

SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYTICS

This report is part of a broader initiative to analyze online discourse and specifically monitor hate speech in Kenya in the lead up to the August 9th 2022 general elections in order to help mitigate the threat of hateful language in fueling violence on-the-ground.

Insights gathered from the monitoring efforts are shared with a few civil society actors to inform their interventions geared towards peacebuilding and an inclusive democracy on digital spaces

Kenya

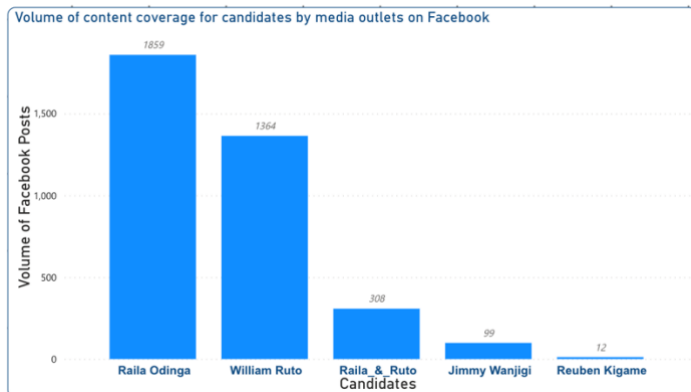
April 2022

BUILD UP 

Exploring online discourse in Kenya- 2022

A. Media Coverage of Candidates on Facebook – April.

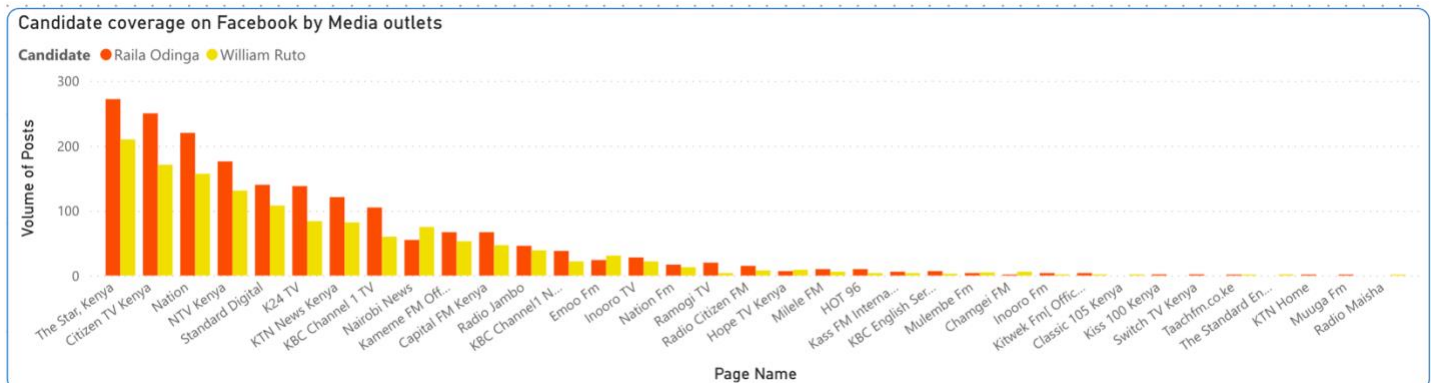
As political candidates prepare to enter the official campaign period, we take a look at the media coverage of some of the candidates online – specifically Facebook. In Kenya 76% of adults use social media as a source of News (Statista, 2021) and according to Maseko, (2021) Facebook is a leading source for news in Kenya. As we wait for the official list of candidates to be published by IEBC, we looked at volume of airtime some known candidates have been receiving on media pages on Facebook.



From the data, content about Raila or content referencing him, received the most coverage by media outlets via their Facebook Pages.

Content on Reuben Kigame who is running on an independent ticket received the least coverage.

When the data is disaggregated by the specific media outlets and compared between Raila Odinga and William Ruto, content on Raila Odinga seems to still more receive more coverage across most of the media outlets.



The Star, posted the most content related to the two candidates (Raila and Ruto) on Facebook in April. Some of the media outlets that covered Ruto's content more than Raila's included Nairobi News and Emoo FM. The difference in content volume between the two candidates in April can be attributed in part, to the incident that happened on April 1st when Raila's convoy was stoned.

For instance, looking at the line graph below there is a significant difference in Facebook coverage between Raila and Ruto on April 1st. This difference is sustained for a few days before coverage on Ruto spikes.

Candidate coverage of Facebook over time

Candidate ● Raila Odinga ● William Ruto

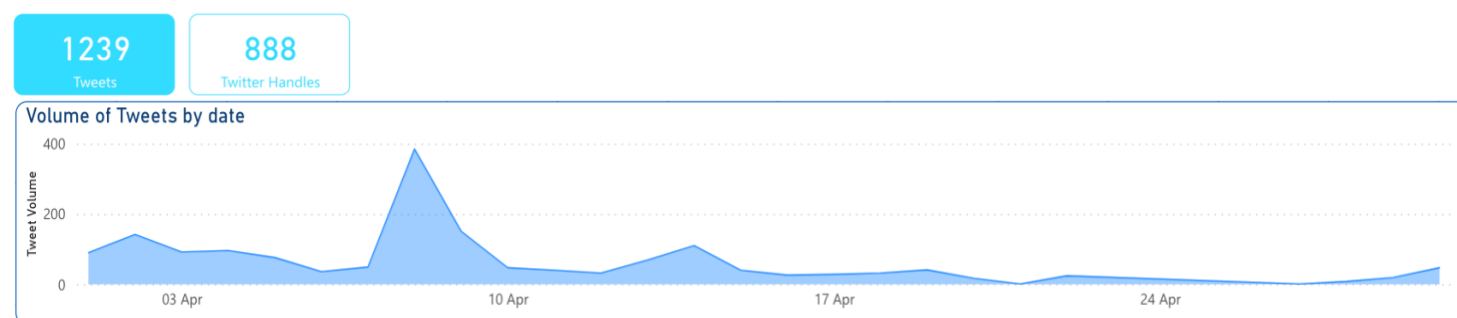
Volume of Posts

Post Created Date

Post Created Date	Raila Odinga (Volume of Posts)	William Ruto (Volume of Posts)
03 Apr	145	15
04 Apr	100	10
05 Apr	115	70
06 Apr	85	65
07 Apr	80	35
08 Apr	35	15
09 Apr	15	45
10 Apr	35	100
11 Apr	45	55
12 Apr	50	45
13 Apr	60	85
14 Apr	70	95
15 Apr	45	90
16 Apr	35	25
17 Apr	45	30
18 Apr	55	40
19 Apr	80	30
20 Apr	85	40
21 Apr	100	55
22 Apr	95	55
23 Apr	10	10
24 Apr	15	10
25 Apr	80	65
26 Apr	65	65
27 Apr	95	25
28 Apr	40	25
29 Apr	75	75
30 Apr	60	50

B. Political and Ethnic Polarization - April.

Twitter

[illegible]

Emerging Narratives

- A narrative of selective application of the law was also witnessed on Twitter in relation to the use of the word Madoadoa. A significant number of users argue that when Sen. Mithika Linturi used the term there was public outcry and he was summoned by NCIC, warned and asked to apologize to the public, however when Raila used the term there was no outcry and nothing was done to him. See sample posts below

William Ruto supporters must realize everything is against ruto.

The Media and Government agencies are against him

When Linturi talked of Madoadoa, the outcry was so loud

When Raila talked of the same, nothing.

They then must always maintain their cool

When Linturi made madoadoa remarks he was quickly arrested and charged!

When Raila made the same remarks he was celebrated!

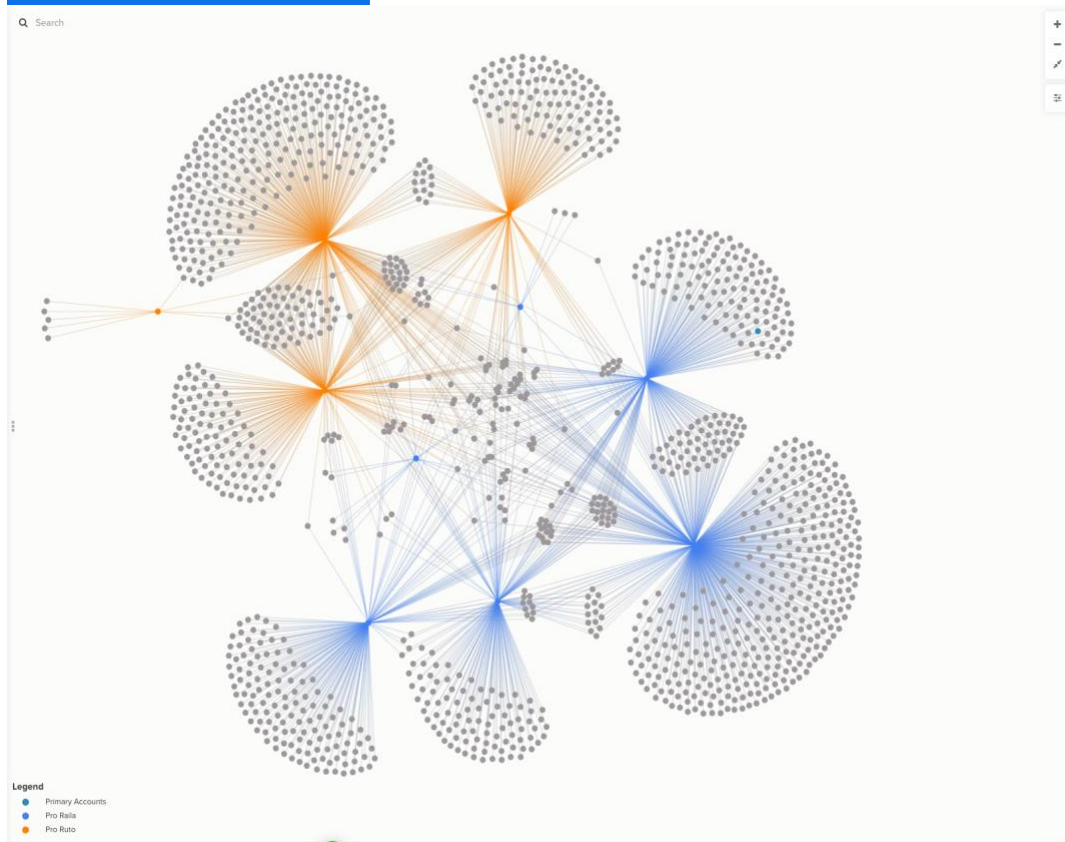
When Ruto was attacked in Kondele it was a non issue!

When Raila was attacked in Soy it's a big issue! Selective application of laws is dangerous!

Was Mithika Linturi arrested for using the word madoadoa? What happened to the Former PM Raila Odinga when he asked the people of Wajir to remove the madoadoa among them? Dear President Uhuru Kenyatta, you don't see that selective application of state power is a recipe for chaos?

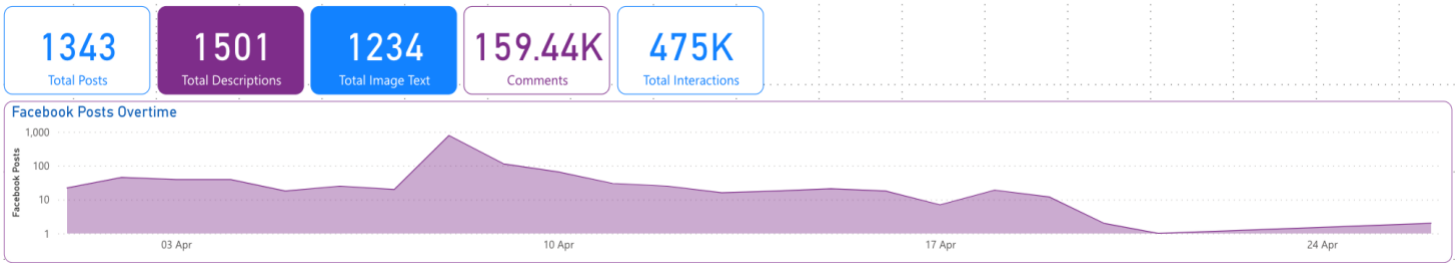
This theme of how the law is applied during campaigns has been emerging in various conversations on social media platforms. Some users argue that the application is un-equal and favors the candidate that is aligned with the incumbent. NCIC has also come out saying that they apply the law equally and that anyone who breaches the NCIC act and other laws on hate speech shall face the resulting consequences.

Earlier in February we took a deeper dive into the twitter data to analyse the top ten twitter accounts that were spreading harmful content to see how they were connected. We analyzed their behavior online to see who they were retweeting and realized that they were divided along political lines. This is a key archetype of polarized communities online. This pattern was still the same in April. See image below



The central nodes in the network are mainly news sites and key influencers while the colored nodes are the top ten twitter accounts we selected from the scraped hate speech data. What we see is that the blue nodes (Pro Raila) and the orange nodes (Pro Ruto) are divided by their political affiliations that we determined by analyzing their social media feed. They pull news from the center nodes and spin it with their narratives that support their political agenda and then add in hateful messages in their tweets. We also see some siloed communities in the fringes of the network.

Facebook



Facebook also experienced a similar trend with a peak in on April 8th. The total volume of content around polarizing terms and phrases on Facebook was not significantly different from Twitter. Despite the small number in Facebook posts, they are still generating a lot of interactions (475,000), meaning that a significantly large group is engaging with polarizing content online and not simply ignoring it or blocking it.

Emerging Narratives

- On April 1st Raila Odinga came under attack in Uasin Gishu when his chopper and convoy was stoned. This incident generated narratives on social media using the term *watu wa kurusha mawe* or “stone throwers”. One narrative questioned the use of the term to label the Luo community when the stoning happened in a county where the main ethnic demographic is not Luo.

Oyaaa wamunasema eti wajaluo niwakali kwa kurusha mawe, Nina wauliza kwa unyekevu walio rushia Raila jiwa ni wajaluo kweli?

Translation: **You usually say that Luos are great at throwing stones. I humbly ask you, were the people who threw stones at Raila really Luos?**

Mimi najuanga mawe niya wajaluo kumbe mbaka wanandi 🤔

Translation: **I have always known stones (stonethrowing) is for Luos, so it's also for Nandis*.**
 *(Nandi is a sub-community of the Kalenjin ethnic group)

Sisi wajaluo tume revuka mawe tume wachia wakale ama siyo

Translation: **We Luos have become smarter, we have left the stones (stone throwing) to the Kalenjin isn't it.**

Nadhani #wajaluo ndio wanarusha mawe,kumbe kuna wenye wanatusaidia 🤔🤔

Translation: **I have been thinking it is Luos that are throw stones, yet there are others that are helping us**

This narrative is interesting because while it is not promoting hate towards a group, it begins to challenge the stereotype that the Luo community are stone throwers. By using this incident where a Luo politician was stoned in a county that is assumed to be predominantly populated by the Kalenjin community, social media users question the legitimacy of the stone throwing stereotype towards the Luo community and sometimes using satire while at it.

- A more serious narrative emerged in relation to this incident. Some social media users shared that there is a plot by Ruto to kill Raila and that the stoning was well choreographed. In addition to this, the narrative notes that the list of suspects who were throwing stones was doctored by the Ruto team to profile Luos.

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Watu wa kurusha mawe na kubomoa chopper za wenyewe must be brought to book. What happened on Friday must not be normalized or made to seem as a mistake, it was deliberate and choreographed to have scapegoats. M-Pesa transactions and phone calls by Oscar Sudi, Caleb Kositany and David Kiplagat show how all the three knew the plot and coordinated the same. The plot of William Ruto to kill Raila, the person who will make it impossible for Ruto to win by defeating him by a landslide. The plot to kill our 5th President and then blame it on militia they have trained themselves is absurd and disturbing. God saved Baba the 5th. God is God, not who William Ruto and his tangatanga think he should be as they plan evil.

Translation (First line): **Stone throwers and people who destroy other people's choppers must....**

Ethnic and Class Profiling, the basic ingredient of Genocide.... Just after the assassination attempt against Raila in Soy, the Ruto team quickly created a fake Citizen TV list of alleged arrested individuals and they gave names of Luos and counties of origin as Migori, Siaya and Homa Bay.... What is shocking is that many people that were level-headed shared that list. I was flummoxed to see people I used to respect, gleefully sharing the fake list that had only Luo names. It may look funny... Only that such Profiling has taken place before, and followed by unimaginable bloodshed... What has the Ruto side been doing? They have been Profiling the Luo as Sub Humans.... Or people "below" them... You all know the words Ruto uses when describing Luos... It's not Raila, but he keeps repeating "Wale Watu wa...." By creating a fake list of "stone throwers" the Ruto campaign team was communicating some things.... First, they are saying that the Kalenjins are way above such things as throwing stones, and only the inferior Luos are capable of such things.... All those who believed that list demonstrate that the effects of radicalization has permeated all levels of the Ruto side... The level of raw hate is palpable.... If educated people can be this radicalized, what do you think the uneducated villagers have become How did we reach here?? Sustained hate campaigns.... What happened in Rwanda? For years, the Hutu elite started a campaign to depict the Tutsis as sub human.... The way Ruto has been depicting the Luo as subhuman... Unless we call out all the hate mongers, we will descend in unimaginable chaos... Unless we stop our hypocrisy, and stop the hate campaigns, we will never know what will happen next.... We should ask ourselves.... What would make someone share a fake list with glee?? We should stop this hate campaigns..... And calling out hate, like I'm doing is not spreading hate... I'm just asking the Ruto side to stop the hate and Profiling of Luos....

Due to the fact that none of the accusations have been verified to be true, this narrative has aspects of both accusation in a mirror and disinformation. When one political actor or group accuses their political opponents as having a trained and paid militia ready to attack and kill, it can easily create grounds for collective self-defense in response to this imagined militia (Benesch 2008).

Notable trends - Facebook and Twitter

- **Kalenjingas.** The term Kalenjingas is being used to target Kalenjins. We surveyed social media offline to fully understand the meaning behind the term. It stems from the word Kalenjin (the ethnic group) and Mjinga (stupid). When these two are combined, Kalenjinga stands to mean stupid Kalenjin. Our monitoring is showing that when it is used 90% of the time is to insult the Kalenjin community and the rest of the time is to urge people to stop using it. When used to insult, it completely replaces the word Kalenjin in posts that are talking about the community.

The kalejingas here is another chopper for baba full of security equipments able to detect your long, smelling & rotten teeth. Your failed assassination attempt against baba just added more progressive move to his missions, try your your stupidity again next time and you'll perish on the spot.

KALEJINGAS have started battle which they will NEVER win.Hawa watu hufikiria hao ndio wanajua vita Sana!

Translation - second half of sentence: **...These people think they are the ones who really know violence**

Why do kalejingas think that Luos are an easy target?

- **Kalemenos:** The term Kalemenos is also being used to target Kalenjins. Based on our survey, the term stems from the word Kalenjin and Meno (teeth). When these are combined, the word Kalemeno is used to perpetuate a derogatory stereotype that Kalenjins have big protruding teeth that they can't hide or prevents them to close their mouths. This is sometimes pushed further to depict dirty, smelly and rotten teeth. *See the first example post from the Kalenjinga term to see how the stereotype makes its way in to the post.* When used to insult, it also completely replaces the word Kalenjin in posts that are talking about the community.

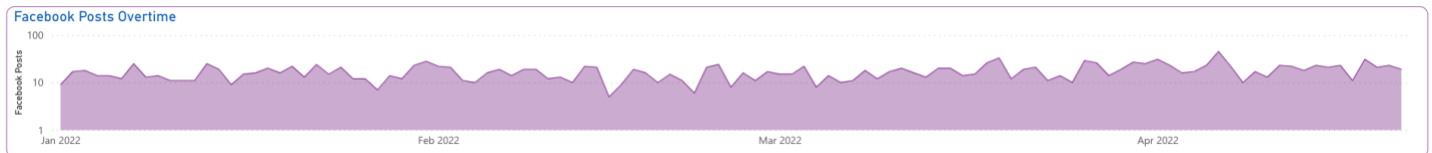
Kikuyus and Kalemenos had a chance of voting for Uhuru for two terms now it is for other tribes to vote for him through Raila for only one term.

Ona ngui ici kalemenos. Seems 2007 hawakusoma lesson. Hawa dio mnatushikanisha na wao tugeges?

Translation: **Look at these dogs kalemenos. Seems 2007 they did not learn their lesson. Are these the ones you are uniting us with, you incompetent leaders?**

Raila Odinga was chased away in Elgeyo Marakwet and Uasin Gishu because the land he was in belongs to the Kalemenos. According to UDA manifesto below, 🐶🐶🐶 one can only operate in his or her "ancestral" home. The people of Mt Kenya living in Eldoret are supporting William Samoei Ruto because they fear living in the signs and Symptoms of Kiambaa Church in 2007.

C. Online Gender based harassment/bullying/violence- Facebook



Gender based harassment, bullying and violence has been on a steady trend from January 2022. This trend is the same in the past years where online content targeting women appears to be steady and is not really affected by the electoral season.

The main narratives here focus on the sexualization of women that compares women by ethnicity. Stereotypes of women's sexuality by ethnicity make up most of the content seen online.

Madem waluhya uwa na shape poa tako kubwa but kwa bed wako ovyo

Translation: **Luhya women have a good shape and big buttocks but in bed they are useless**

Sipendi madem wakikuyu hawana Matakoto na kuma zao sio tamu

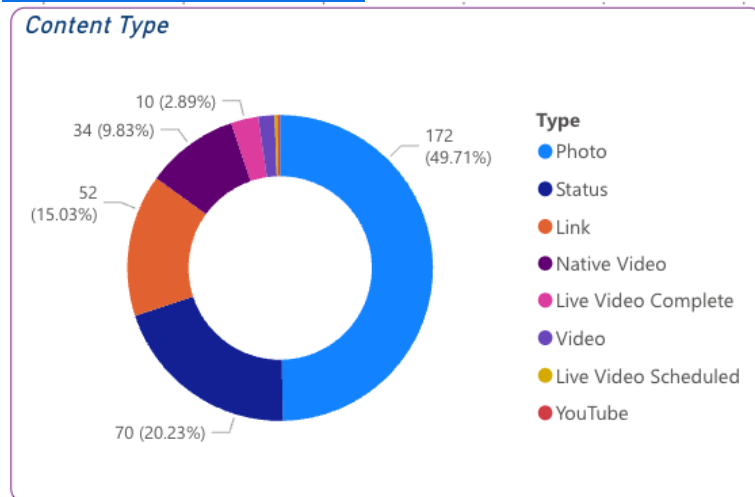
Translation: **I don't like kikuyu women; they don't have buttocks and their vaginas are not sweet**

Wasichana wote wajaluo wako fine wachana na wasichana waluhya wako na matiti imeanguka kama ukuta wa Jericho 🙄🙄🙄 makofi

Translation: **All Luo women are fine, leave alone Luhya women, they have sagging breasts like the wall of Jericho. Clap for me**

A deeper dive into the content to explore how female politicians are targeted reveals a similar trend where younger politicians are sexualized and insults describe their body parts while older politicians are called ugly. The term malaya or prostitute is commonly used to target female politicians, accusing them of sleeping around with their male counterparts in order to secure party tickets and elected or nominated positions.

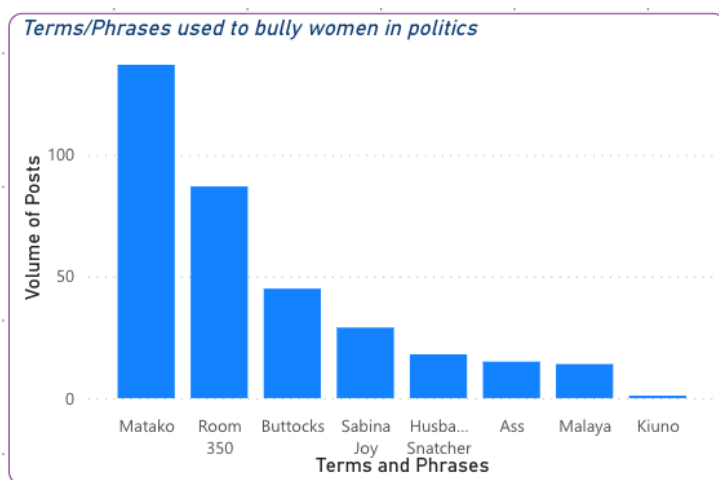
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A large percent of the content type when women politicians are targeted women is Photo. When these leaders are out in public running campaigns, giving speeches engaging with other leaders etc, their photos are pulled up and used to target them. In some instances, someone will screenshot a video where the leader appears, post the screenshot online and then target them.

Links with hateful captions are used to direct users to a blog or a video on another platform where the picture or a video of the leader is hosted.

We randomly selected 6 female politicians from the data to see what types of terms and phrases were used to describe them. See bar graph below



The graph is not fully representative of the terms used or the volume used. It is based on the 6 female politicians and only for a brief period of time in Jan2022- April 2022. It also only represents posts from pages and groups alone and not comments and/or posts from individual users. The words Matako, Buttocks and Ass have the same meaning but provides us with an insight to the language preferred by bullies in this context. Room 350 is used to refer to a room at the Weston Hotel where female politicians have to pass through and prostitute themselves to certain politicians in order to be given a position in their party etc.

See Annex for recommended responses

Methodology

This report is This report is part of a broader initiative to analyze online discourse and specifically monitor hate speech in Kenya in the lead up to the general elections in order to help mitigate the threat of hateful language in fueling violence on-the-ground. Hate speech in this context is defined using section 13 of the National Cohesion and Integration Act, where the threshold is underlined by proof that the speech or expression threatens, abuses or insults others based on their ethnicity, and must be intended to stir up ethnic hatred, OR, under section. 62, inciting ethnic hatred, hostility or violence. The report also acknowledges the role of “dangerous speech,” which is a heightened form of hate speech that can catalyze mass violence.

The report provides an analysis of digital and social media discourse related to the electoral process over a 30 day period, including search trends on digital platforms, social media conversations and popular digital news content. Content is tracked using different newsgathering tools. Twitter is monitored through its API, Facebook and Instagram are monitored through the Crowdtangle platform, WhatsApp insights are gathered through anecdotes from community networks and from third party fact checking reports. Telegram is monitored via TGStat API, while TikTok content is scraped directly from the platform.

The resulting monitoring loop (keywords and selected tools) allows to track relevant online discourse data including social media posts, comments or articles. Data collected is analyzed to identify harmful content and developing themes or trends related to the elections and is analyzed for volume, engagements generated, networked patterns, sentiment of conversation user comments and reactions. Where sentiment and tone analysis is included, it is gathered by humans.

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