The same story had been published on Sep 26, 2017 page 1 reading; “Unapologetic Babu Owino arrested over ‘mtoto wa mbwa’ remarks. Sensational: The repetition of foul language against President Uhuru Kenyatta, ‘son of a bitch so sensitive to his supporters. The provocation might lead to violence against the Jubilee supporters.

Media: THE STAR; Date: September 26th, 2017; Rating: Green

Sensational: Justification: “let Raila be warned that we are ready for war”. The remarks are in bad taste to the peace of this country. NASA supporters may in turn arm themselves following such remarks.

Media: DAILY NATION; Date: September; Ratings: Green

Inflammatory: reporting-on this article by macharia, sensational words that could be misunderstood by readers are widely used. For instance when the author says, “And he must not underestimate the capacity
and willingness of President Kenyatta to unleash his own lawless ethnic mobs. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/Kenyatta-Odinga-blood-feud-UN/440808-4111578-0kjufk/index.html

**Media:** DAILY NATION; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** “From Napoleon Bonaparte to Adolf Hitler, and Idi Amin to Macias Nguema, we know. Mr Kenyatta seems to have taken inspiration from such notorious fellows.” -we all know the history of such leaders before and how they turned their countries. Perhaps the author could just avoid quoting them so as to not raise temperatures of the supporters of Mr. Kenyatta and as well prepare those of Raila to tackle the president

**Media:** DAILY NATION; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Blue

**Inflammatory/sensational coverage…..**

“Daggers are drawn and the battle lines are drawn. Each protagonist speaks with proprietary authority and finality complete with the alacrity and ferocity of a Tasmanian devil. “To me such attractive words are true but paint a picture of war… for instance use of word daggers. Are the authors using catchy words at the expense of the nation? Could an illiterate person know the context unto which the reporter was reporting/communicating? http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/Uhuru-and-Raila-to-use-their-bully-pulpits-to-preach-harmony/440808-4108980-t7h3b8/index.html

**Media:** KTN NEWS; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** Justification: The media house failed on its get keeping role. Allowing sensational sentiments from sifuna would most likely trigger violence and response from supporters of jubilee. “……tunaambia Uhuru kwamba bangi haipandwi state house pekee yake……wakisha tunawasha, wakiguma tunapiga…….” Wasn’t this incitement as well. Yes it is. In the whole clip Sifuna is largely insulting the president which was wrong for KTN News to allow the clip go on air. Is the delay effect really functioning or it is just a theory in books? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z4d_MPbK81s

**Media:** DAILY NATION; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** Justification: The country is on its edge in terms of political stability but the reporters’ uses the word clash, a violent confrontation, to drive their point home. Couldn’t a word like differ fit in that headline? I.e. Uhuru and Raila differ over chaos claims. Maybe the editor used it to make sells and make profit.

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Grey

**Biased reporting:** The media by having the headline “uhuru vs supreme court” tries to drive a perception that the President and the court are at war. Going down to the lead you hear that the President and his Deputy are waging war at the Supreme Court. Otherwise they would have said “President Kenyatta and his Deputy disagree with the Supreme Court Ruling”. Following the court ruling, the President says they have always had a problem with the judiciary and together with his deputy they are trying to tell their supporters that the Supreme Court through the six judge bench sabotaged the will of Kenyans by calling for fresh Presidential elections. These sentiments are dangerous and sensational as their followers shall believe that they only need a win and nothing else. Though the media role is to inform as much as caution is to be exercised, thus the need for an expert discussion on moral, ethical and informative role of the media to achieve the right to information and entertain.https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEsy8N4leEg&feature=em-Iss
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fh34Uz7a7s;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQHkWoLFsHY
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nExHNOdpdCo

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** September; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** The report realm is sensational bearing the insults hauled at opposition coalition National Super Alliance (NASA) by the Deputy President Ruto calling them criminals, witch doctors and
sorcerers. These utterances might not be taken lightly by the members of the opposition who shall automatically find a way of responding. Hence a war of words may erupt and eventually polarizing the country to violence. Therefore it was wrong for NTV to play the insults by the DP as there was much to broadcast other than this which is non ethical dissemination. We as journalist, need to maintain our sole duty of reporting facts with sobriety and also asking ourselves, is this the right time to deliver this? If not, when and why? If yes, what impact is it likely to generate? The answers to these queries may just be a tool to act in a professional manner just to spice up the gate keeping role.

Media: NTV; Date: September; Ratings: Green
Sensational: These utterances come as the responses to the insults hauled at NASA in a previous rally at Bungoma where DP Ruto called the NASA members as criminals, witch doctors and sorcerers. NASA principals Raila and Mudavadi calls President Kenyatta and his DP Ruto as drunkard and thief respectively. From these sentiments it emerges clearly that, like indicated in the previous report such responses have the capacity to polarize the nation and result to violence. Hence a sensational report is what this could be described as. It’s because of the previous dissemination that such responses are witnessed. Should the media practice restraint then such cases can be minimal or not even realized.Hence referencing to the September 6th 2017, 7:00 pm NTV news evaluation.

Media: NTV; Date: September; Ratings: Green
Sensational: The report is sensational as it takes back the criminal insult term back to the originator President Kenyatta and his DP Ruto. Johnston Muthama, an active NASA member has just responded to the President`s claims that the Supreme Court judges are criminals. The push and pull of harsh sentiments and insults against each other is set for continuous witness should the media continue broadcasting such reports. It is these responses that shall create animosity between supporters of Jubilee Party and the NASA coalition. Eventually this might lead the country into violence that never erupted once but has been nurtured and charged by the likely responses laid during the campaign rallies in various parts of the country.Hence the gate keeping role. Therefore NTV could be charged responsible for airing such negative elements amidst all the better news items that should be given.

Media: NTV; Date: September; Ratings: Green
Sensational reporting: A hyena is an animal well perceived as glutton with no good manners and with majority sorts of ill mannerism by societies across the world. Therefore referring to a person as a hyena is an implication well laid of the person`s character. The NASA flag bearer Hon. Raila Odinga, hence by calling the IEBC C.E.O Mr. Chiloba a hyena is relating him with the characters and behavior the animal portrays and upholds.

Therefore I would term this dissemination as biased because referring to a person’s trait as that of an animal and especially the caliber of a hyena without giving him airtime to respond to the allegations could otherwise be termed as character assassination. NTV should have gone an extra mile, let Chiloba know what Hon. Raila Odinga is referring to him as, and let his voice be given airtime. Playing a single voice referring to a specific person could otherwise imply that the media house is backing up the news makers’{Raila Odinga} claims that IEBC C.E.O is really a hyena. This statement is in support that the media is powerful in setting the agenda and therefore if not balanced the polity will consume and believe it in the same manner it is disseminated.

Media: NTV; Date: September; Ratings: Blue
Sensational and biased: These sentiments by Former Suna East MP Junet Mohammed
are sensational and biased. By calling IEBC thieves demeans them commission and the commissioners even those who are innocent concerning the August 8, 2017 elections. The statements have the capacity to cause conflict and eventually an eruption of violence under the following circumstances. A case study is the report on 7th and 8th September, 2017 where DP Ruto referred to the NASA brigade as sorcerers and witchdoctors (Because of criminality and witchcraft and sorcery they {National Super Alliance} have gone to court saying we do a fresh presidential elections) and NASA responding to them as drunkards by saying (I see others shifting to Jubilee. The vehicle called Jubilee is headed to Egypt. The one that the driver is a drunkard and the turn boy is a thief) respectively.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Qp5B7YbJE&feature=em-subs_digest

Media: STANDARD NEWSPAPER; Date: September 7th 2017; Ratings: Blue

Sensational/Inflammatory Justification: This headline is both sensational and inflammatory especially being put as a front page headline. Following the going on after the Supreme court ruling, having such a headline gives the impression of a commission not sure of itself and at logger heads. A boiler room is a hot steaming room where everything is at the extreme temperature, this is the impression the headline tries to create of the commission.

Media: STANDARD NEWSPAPER; Date: September 18th 2017; Ratings: Blue

Inflammatory/Sensational headline locking horns is a duel to see who is the mightiest of them, it puts the contenders Raila and Uhuru to be in a war against each other, fighting off one another. This continues with the sub headline of Ruto maintaining poll will take place barring plot for a coup or violence. The sub headline is in bad faith and inflammatory.

Media: STANDARD NEWSPAPER; Date: September 18th 2017; Ratings: Green

Inflammatory: Justification: The headline of the story is a threat to the NASA supporters all over the country. Going on in the story, the reporters continues to report the threats that the president gave to the NASA protesters.

The tone of the story especially to the NASA supporters gives an indication that the government is against them. `...demonstration is their constitutional right but we are telling them if they attempt to destroy food, torch people’s kiosks, stone motorists…they will know there is a Government’

Media: CITIZEN WEEKLY; Date: September 4th -10th 2017; Ratings: Blue

Biased/Sensational Justification: The story as much as is an investigative piece, is full of allegations; each and every paragraph has allegations and counter allegations about the story. No one has been interviewed in this story and the reporters do not give us their source of information. Not even one of the accused has been given a voice.

The story is sensational and biased.

Media: STANDARD NEWSPAPER; Date: September 13th 2017; Ratings: Yellow

Sensational/hatespeech/bias- The terms “tug of war” are inciting in itself to the common reader. The headline summary about NASA conditions and the fallout with IEBC just seems to make matters worse instead, the writer could have just pointed out the differences between jubilee and NASA and on Uhuru’s suitability to address parliament. In supporting bias, president Uhuru address in parliament and the jubilee agenda is allocated the pages 6, 7 and 8.

Media: STANDARD NEWSPAPER; Date: September 17th 2017; Ratings: Yellow

Bias/sensational/hatespeech. The cartoon illustration shows it all. It tends to depict of Chebukati and Chiloba who pretend they are working for the interest of Kenyans but also being blinded by kickbacks. This means that the elections in Kenya are never going to be free and fair as they want us to believe.
Sensational/hate speech - Justification: The headline is misleading and inciting. President Uhuru words. “We have broken a record, a judicial coup has happened in Kenya and done by 4 people at the Supreme Court. This is a coup, nothing else. And I must call it what it is.” were published on the front page followed by Raila’s response. “If the judgment by the Supreme Court was a coup, it could only be a counter-coup to stop the first one that was staged by a man who does not believe in free, fair and transparent elections,” Such dangerous exchange of words by 2 influential leaders should not have made it on the headline. Instead, the article should have explained about disagreement between NASA and Jubilee over the president’s powers and what are his limitations following the decision by the Supreme Court.

Hate speech/Sensational - Justification: NASA principal was referring to the President constant attacks on the judiciary for overturning his win. Some inciting words should not have been published. “Uhuru has gone berserk. Like a cornered boxer, he is swaying on his feet, rocking the country and its institutions,” He goes on further to state “Does it bother him that his agent at the boma of Kenya National Tallying Centre logged into the IEBC servers using a personal email account dkchirchir@gmail.com contrary to IEBC own ICT user policy? Has Uhuru Kenyatta ever cared to ask Davis Chirchir, his agent at the boma, why he logged onto IEBC servers?” The media decision to publish such dangerous allegations is unfortunate, as it only seems to add fuel to the already burning Kenya.

Inflammatory - Justification: The media house should not have aired NASA principal Raila Odinga utterances to the incoming elections, which were mean and distasteful. The words “hatuweziendakwauchaguzinawezi” were not worth airing. Also, MrOdinga made remarks about forcefully ejecting the IEBC commissioners out of office with the help of wananchi. This is tantamount to inciting especially in a country where Kenyans of the political divide support the IEBC. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szImGbjRBtI

sensational - Justification:- The media house ought to have censored NASA co-principal Moses Wetangula statements in regards to the supreme court’s ruling. “Justice Maragaakachukua torch akamulikamwizi. AkaonaRutona Uhuru wamekaahapoakasemandiohao,”Such words are not only dangerous but inciting to Kenyans of the opposing political divide.https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThAmhBImCtQ
Media: NTV; Date: September 1st 2017/2nd September; Ratings: Green

Inflammatory Story title: 1. Bungoma residents angered by president’s attacks on judges. 2. Kisii residents angered by President. Sensational: It is a follow-up of the above report on the effects of words which the president said after the high court ruling. This time round Bungoma residents take to the streets in support of Justice Smokin Wanjala who also sits on the bench at the Supreme Court. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBS4U-U5jJ4. A section of Kisii residents took to the streets for a second day running protesting against the executive’s assault on the Supreme Court Judges led by the Chief Justice David Maraga. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t9czYTCImXM

Media: NTV; Date: September 7th 2017; Story title: Moses Kuria the untouchable hate-monger
Ratings: green; Inflammatory: Justification: Gatundu South MP, Moses Kuria, once again found himself in the eye of a hate speech storm, over remarks he made at a campaign rally in Kiambu. The words which NTV showed as part of the hate speech could trigger more anger to the targeted people and the supporters of the opposition leader “Manhunt is on tonight for the 200,000 people who did not vote and the 70,000 that voted for that other demon”.https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aoJVm7h7oWg

Media: NTV; Date: September 11th 2017; Story title: United in Hate. Ratings: Green
Sensational: It’s a follow-up of the above story. After the hate speech, Gatundu South MP Moses Kuria and former Machakos Senator Johnstone Muthama had to spend their night in custody at the Pangani Police Station in Nairobi. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YylwgpzjJU. The following day on 12th September 2017, Gatundu South MP, Moses Kuria and former Senator for Machakos Johnson Muthama were charged with incitement to violence charges. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=shtWGlzZdFY

Media: WEEKLY CITIZEN; Date: September 18th-24th 2017; Story title: UN gravely concerned by Uhuru-Raila saber rattling. Ratings: Green
Sensational headline: Justification: The word saber means a heavy cavalry sword with a curved blade and a single cutting edge. Then the second word there is rattling, very badly used. Instead of using the word saber the writers should have used a simple word like disagreement; the message should still have gotten home. Use of technical jargon in a newspaper does not always serve the true purpose, but instead keep it simple. This headline is very sensational and raising eyebrows to the international Community, the UN they are referring to in the article.

Media: WEEKLY CITIZEN; Date: September 18th-24th 2017; Story title: Bishops in fierce battle for control of Baraka FM radio; Ratings: Green
Sensational: Justification: This headline is misleading the public, bishops can disagree yes, but fierce battle is an extreme case. The word disagreement would have served better for Bishops. They are religious leaders who should foster peace and not engage in ‘fierce battles’ as the reporter wrote here. The content does not also explain well the battle suggested in the article. It is also not appropriate for the writer to call the disagreement a battle when the matter is already in court. The headline is sensational, tainting the bishops’ image to the public.

Media: KTN; Date: September 2017; Story title: KTN prime; Ratings: Green
Inflammatory: Deputy President William Ruto faulted the Supreme Court and said that it should come to senses and apologize to the public for nullifying the elections. That was not a fair statement from a leader, it is instead intimidating the judiciary and shows disrespect for the law of the land of Kenya. KTN went ahead and used the clip in news amidst high political temperatures in the Country. The clip showed other jubilee political members surprisingly clapping at the sentiments echoed by Ruto. They
further played the inflammatory remarks by Ruto calling opposition leader Raila saying that wa
tumia Uchawi na Uganga, adding that they are conmen, very divisive remarks that disrupt peace among the judiciary, citizens and leader especially the opposition leaders. The remarks are very inflammatory and inciteful. This is also hateful and very sensational too. https://youtu.be/AEjArLHcMwk

**SEPTEMBER RADIO FM STATIONS REPORT**

**Media:** KASS FM; **Date:** September 26th 2017; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational: Justification:** The presenters were commenting on the ethnic clashes in Transmara, Narok County. Reminding the affected about what happened could course more harm.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** September 27th 2017; **Story title:** President Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto have despised NASA principals’ demand for IEBC disbarment and a new commission to be created or UN to be invited to conduct the upcoming elections. **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** These sentiments by President Kenyatta are more of threats taking precedence of the Kenyan Supreme Court ruling that overthrew his re-election, terming the results as null and void. Thus could be termed as sensational “we shall revisit” always connotes a negative plan that will eventually be elicited, should a scenario occur that he losses the elections which is like preparing his followers not to accept anything than a win.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** September 2017; **Story title:** President Uhuru Kenyatta has defended the IEBC on the claims that it did not conduct the elections in accordance with the law **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational: Justifications:** A very sensational report is what can be derived from such news which are utterances of the Deputy President William Ruto. These sentiments have the capacity to create animosity between supporters of NASA coalition and Jubilee Party. Nobody takes it well when a person they look up to is insulted. Mutilation of character is eminent as the DP calls the NASA principles witches. Radio NamLolwe was wrong on this. The clip could have simply ended where President Kenyatta says “We won, and the way to know that we won is by telling them to recount the votes, but because we love peace we decided to obey the law. We don’t fear Kenyans because we are guided by the Almighty God. Whatever we won with we believe we shall win even with more.” Hence the media also has a role not to be used as a channel to stir violence.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** September 2017; **Story title:** The petition to remove Chief Justice David Maraga to be withdrawn **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational: Justifications:** These sentiments are from the Deputy President William Ruto. Reading on the same page as Nyeri MP Ngujiri Wambugu that the petition he placed against Chief Justice David Maraga shows the fraud and criminality taking place within the Judiciary, the DP seems to persuade their followers not to trust any decision coming forth from the Supreme Court. This is dangerous as the DP doesn’t place this as an allegation or doubt but says it with lots of zeal and certainty that the latter is a fact. Their supporters will feel as if it’s a Supreme Court scheme to subvert the will of Kenyans as
the duo (President Uhuru and DP Ruto) have kept on saying. This is aligned to his sentiments that will make their followers believe that truly the Judiciary is a fraud and is composed of criminals.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** September 2017; **Story title:** NASA flag bearer also calls for deserving respect from President Uhuru; **Ratings:** Blue;

**Biased and sensational:** Justifications: The term drunkard in the African society is associated with a person who obsolete of decision making almost a mad person who deserves no respect and perceived as a failure in life. The word coming from NASA leader Raila Odinga cannot be well received by followers of President Uhuru Kenyatta, because he has associated him with a person who has no vision and is a failure in life with no accord of respect. This sentiment is biased and also sensational. Biased in a manner that the media never gave Pres. Uhuru any reply; Its sensational in the manner that it might attract negative responses during political rallies from Jubilee leaders who are actually aligned to the President and they might bear same magnitude of causing chaos. Therefore resulting to a fight between supporters of the two coalitions (Jubilee and NASA) which may eventually escalate to violence; So I would blame NamLolwe for broadcasting this bite as there is a lot that Hon. Odinga said that meets the threshold of any news item.

**Media:** KBC TV; **Date:** October 12th 2017; **Story title:** NASA supporters anti IEBC demonstrations; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** Presentation of the news about NASA election boycott was not good. Items brought to viewers of demonstrators holding stones and sticks were unjustified even if it is true such things happen. In this case such images tend to ignite chaos across the country. There are other ways of presenting news instead of doing it in a way that suggest the media house is contributing to inciting Kenyans to violence. During the news item, images of stones, police in running battle with demonstrators, images which are inciting and create tension. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rlxQ3SaNaK](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rlxQ3SaNaK)

**Media:** PEOPLE DAILY; **Date:** October 29th 2017; **Story title:** Four dead in poll violence; **Ratings:** Green

**Justifications:** Sensational: Again the editor make a wrong choice of photo showing youths barricading road and keeping off police. The fact that the picture portrays police having been overwhelmed by protestors as they throw stones at them it is evident it can cause other areas where NASA has support can take to the streets and start engaging police as well. It is a bad choice of picture selection by editor sometimes which ignite chaos in some part of the country when the nation is faced by electoral dilemma.

**Media:** PEOPLE DAILY; **Date:** October 27th 2017; **Story title:** IEBC defers fresh poll over insecurity; **Ratings:** Green

**Justifications:** Sensational: The photo editor makes a wring choice of picture to a front page which is so inciting especially such a polarized period of election when several counties of Western had denied IEBC an opportunity to conduct the election. The photo of a youth holding weapon, behind him lit fight and other youths blocking the road is so bad that regions that have support for NASA would want to copy which is dangerous for the country since that single picture can plunge the country into post-election violence and cause bloodshed. Such publication should be avoided.

**Media:** PEOPLE DAILY; **Date:** October 27th 2017; **Story title:** Poll peaceful save for some NASA regions; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** This was not a good headline of a story that can be used to ensure tension that might be building up during such election period especially when two political sides are not in good terms is brought down. If regions supporting the oppositions sees that it is only their areas where election did not take place they decided to join hands all the regions to ensure NO election. The choice of words for the headline was wrong. They should not have singled out NASA regions as being left out since many other regions supporting NASA had locals voting like Coast region, Eastern and some parts of North Eastern
as well as Nairobi. At least they should have said Poll peaceful save for few areas. Such headline is meant to water down the much tension would be there and cause unnecessary chaos that can be avoided.

**Media:** DAILY NATION; **Date:** October 27th 2017; **Story title:** Media Houses should avoid taking sides amid tense political situation **Page 16; Ratings:** Purple

**POINT OF ADVICE** The Kenyan media have failed miserable in covering the elections, most reporters lack simply knowledge and what they are doing is copy paste what the power hungry politicians vomit. At this time when the country is divided into alliances, the media should be the last arm for the people to lean on but what we see is that the editors with zero knowledge of what TRUE Journalism are busy fattening their accounts with ill gotten money to propel hate speech and division among innocent Kenyans.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 13th 2017; **Story title:** You will know Kenya has its owners after 26 elections, Mandago tells Raila. **Page 6; Ratings:** Blue

**Inflammatory and Sensationalism:** By Governor Mandago saying that after October 26th elections the leader of the opposition will know that Kenya has its owners it’s a clear sign of hate speech and sensationalism and I wonder why the police didn’t respond by arresting him and taking him to court where he should be charged with hate speech. This kind of utterance can easily lead to violence, the same that was witnessed in Rwanda. The reporter and the Editor are also to blame, they shouldn’t have let this pass, at times as journalist we don’t just report everything.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 27th 2017, **Story title:** NASA is now like Al shabaab or Mungiki, Duale; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** The ideology and structure of Al-shabaab is different with that of NASA. Al shabaab is a terrorist organization that attacks and kills people. While Munguki on the other hand is a sect mainly for self-defense force. Likening NASA with such groups is totally out of context.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 25th 2017; **Story title:** Raila has printed fake pre-marked ballot papers, Jubilee MPs claim; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** There is no evidence to support that Odinga printed the ballot papers to an election he is a candidate. This comes after Odinga said in Oct 23 page 6 that; “rigging machinery already at work, no need for poll”. On Oct 12, page 7 of the Star, Odinga also claimed that “Jubilee printed fake ballot papers in industrial area” the story written by Benjamin Imende.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 14th 2017; **Story titled:** Raila has gone to Britain to plot how to overthrow Uhuru government- Mandago; **Ratings:** Green

Sensational- to overthrow a democratically elected government is not a joking matter.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 18th 2017; **Story title:** NASA shoots own supporters, say seven Jubilee legislators; **Ratings:** Green

Sensational- it is not clear on how NASA shot their on supporters. There is no detailed evidence to support the claims by the MPs. The reporter relied on the rifles found in the home of NASA chief financier businessman Jimmy Wanjigi. The accusations might give a way for police officers who are being blamed for the killings to continue doing the same.

**Media:** THE STAR NEWSPAPER; **Date:** October 21st 2017; **Story title** 300 soldiers sent to Kisumu to oversee election- Orengo; **Ratings:** Green

**Sensational:** Reliable sources should have been quoted in the story to ascertain which barracks were officers withdrawn. This is a bare speculation that could scare off some people especially from NASA stronghold (Kisumu) who would have wanted to vote.
**Media:** NATION;  **Date:** October 13th 2017;  **Story title:** Matiangi ban on demos sparks storm;  **Ratings:** Blue

**Inflammatory, Sensational: Justifications:** The headline is outrageous; it presents a scene of combat and terrifying environment that could trigger violence. The author could maybe replace the word storm with debate. Secondly, the words used in the first paragraph present a scene of combat as well. “The stage has been set for confrontation between National Super Alliance (NASA) and the police on Friday in Nairobi “It is wrong for the nation media to allow such sensational words that may prepare NASA supporters to fight the police.

**Media:** KTN;  **Date:** October 28th 2017;  **Story title** Kivumbi 2017;  **Ratings:** Green

Inflammatory- it was wrong for KTN news to allow the clip on leaders fighting at Panafirc hotel to run as this could as would charge their supporters. In as far as the unfolding was necessary to show the public the behavior of the leaders, some might be tempted to fight back when one of their own was attacked by the other side.

**Media:** STANDARD NEWSPAPER;  **Date:** October 1st 2017;  **Story title:** Daggers drawn as Uhuru, Raila battle to lock Western votes;  **Ratings:** Green

The headline is sensational. **Justifications:** Much as it comes in as a figure of speech, it is a bit sensational especially due to the political temperatures that are currently in the country.

**Media:** KTN;  **Date:** October 14th 2017;  **Story title** NASA anger;  **Ratings:** Green

Inflammatory-Siaya senator James Orengo made some allegations that the police shot and killed members perceived to be from the opposition including children who were not part of demonstrations. Instead of the media holding a live briefing on the matter, they would have also sought audience with the police to clarify the matter. Such a strong statement can trigger fear among supporters who live in opposition areas who want to vote.[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kICGCuiop1g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kICGCuiop1g)

**Media:** KTN;  **Date:** October 17th 2017;  **Story title** Wasiwasi Migori;  **Ratings:** Green

Unethical/Alarmist It was about the police escorting voting materials in Migori. The amateur video showed armed police firing in the air while escorting the materials. The scary and fearful video should not have been aired especially if its coming from a source that is not verified. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=vtOg87TQc40](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=vtOg87TQc40)

**Media:** KTN;  **Date:** October 17th 2017;  **Story title** Azimio la NASA;  **Ratings:** Green

Unethical/Alarmist: It was a day when NASA leader Raila Odinga was making a big statement ahead of presidential polls. In his speech, he called for a boycott of jubilee administration and “taka takahizozingine” meaning other trash. It is unethical for a media house to air such demeaning words from politicians. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=163&v=lZecAzw0nIDQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=163&v=lZecAzw0nIDQ)

**Media:** NTV;  **Date:** October 18th 2017;  **Story title** Attack on IEBC staff;  **Ratings:** Green

Sensational: The story shows how angry mobs in Kisumu and Vihiga counties stormed venues where IEBC officials were preparing to hold trainings for presiding officers and their deputies, and disrupted the exercise. This scene was not good at all especially at the time when political temperatures are very high. And this might trigger more chaos in NASA strong holds. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciUSG0nyJ0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciUSG0nyJ0)

**Media:** CITIZEN TV;  **Date:** October 18th 2017;  **Story title** JK LIVE;  **Ratings:** Grey

Biased: **Justifications:** From the look of things from the very beginning in the interview, someone could assume that Jeff went to the interview with a perception in mind already. He interviewed Aukot
from his point of view, he failed to stick to journalistic don’ts when he asked Aukot that, “you stand a zero chance of winning next Thursday election “even after aukot telling him that he puts people down jeff still told him ‘you have no chance’. He could have concealed his disagreement on Aukot’s contest in the election.Unlike he handles other guests; Koinange was biased in this interview. https://youtu.be/kYF7lVzYPX

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** October 19th 2017; **Story title:** return of chinkororo; **Ratings:** Green

**Inflammatory:** These sentiments are inflammatory. The acting interior Cabinet Secretary’s comments should have not been aired by NTV. The country is at the height of political heat, therefore other persons will also start their militia groups to defend themselves because as it seems the CS is authenticating for the same as much as the constitution condemns this. The aftermath will be violence hence throwing a country into a turmoil. (9.00 pm) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UgtC4cg1mVM&feature=em-iss

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** October 20th 2017; **Story title:** mpango wa Raila; **Ratings:** Blue

(Sensational and Inflammatory: “If you want the bullet we`ll go to another terrain.” This sentiment made by Siaya Senator James Orengo is likely to cause hullabaloo. In their wisdom NTV could have cut the clip immediately the senator said, “We are telling Uhuru Kenyatta you can militarize elections,” but going through to the end NASA supporters may interpret it as take eye against an eye which is vengeance. This may throw a country into a turmoil. (7.00pm). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zSmqfWgB6lM&feature=em-iss

**Media:** NTV; **Date:** October 27th 2017; **Story title:** Having this clip aired continues to create animosity between NASA and Jubilee supporters which is likely to plunge the country into chaos. (9.00pm). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w68p03FRFxg&feature=em-iss. **Ratings:** Yellow.

**Justifications:** Biased, Sensational and Inflammatory: These sentiments by the DP Ruto are directed towards the Opposition Coalition NASA. It biased as in this news item the opposition has not come to defend itself against these allegations. It is sensational in the manner of words like tyrants, despots and terrorists.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** October 25th 2017; **Story title:** 7.00pm news; **Ratings:** Green

**Inflammatory:** **Justifications:** This news by the presenter that “Odinga said this in relation to an intelligence they have that the police will be used to shed blood especially in the regions regarded as NASA strongholds" might just cause panic, unrest and result to some NASA supporters to invent their own ways of protection as they battle with the police whose aftermath is violence. NASA supporters are being inculcated to believe the entire police force means no good to them hence anybody supporting the police and the police themselves becomes a default enemy to them.

**Media:** RADIO NAMLOLWE; **Date:** October 29th 2017; **Story title:** 9.00pm news; **Ratings:** Yellow

(Biased, Sensational and Inflammatory); “Hawa majama wameanza kutisha mahakama. Mtiza juizi walimpiga risasi dereva naibu wa mkurugenzi wamahakama. Ilikuwa nionyo kwake. (these people have begun threatening the judiciary. You saw recently they shot the driver to the Deputy Chief Justice. It was meant to warn her)”. The criminals referred to in these scenario are persons belonging or associated with Jubilee party. Airing this and having no response from Jubilee could drive a message that the government has turned into a manslaughter and people should rise and protect themselves from it and the persons supporting it. It sounds simple but its adverse effect is violence between pro-government and pro-opposition personalities.
### FM Radio Stations - JULY Analysis

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### FM Radios-August Analysis

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

FM RADIOS - Sept Analysis

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Average Rating September

- KASS FM 20%
- Namlolwe FM 70%
- PILIPILI FM 10%
A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

**FM Radios-October Analysis**

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**Average Rating October**

- PILIPILI FM: 12%
- KASS FM: 23%
- Namlolwe FM: 65%
A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

**TV -June Analytics**

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**Average Rating June**

- NTV 73%
- CITIZEN TV 27%
- KTN 0%

**Television June Analysis**

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

### TV July Analytics

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### Average Rating July

- **KTN NEWS**: 30%
- **NTV**: 64%
- **CITIZEN TV**: 3%
- **K24 TV**: 0%
- **KTN**: 3%
A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

**Television August Analysis**

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

Television September Analysis

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Average Rating Sept

- K24: 3%
- NTV: 59%
- CITIZEN TV: 18%
- KTN NEWS: 18%
- KTN: 2%

TV-Sept Analytics

- KBC TV: 1 Balanced, 2 Biased, 1 Alarmist-unethical, 2 Sensational, 2 Inflammatory, 1 Biased & Sensational, 2 Hate speech
- K24: 6 Balanced, 3 Biased, 2 Alarmist-unethical, 1 Sensational, 1 Inflammatory, 1 Biased & Sensational, 2 Hate speech
- NTV: 6 Balanced, 6 Biased, 1 Alarmist-unethical, 11 Sensational, 2 Inflammatory, 2 Biased & Sensational, 1 Hate speech
- CITIZEN TV: 1 Balanced, 1 Biased, 1 Alarmist-unethical, 6 Sensational, 2 Inflammatory, 1 Biased & Sensational, 1 Hate speech
- KTN NEWS: 3 Balanced, 2 Biased, 2 Alarmist-unethical, 1 Sensational, 1 Inflammatory, 1 Biased & Sensational, 2 Hate speech
- KTN: 2 Balanced, 2 Biased, 1 Alarmist-unethical, 2 Sensational, 1 Inflammatory, 1 Biased & Sensational, 2 Hate speech
- Total Score: 1 Balanced, 11 Biased, 6 Alarmist-unethical, 15 Sensational, 5 Inflammatory, 4 Biased & Sensational, 2 Hate speech

Total Score: 44
### Television October Analysis

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

Print Media-June Analytics

- The Standard
- Daily Nation
- The STAR
- People Daily
- Citizen Weekly

Average rating

- The Standard: 38%
- Daily Nation: 20%
- The STAR: 34%
- People Daily: 6%
- Citizen Weekly: 2%

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

Print media-July analytics

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Average rating July

- The STAR: 36%
- Daily Nation: 30%
- People Daily: 7%
- Citizen Weekly: 7%
- The Standard: 20%

Print Media July Analysis

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A Media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

Print Media - August Analysis

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| Total Scores      | 5                  | 14                            | 1                      | 28                              | 4            |

Average rating:
- The Standard: 6
- Daily Nation: 18
- The STAR: 10
- People Daily: 6
- Citizen Weekly: 2

Average rating:
- The Standard: 6
- Daily Nation: 18
- The STAR: 10
- People Daily: 6
- Citizen Weekly: 2

Total Scores:
- 42
Print media -Sept analytics

Average rating

Print Media -Sept Analysis

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Media House</th>
<th>Balanced reporting</th>
<th>Biased reporting</th>
<th>Alarmist/unethical</th>
<th>Sensational reporting</th>
<th>Inflammatory reporting</th>
<th>Biased &amp; sensational</th>
<th>sensational &amp; inflammatory</th>
<th>Biased, sensational, inflammatory</th>
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# Print Media Monitoring Report on the Coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017

## Print Media -October Analysis

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</table>

## Average Rating

- **The Standard** (39%)
- **Daily Nation** (27%)
- **The STAR** (16%)
- **People Daily** (5%)
- **Citizen Weekly** (13%)

## Pint Media Ocober Nalytics

![Bar Chart Showing Media House Rating](chart.png)