MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA

The Performance of Vernacular Radio Stations in Kenya

September/October, 2011

Monitoring Report

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Preface

There is little doubt about the relevance to study and understand the trends in media performance on issues of public concern and national importance, as well as the adherence to the Code of Conduct of the Practice of Journalism in Kenya.

Aware of this need, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) commissioned this study about the performance of vernacular radio stations while covering the confirmation of charges against suspects of gross human rights violations during the post 2007-election violence by the Hague based International Criminal Court (ICC).

The critical issue was to seek to establish any changes, both at the level of individual journalists and media houses, that might have occurred following the much hyped role of the media in the post 2007 election violence. Indeed, the issue was topical in the sense that one of the suspects mentioned by the ICC was a radio journalist working for a vernacular station. It has variously been advanced that the media played a big role in fanning tribal hatred during the violence, and a number of organizations, including the MCK have worked tirelessly to train media in conflict sensitive journalism.

The report examines how the selected vernacular radio stations covered the proceedings of the ICC confirmations and studies the level and depth of coverage and the degree of adherence to the press and journalism code of conduct as it relates to hate speech, incitement and responsible journalism as seen by players in the media in Kenya.

The report attests to the need to monitor the media and release periodic summaries about how the media covers national issues, adheres to professional ethics and codes of conduct in the context of self- regulation in the industry. It is important reference material for those interested in assessing the developments in media professionalism in Kenya and lessons learnt from previous experiences.

The report gives important findings drawn from the interactions with players in the media sector and suggests important recommendations aimed at ensuring that the media, especially vernacular radio stations, play their rightful role in national development.

Radio is still a primary source of information for Kenyans on national issues, and vernacular stations are important players debating matters of public concern. Journalists are increasingly aware of their social responsibilities, while journalists working in vernacular radio stations need training in conflict sensitive journalism.

We hope the report is a useful addition to the existing body of literature whose findings and recommendations can make a valuable contribution to improving professionalism in the media.

Haron Mwangi
Executive Director
Media Council of Kenya

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We extend our heartfelt thanks to Isabel Rodde, Technical Adviser GIZ, for the supervision of the project, and to the late Dr. Peter Oriare Mbeke for his valuable input during the conceptualization of the study. We also want to thank all MCK staff, particularly Ruth Muturi, the supervisor of MCK´s monitoring and training department and Ephraim Muchemi, the IT officer.

We acknowledge the support of the German Development Cooperation GIZ / Civil Peace Service, without which this project would not have been possible.

We also wish to acknowledge the technical support of Reelforge Media Monitoring throughout the project.

Finally we wish to thank all media representatives who made themselves available for interviews despite their busy schedules.

1. Executive Summary

The Media Council of Kenya (MCK), the statutory body established under the Media Act 2007 that regulates media and advances professionalism of the media in Kenya, monitored a set of ten vernacular radio stations in September/October 2011 in order to assess their current performance. The study looked at the adherence of the stations to the "Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya"[1] and the quality and diversity of their coverage. The monitoring was carried out during the confirmation of charges hearings at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague[2]. A specific objective of the study was to analyze the ICC coverage in terms of accuracy, balance, fairness and conflict sensitivity.

Key Findings

- The radio stations scored highly on balance and fairness: 97% of the news reports showed no evidence of slanted reporting and 96% covered at least two viewpoints.
- Only a few cases of hate speech[3] were encountered. 99,5% of all radio items contained no hate speech.
- Women were clearly underrepresented in the radio programmes. Women were central news subjects in less than 10% of the news items. Only a quarter of the presenters were female.
- The radio stations covered the ICC confirmation of charges hearings mainly in their news bulletins. Only a few talk-shows took up the topic. Several editors and managers described this editorial line as an attempt to avoid ethnic tension and incitement.
- The ICC coverage was predominantly perpetrator-centred. Only a few stories included the side of the victims of post-election violence. Most of the coverage focused on the immediate court procedures, only a few items provided in-depth background information about the cases.
- ICC Case 2[4] was covered more extensively than Case 1. This applied to all stations regardless of their ethnical background. However, there were some obvious differences observed between the stations: Kass FM and Ramogi FM covered Case 1 significantly more extensively than the other stations. Kameme FM´s coverage of Case 1 was very limited whereas it had the most comprehensive coverage of case 2.

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[1] Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya, Second Schedule of the Media Act2007; See http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/WPFD2009/pdf/code%20of%20ethics%20in%20Kenya.pdf, retrieved 22/03/2012

[2] The confirmation of charges hearings at the ICC took place from September 1 – 8 (Case 1) and September 21 – October 5, 2011 (Case 2). In Case 1 William Ruto, Henry Kosgey and Joshua Sang and in Case 2 Francis Muthaura, Uhuru Kenyatta and Mohammed Ali were charged with crimes against humanity related to the post election violence in Kenya 2007/2008. The aim of these pre-trial hearings was to confirm or reject the charges on which the the Prosecutor intended to hold trial. On 23 January 2012, the Pre-Trial Chamber II confirmed the charges against Kenyatta, Muthaura, Ruto and Sang and declined to confirm the charges against Ali and Kosgey. See further information on http://www.icckenya.org/ and http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC/Situations+and+Cases/Situations/Situation+ICC+0109/.

[3] Guidelines for monitoring hate speech in the electronic media in Kenya, National Cohesion and Integration Commission, 2010, p. 3; "Hate speech is any utterance of words intended to incite feelings of contempt, hatred, hostility, violence or discrimination against any person, group or community on basis of ethnicity, religion or race."

[4] See Footnote 2

Conclusions and Recommendations

- Vernacular radio stations in Kenya didn´t use the coverage of the ICC hearings in September/October 2011 as a platform for disseminating tribal propaganda.
- The coverage lacked in-depth information and only a very few voices of victims of post-election violence could be heard.
- The radio stations limited the reporting on the ICC topic predominantly to the news section. Instead of blocking controversial issues from public debate in call-in-shows, however, emphasis should be put on the thorough training of talk-show hosts. Well trained presenters and reporters and a clearly defined editorial policy on hate speech and conflict-sensitive reporting are key factors for a fair and balanced coverage in the election year lying ahead.
- Editors and managers of the radio stations confirm that they are aware of the dangers of incitement and inflammatory speech. They indicate that there are measures in place to prevent hate speech from being aired on their stations.
- Most of them also state that they only hire trained editorial staff with at least a diploma in journalism or communication. However, all stations expressed the need for further specialized training of journalists in issues such as election coverage, ICC proceedings and conflict-sensitive reporting.
- Media ownership influences the focus of news coverage in Kenya considerably. Full transparency about ownership and additional research on the impact of ownership structures are essential.
- The confirmation of charges against four of the suspects, among them the two presidential aspirants Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta and Hon. William Ruto, have heightened tensions in the country; the "race gets hotter" ahead of the "epic" State House elections".[5]
- Capacity building for media workers in specialized reporting and further monitoring of all Kenyan media, including the vernacular radio stations, are therefore crucial.

[5] See The Standard, 01/02/2012, p.1 and The Daily Nation, 04/02/2012, p.1

2. Introduction

2.1 The Radio Landscape in Kenya

Radio is the most popular and accessible medium in Kenya. 95% of all Kenyans listen regularly to the radio.[6]
As of June 2011, 96 licensed FM radio stations were on air, 46 of them are based in Nairobi.[7] The majority of them are privately owned commercial stations, which are part of large media enterprises. Six stations are run by the state-owned Kenyan Broadcasting Cooperation (KBC). There are nine community stations in the country[8].

The number of vernacular radio stations has risen considerably since the first station, Kameme, was set up in 2000. Today there is a large variety of commercial, state-run and community based local language stations on air[9]. According to the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), there are 30 stations broadcasting in languages other than English and Kiswahili.[10] Eleven of them are run by Royal Media Services (RMS); KBC runs five vernacular stations and seven vernacular regional services. CCK says, more local language stations are awaiting licences.

The vernacular radios are especially popular in rural areas, with a majority of listeners being older than 30 years[11]. In the Central and in the Lake Region three local language stations rank among the five top stations; in the Nairobi region it is one out of five[12]. Countrywide, five of the ten most popular Kenyan radio stations broadcast in vernacular languages.

Editors and owners of vernacular radio stations emphasize the fact that local language programmes play an essential role for the development and participation of rural communities, in which a significant number of people do not communicate in Kiswahili or English[13].

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[6] KARF Audience Research Q1 2011, Synovate 2011
[7] List of FM Broadcast Frequencies, retrieved from http://www.cck.go.ke/licensing/broadcasting/register.html on 28/01/2012
[8] E-Mail communication CRAK, Community Radio Association of Kenya, 01/08/2011;
Definition: Community radio stations provide local, non-profit, participatory broadcasting with a development agenda, also see http://amarcwiki.amarc.org/upload/documents/Community_Radios_in_Kenya.pdf
[9] A study by Synovate conducted in 2009 came to the conclusion, that 51% of the radio stations on air at that time were vernacular stations and a further 21% were Swahili stations. Out of the 29 radio stations launched in the country in 2008, twenty five were vernacular stations (Steadman Synovate Media Monitoring Division, 2009)
[10] Saturday Nation 31/03/2012, p.10
[11] AudienceScapes, July 2009, retrieved from http://www.audiencescapes.org/country-profiles/kenya/media-and-communication-overview/radio/radio-323 on 28/01/2012
[12] KARF Audience Research Q1 2011, Synovate 2011
[13] See chapter "Profiles of Radio Stations"

2.2 Vernacular Radio Stations and the Post-Election Violence in 2007/2008

Reaching out to the masses
Vernacular stations play the role of reaching out to the masses in the easiest way, in a way that they understand. I think vernacular stations are important because we need to discuss the issues that affect our county. We need to empower people to come up and take responsibility for their counties and their regions. It is through the vernacular stations that people speak out.
Editor in Chief, Vernacular Radio Station, 12/2011

Kenyan media played an ambivalent role during the election campaign in 2007 and the following post-election violence. On the one hand they supported voter education and scrutinized the actions of politicians and election committee officials to ensure free and fair elections[14]. On the other hand they also provided a platform for misinformation and propaganda. The vernacular FM stations especially have been accused of disseminating dangerous propaganda and hate-speech through their live talk-shows and call-in programmes[15].

The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights summarized the role of the vernacular media in the post-election violence as follows:
"The media, and particularly local language media, influenced or facilitated the influencing of communities to hate or to be violent against other communities. Radio stations broadcasting in Kalenjin languages as well as in the Kikuyu language were culpable in this respect. Live phone-in programmes were particularly notorious for disseminating negative ethnic stereotypes, cultural chauvinism and the peddling of sheer untruths about the political situation or individual politicians."[16]

The Commission of Inquiry on Post Election Violence (Waki Commission) confirmed this assessment:
"Many recalled with horror, fear, and disgust the negative and inflammatory role of vernacular radio stations in their testimony and statements to the Commission. In particular, they singled out KASS FM as having contributed to a climate of hate, negative ethnicity, and having incited violence in the Rift Valley."[17]

However, in its policy briefing paper 4/2008 the BBC WST also pointed out the positive role that some of the FM stations had played in the aftermath of the post-

[14] Kenya Media Sector Analysis Report (2008), Peter Oriare Mbeke, Tom Mshindi
[15] Kriegler Report, p.66 f
[16] KNCHR Report, August 2008, p. 4
[17] WAKI REPORT p. 295

election violence in 2007/2008: "More recently, most local language stations appear to have been playing an important role in calming tension and promoting dialogue."[18]

Undoubtedly, Kenya´s local language radio stations played and still play a crucial role in influencing decisions and shaping emotions within their audiences.

Vernacular Radios in Kenya
2000: First local language radio on air: Kameme FM (Kikuyu)
2004: New media law liberalizes legal framework, increase of radio stations
2007: Vernacular Radios have 27% of radio market*
2009: 5 Vernacular stations are amongst the 10 most popular Kenyan radio stations**
2011: 30 commercial, state-run and community based stations on air

*BBC Monitoring Database –Kenya: a brief guide to the media, January 2008
**AudienceScapes, July 2009

[18] BBC WST 2008, p.2

3. Project Description
Monitoring Vernacular Radio Stations

3.1 Objective

The Media Council of Kenya monitored a set of ten vernacular radio stations in September/October 2011 in order to assess current performance in the run-up to the next general elections. The study observed the adherence of the stations to the "Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya" and the extent to which the media houses followed the principles of conflict-sensitive reporting. The monitoring was carried out during the confirmation of charges hearings at the International Criminal Court in The Hague. A specific objective of the study was to analyze the ICC coverage in terms of accuracy, balance, fairness and conflict sensitivity.

3.2 Study Design

The project was conducted by the monitoring department of the Media Council of Kenya. The study used the following methods and data resources:

- Literature review: This method was used in order to examine the performance and role of vernacular radio stations in Kenya during the post-election violence 2007/2008.
- Interviews: Single face to face interviews with editors-in-chief/managers of vernacular radio stations were conducted on the basis of semi-structured interview guidelines. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and summarized. The summaries were presented to all interviewees for consent before publication.
- Content analysis: Prime-time news bulletins (7.00, 13.00, 19.00 and 21.00) and prime-time talk-shows were monitored from September 1 to 8 and September 21 to October 5, 2011. From September 1 until September 8 the entire programme from 6.00 – 24.00 was monitored. The total number of radio items analyzed was 5956 from all sampled radio stations. Monitors were trained to use a specific coding system which contains a set of interpretation rules and allows transferring the information into quantitative data. Statistical analysis was carried out with SPSS version 17.0.

The radio stations were selected on the basis of ownership/organizational structure, reach and popularity, coverage of different ethnicities and ethnical background of ICC suspects as well as their role in the post-election violence 2007/2008. The following stations were monitored:

- Kass FM (Kalenjin)
- Kameme FM (Kikuyu)
- Coro FM (Kikuyu)
- Nam Lolwe (Luo)
- Ramogi FM (Luo)
- West FM (Swahili/Luhya)
- Musyi FM (Kamba)
- Muuga FM (Meru)
- Egesa FM (Kisii)
- Star FM (Somali/Swahili/English)

4. Findings

4.1 General Performance[19]

Programming

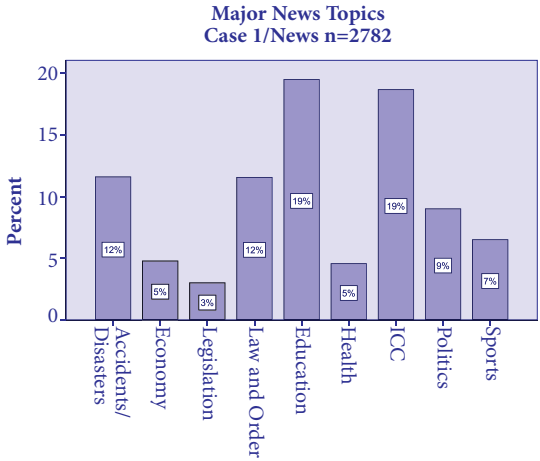
The vernacular radios, which were observed, broadcast 24 hours a day. From 24.00 until 5.00 there is a music-only programme. The dominant format throughout the day is the call-in show. Every station runs 4 – 6 call-in shows per day with the breakfast-show mostly being the most popular one[20]. It usually includes prayers, a newspaper review, news-bulletins and topical discussions with one or two studio guests and a minimum of ten callers.

Most of the radio stations run hourly news briefs and major news bulletins at 7.00, 9.00, 13.00, 16.00, 19.00 and 21.00. The major news bulletins are 15 - 20 minutes long and usually consist of 6 to 9 news items.
The Royal Media Services (RMS) stations run their news from one central news desk. All stations broadcast the same national news accompanied by two or three regional news items at the end of each newscast. Coro FM, run by the Kenyan Broadcasting Cooperation, also runs news from the central KBC news desk.

Topics

The news content predominantly covered the topical issues of education (teachers´ strike) and ICC (confirmation of charges hearings), followed by accidents/disasters, issues of law and order, general politics and sports.

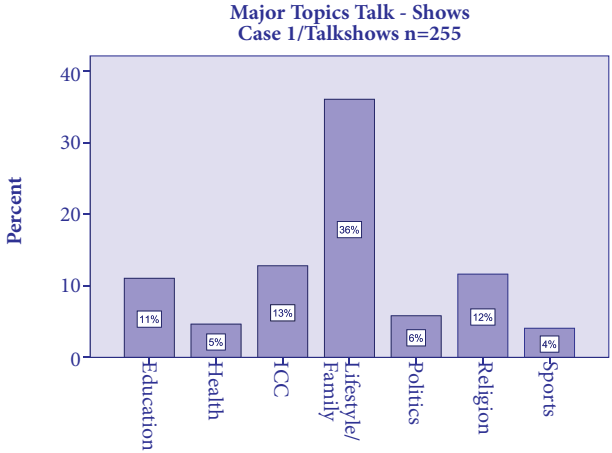
Figure 1



[19] The findings about the general performance are based on the monitoring of the selected radio stations from September 1 until 8, 6.00 – 24.00 (n=3215).
[20] Synovate Radio Diaries 2011

The talk-shows mainly covered lifestyle and family issues, followed by topical political and religious issues. All stations run agricultural programmes targeting farmers.

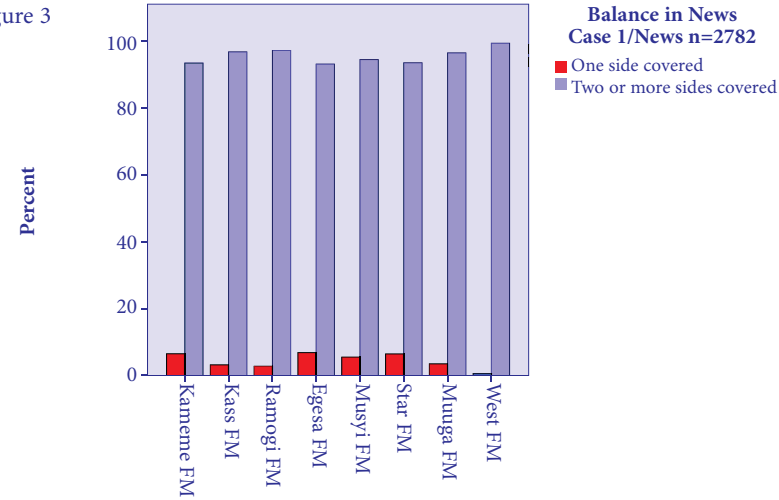
Figure 2



Adherence to Code of Conduct

The radio stations scored highly on accuracy, balance and fairness:
99,5% of all news stories (Case 1) were classified as reporting facts correctly. 99,4% of the news contained no hate speech; no cases of obscene language were detected in the programmes. 96,9% of all news reports were not slanted, as opposed to 3,1% that were slanted towards particular sides or perspectives. 4,3% of all news covered only one side of the story, whereas 95,7% covered two or more viewpoints.

Figure 3



Breaches of the Code of Conduct / Examples

Unbalanced news content was the most common breach. Often the side of the police was not sought when reporting alleged crimes. The 8.00 news on Kameme FM on September 1, 2011 for example reported the murder of a boda boda driver in Limuru followed by threats of his colleagues to take revenge. No police statements were included in the news item, thus the report seemed to take sides for the mob justice advocated by the boda boda drivers.

In other examples, the government or administration side was not given any chance to comment: On September 21, 2011, 9.00, KASS FM reported the death of 17 villagers after drinking an illicit brew. The provincial administration was accused of being responsible for the killings, but their side of the story was not covered.

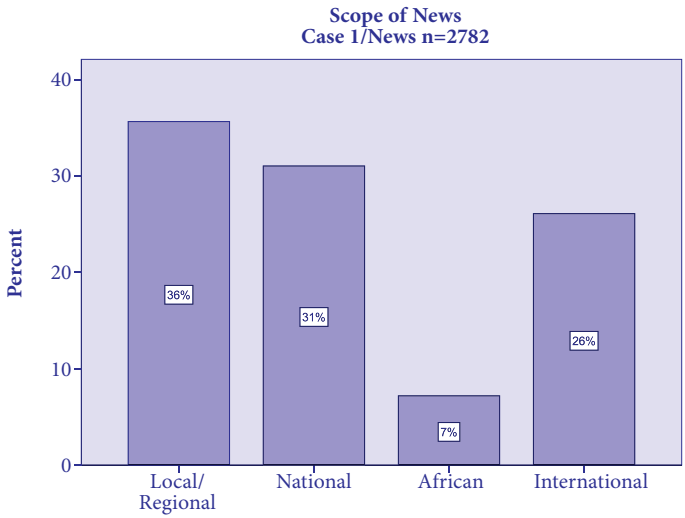
On September 27, 2011 Muuga FM reported about MP Isaac Ruto´s criticism of the Mau Forest Restoration secretariat and the underlying political interests of the Prime Minister, without giving the secretariat or the PM the opportunity to comment.

On September 5, 2011, 12.00, Musyi FM reported the closure of Makolongo primary school in Mbitini over claims made by the parents concerning funds mismanagement without covering the side of the school/headmaster.

Scope of Coverage

36% of all news items were local and regional stories, whereas 31% had a national, 7% an African and 26% an international scope. The high percentage of international news was a result of the news coverage of the ICC hearings in The Hague.

Figure 4



Gender presence

Women were clearly underrepresented in the radio programmes analyzed. In 7% of all news items women were central to the story, whereas in 44% of the stories men were the news subjects. In 49% of all news stories both men and women were equally central.

Three-quarters of all radio presenters were male, only 25% were female.

Egesa FM (41%) and West FM (38%) had significantly more female presenters than Ramogi FM (8%) and Nam Lolwe (7%).

Figure 5

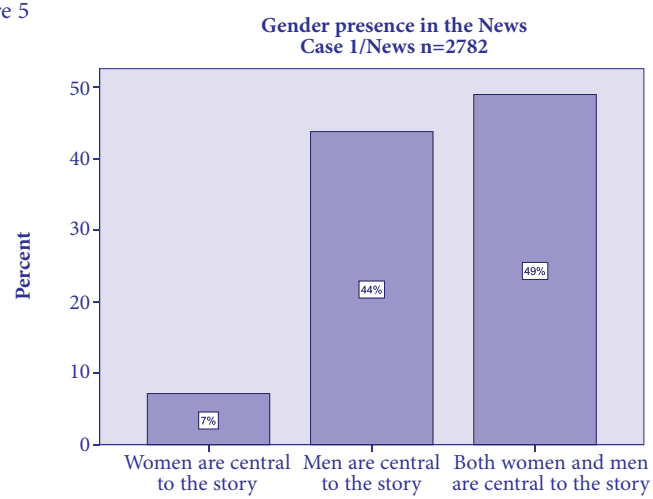


Figure 6

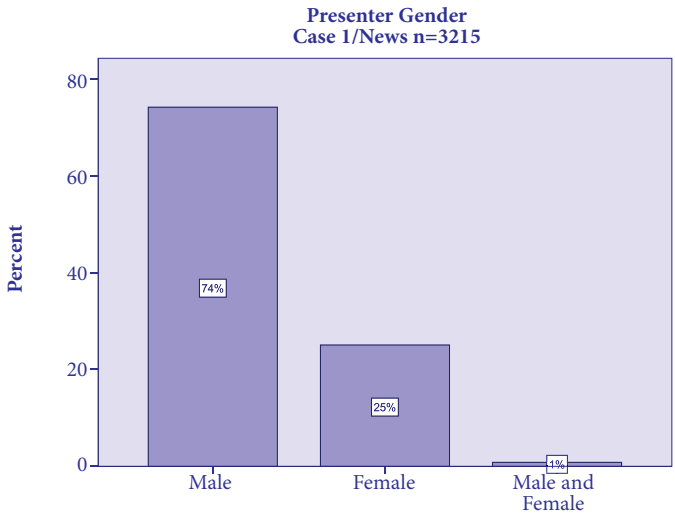
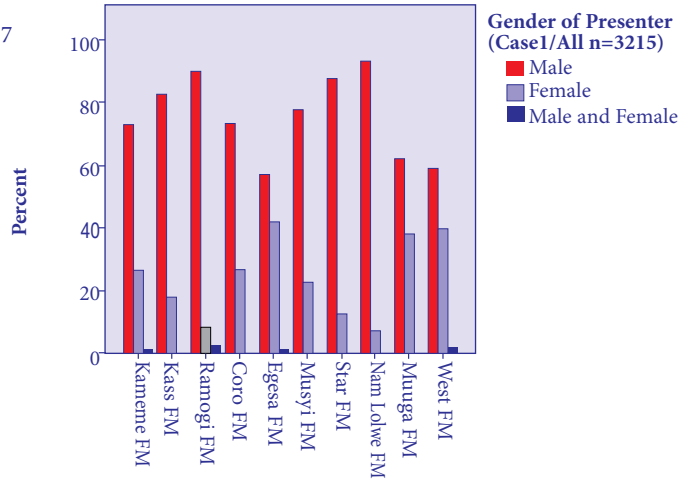


Figure 7



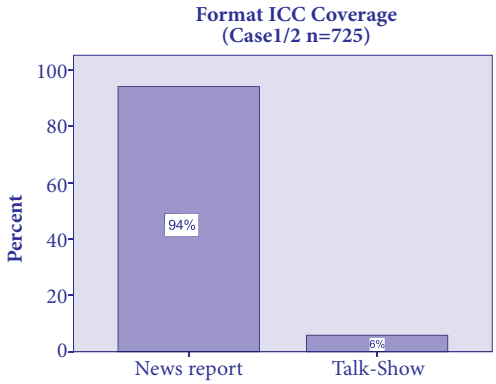
4.2 ICC Coverage[21]

Format

The radio stations covered the confirmation of charges hearings predominantly in their news bulletins. 94% of all ICC related stories were news reports; only half of the stations covered the ICC in their talk-shows. Some editors and managers confirmed they had decided on this editorial line to avoid ethnic tension and incitement.

"It was just some news item, just the headlines on what was covered, that´s all we did. We never made the hearings topics for call-ins. We left those things out for the purposes of healing."[22]

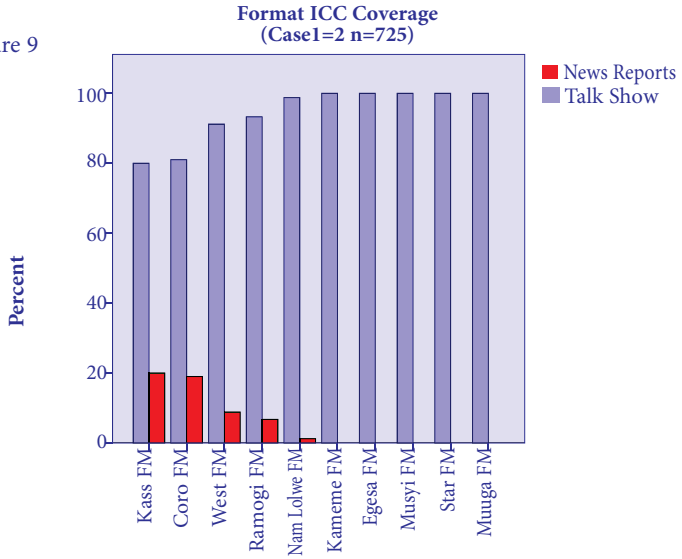
Figure 8



[21] The findings are based on the monitoring of the prime time news (9.00 AM, 1.00 PM, 7.00 PM, 9.00 PM) and major talk-shows of the selected radio stations during the confirmation of charges ICC hearings (September 1 – 8 and September 21 – October 5, 2011, number of ICC related items: 725). For further information on the ICC hearings, see Footnote 2.

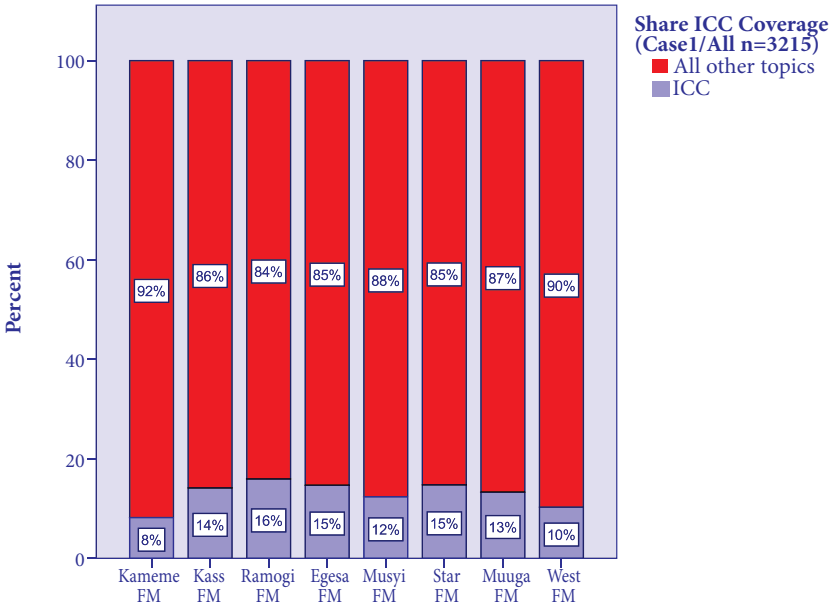
[22] Manager Vernacular Station, interview conducted by MCK, 02/01/2012

Figure 9



The share of ICC coverage in the overall programme ranged from 8% (Kameme FM) to 16% (Ramogi FM).

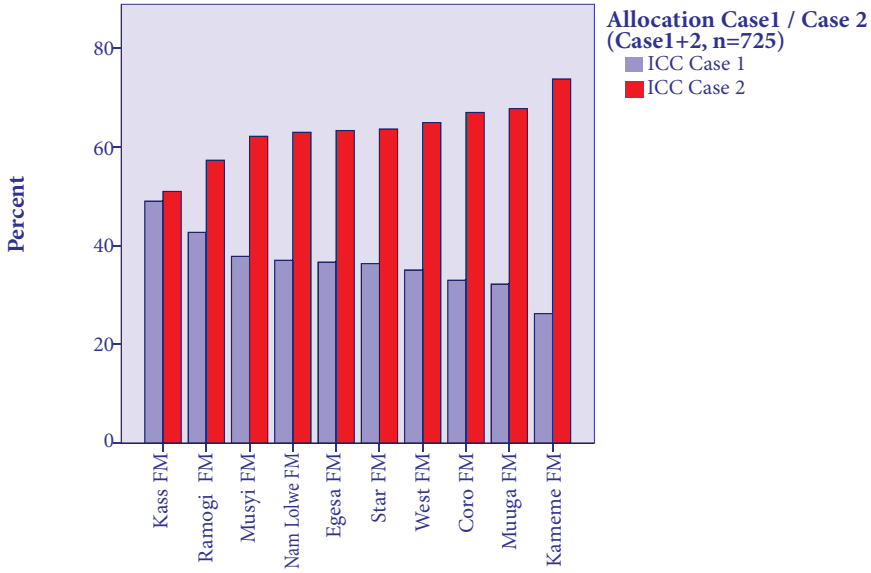
Figure 10



Coverage of Case 1 and Case 2

Case 2[23] was covered more extensively than Case 1: 64% of all ICC coverage was related to Case 2, compared to 36% to Case 1. Even when taking into account that the hearings of case 2 took four days longer than case 1, there was a significantly higher daily media output during the hearings of Uhuru Kenyatta, Francis Muthaura and Mohammed Ali. The ethnical background of the stations and the suspects clearly influenced the focus of coverage. Kass FM and Ramogi FM covered Case 1 in significantly more detail and Kameme FM in significantly less detail than the other stations. Kass FM covered Case 1 in both news bulletins and talk-shows whereas it covered Case 2 only in the news. Case 1 was covered in the "Kass Lene Emet" (What the World says) talk-show, which was formerly hosted by Joshua Arap Sang. Kameme FM had the most comprehensive coverage of case 2, including 10 to 20-minute clips of the live court coverage and analysis by senior reporters based in both Nairobi and The Hague. The RMS stations included short clips of the live court proceedings and reports of CTV reporters based in The Hague in their news bulletins.

Figure 11

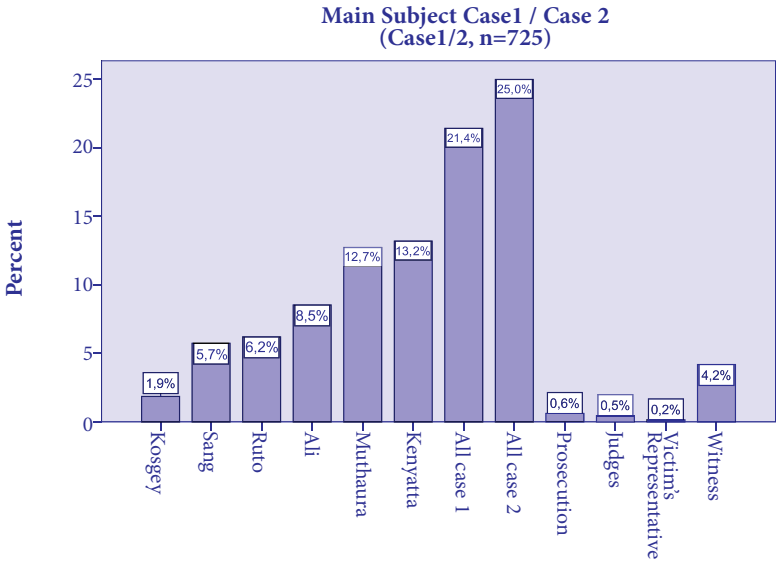


[23] For further information on Case 1 and 2 See Footnote 2.

Main Subject of ICC Coverage

William Ruto was the dominant (individual) subject in the coverage of Case 1 (6,2%), followed by Joshua Arab Sang (5,7%). Uhuru Kenyatta was most prominently featured in Case 2 (13,2%), closely followed by Francis Muthaura (12,7%). All coverage was predominantly perpetrator-centred. Only a few stories considered the side of the victims of post-election violence. Less than 1% of the ICC related radio items focused on the ICC prosecutor, only 0,2% on the victim´s representative.

Figure 12



Depth and Focus of coverage

Most of the coverage (82%) focused on the immediate court procedures, only a few items (7%) provided in-depth background information. 95% of the stories were perpetrator-centred, whereas 2% were victim-centred.

Figure 13

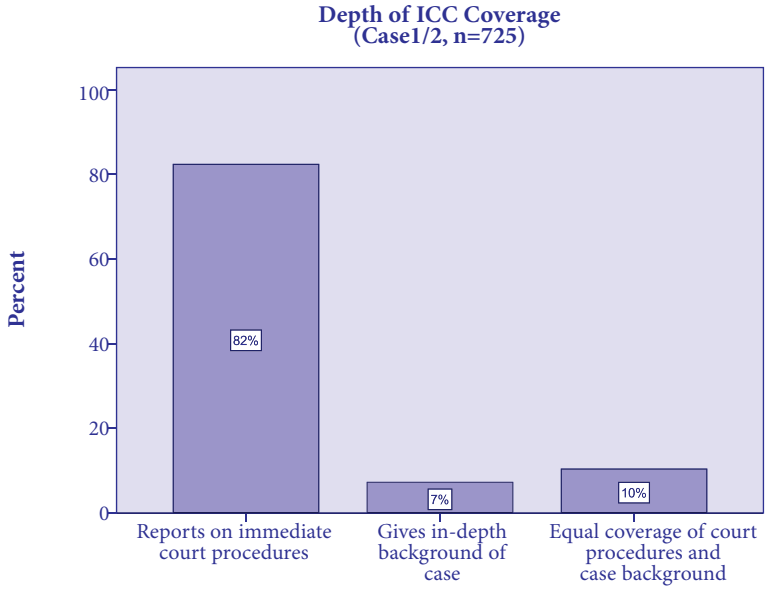
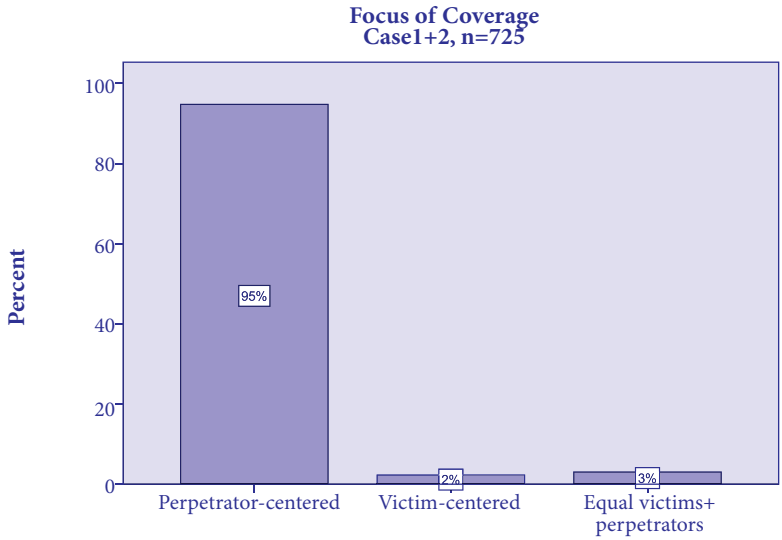
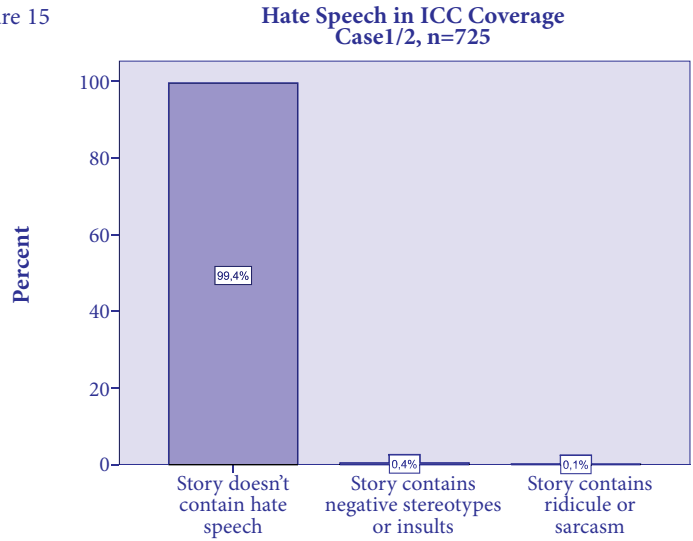


Figure 14



Hate Speech

Figure 15



The vast majority of all ICC related stories (99,4%) contained no hate speech[24] , but there were some cases containing negative ethnical stereotypes and insults.

Examples:

1) Kass FM: Interview with Hon. Charles Keter, 08/09/2011, Lene Emet

When asked to comment on the ICC hearings, MP Charles Keter answered: "The information given [at the ICC hearing] is a lie." The presenter didn´t ask the MP to prove this statement nor did he add background information on the court procedures. In the following programme, he gave more airtime to callers who supported Hon. Charles Keter's views while questioning the comments of callers with opposing opinions. The presenter took sides by commenting "If you hear what MP Charles Keter said, people who gave the information are our people" and "Nandi, let us examine ourselves", thus confirming Keter´s allegation that it was the Nandi, a Kalenjin sub-tribe, who had incriminated the three Kalenjin suspects[25].

[24] Definition Hate Speech, according to the "Guidelines for monitoring hate speech in the electronic media in Kenya", National Cohesion and Integration Commission, 2010: "Hate speech is any utterance of words intended to incite feelings of contempt, hatred, hostility, violence or discrimination against any person, group or community on basis of ethnicity, religion or race."

[25] Also see transcription of part of the interview on http://allafrica.com/stories/201109100008.html, as retrieved on 06/02/2012

2) Ramogi FM: Interview with Hon. Jakoyo, 08/09/2011, Kogwen

Hon. Jakoyo described Raphael Tuju´s presidential ambitions as a plot of the Kikuyus ("jo dier piny") to promote a weak Luo presidential candidate, whom not even "dogs or chickens would follow".

English Translation
(…) Tuju is contesting for the presidency because of the ongoing cases at the International Criminal Court. (…) The leaders from Central Kenya want that if a Luo has to be the president, he has to be weak and someone whom they can control, unlike Raila who has a strong backing. (…)
When we get back to Tuju, the gentleman is very serious in his bid and he has been well funded. He could have easily been re-elected the Rarieda MP in the last elections but people don't like him. What do you think Tuju can do that Prime Minister Raila can't? Despite soldiering on with his presidential ambitions, let me tell you that not even my dog or chicken can follow Tuju, just like the people know that they can't follow him. This is our opportunity to win and we have only one horse. If we don't win, we will go back to the hands of these people from Central Kenya. (…)

3) Kameme FM, September 6, 2011, Arahuka

The presenter compared MPs from the Mount Kenya region with sheep who are now supporting "the lion" Uhuru Kenya in order to become automatic candidates for the upcoming election.

English Translation
A lot of the parliamentarians from the Mt. Kenya region have not pleased the people, especially from the counties, and now after they have seen that Uhuru´s popularity is increasing they would love to associate themselves with Honorable Uhuru Muigai wa Kenyatta so they can go to the counties. (...) It is better to have a herd of a thousand sheep led by one lion than a herd of one thousand lions led by a sheep. Let's repeat that: Better a herd of one thousand sheep led by one lion rather than a herd of one thousand lions being led by one sheep.

4.3 Profiles of Radio Stations

MCK conducted interviews with chief-editors and managers of the selected vernacular radio stations in December 2011 and January 2012. The aim of the interviews was to obtain comprehensive information about the station (e.g. ownership, finances, target groups, number and educational background of staff) and about editorial decisions related to ICC reporting, election coverage and hate speech[26]. The following information is a summary of the information as it was provided by the stations and has not been verified by MCK.

Radio Station	Language	Owner/ Manager/Editor-in-chief	Start of Operation	Finances
Coro	Kikuyu	KBC / Chief-Ed.: Guram Mwaviro, Head of Coro: Karanja Kamau	2000	Advertising, public funding
Kameme	Kikuyu	MediaMax (affiliated to Uhuru Kenyatta) Head of Kameme FM: Anderson Waweru	2000	Advertising
Kass	Kalenjin	KASS Media / O:Joshua Chepkwony / CEO: Julius Lamaon	2005	Advertising
Egesa	Kisii	RMS / O: SK Macharia / Chief-Ed.: Farida Karoney, Mercy Oburu	2006	Advertising
Musyi	Kamba	RMS / O: SK Macharia / Chief.-Ed.: Farida Karoney, Mercy Oburu	2005	Advertising
Muuga	Meru	RMS / O: SK Macharia / Chief.-Ed.: Farida Karoney, Mercy Oburu	2005	Advertising
Star	Somali	North-Eastern Media and Telecommunication Limited / O/M: Mohamed Hassan Osman	2005	Advertising; NGO
Nam Lolwe	Luo	Neural Digital Broadcasters Limited / O: Hon. Jakoyo Midiwo, (MP and Chief Whip of ODM) / St.Man.: Washington Oguya	2007	Advertising
Ramogi	Luo	RMS / O: SK Macharia / Chief.-Ed.: Farida Karoney, Mercy Oburu	2003	Advertising
West FM	Kiswahili	West Media Limited / Chairman: G.S. Masafu	2006	Advertising, NGO

[26] See questionnaire in the appendix.

Radio Station	Major Topics	No. Staff	Education Staff	Ed. Guide-lines	Training Needs
Coro	Agriculture, Business, Education, Culture	21 (news: 6, presenters: 11, production: 4) 17 freelancers	Min.: Diploma in mass communication; inhouse-training	KBC Edit. Guidelines, Public Officers´ Ethics Act	Election coverage ICC, Peace messages
Kameme		20-30, editorial staff: 8, 25 freelanced correspondents	Diploma/degree in Mass Communication or Journalism	Internal editorial guidelines	Election coverage, Constitution
Kass		80 (50 based in Nairobi), editorial staff: 30 (20 in Nairobi), no freelancers	Editorial staff: Diploma/BA journalism, 50% have a BA, 80% of presenters are artists		Election coverage, specific training for presenters
Egesa	Local content plus relevant national and international issues	15, 5 female, 10 male	O levels to MA, depending on job role; continuous in-house training		Election coverage
Musyi	See Egesa	14 permanent, 3 part time, 10 male, 7 female	See Egesa		See Egesa
Muuga	See Egesa	13; 6 female, 7 male	See Egesa		See Egesa
Star	Social issues (education, gender), politics (constitutional implementation, devolution)	28 total, 14 editorial staff	Range: O-Levels / journalism degrees		Devolution, elections, ICC conflict-sensitive reporting
Nam Lolwe	Politics, economics, regional development	34 total, 18 permanent editorial staff, 3 freelancers	Min. Diploma in Journalism for editorial staff	Policy Guidelines	Election coverage, constitutional implementation
Ramogi	See Egesa	14; 6 female, 8 male	See Egesa		See Egesa
West FM	Education, farming, socio-economic issues	60, editorial: 16	Diploma or Degree in Media Studies or Journalism		Election coverage, Opinion Polls

Coro FM

Coro FM is a Kikuyu language radio station, which was established by the Kenyan Broadcasting Cooperation (KBC) in 2000 as a commercial station. It mainly targets Kikuyus in the rural area. According to the head of the station, staff salaries are partly paid by KBC, but the major income of the station is generated through advertising.

Coro has 21 permanent staff members: There are 6 news reporters, 11 presenters and 4 producers/cutters. 17 additional freelancers are based in the districts of central province and mainly cover "human interest" stories. According to the head of the station, the minimum qualification both for reporters and presenters is a diploma in mass communication. As refresher courses, KBC organizes in-house training and assigns staff to external training sessions. KBC has its own editorial guidelines; employees must also adhere to the Public Officers´ Ethics Act. KBC´s policy on hate speech includes the pre-recording of talk-shows with potential controversial guests, who are not well-known to the station. Derogatory remarks of callers will be cut off, followed by a disclaimer. According to the head of station, Coro FM tries to avoid "emotional topics" as much as possible: *"We always try to avoid airing issues or topics that are going to make people emotional or maybe arouse people and make them hate each other. This came out of the experience we had after the post-election violence."* Specific areas of training needs, according to the head of station, include election coverage, ICC reporting and the production of peace messages.

Kameme FM

Kameme FM went on air in 2000 as the first private vernacular radio station in Kenya. It is run by MediaMax, which also owns K24 and The People Newspaper and which is affiliated with Uhuru Kenyatta. According to the head of the station, Kameme has a permanent staff of 20 to 30, 8 of them are editorial staff, and 25 freelance correspondents. The educational background of the editorial staff ranges from diploma to degree in Mass Communication and Journalism. The station handles derogatory or inflammatory remarks by disconnecting the callers followed by statements, "that this is not the position of the station". According to the head of station, Kameme FM played a positive role during the post election violence in 2007/2008: *"We were in the forefront of telling Kenyans how peaceful they should be at that particular time."* In his opinion, vernacular stations were not responsible for tribal tensions as tribal clashes started long before the stations went on air.

The aim for the coming elections must be *"not to let the politicians mess around with Kenyans and not to give them a platform which might inflame the country"*. According to the head of station, the vernacular stations play a crucial role in promoting "cultural diversity", which everyone should be proud of.
Training needs for the staff in 2012 lie particularly in the field of election coverage and reporting on constitutional implementation.

Star FM

Star FM is run by North-Eastern Media and Telecommunication Limited and went on air in 2005 from Garissa. It was the first private radio station in Northern Kenya and has since extended its operations to Wajir, Dadaab, Mandera, Nairobi and Southern Somalia. The station is managed by businessman Mohamed Hassan Osman. Star FM gets its revenue through advertising from major Kenyan companies as well as local businesses in Eastleigh, Garissa and Wajir. Some health and governance programmes are funded by the Kenyan government and UN agencies. The station has 28 employees; half of them are editorial staff and the other half support staff, mainly providing security for the rural offices. 40% of the employees are based in Nairobi, 60% in Northern Kenya and in Somalia. Eight freelancers report from Dadaab, Mandera and Somalia. According to the manager, Star FM targets all age groups, but focuses especially on youth issues. In his opinion, the aim of the station is to take the messages from the mainstream to the local community:
"We are enlightening the Somali community with what is happening in the world. Before, everybody coming from Garissa used to say: I´m going to Kenya. Now, they have become a part of the country."

In 2012, the station plans to extend its reach by setting up additional transmitters in remote areas in the North, where people don´t yet have access to radio and TV. The company has also applied for a license to set up a TV station (Star TV Network) to cater for Muslims in Kenya. According to the manager, the educational background of the editorial staff ranges from secondary school to degrees in journalism.
Training needs for the staff lie in the field of devolution, elections and ICC coverage and conflict-sensitive reporting.

West FM

West FM is a private regional radio station based in Bugoma serving audiences in Western and North Rift. It was started in 2006 and gets its revenues through commercial advertising and to a small extent (10%) from NGOs buying airtime. The station stresses the fact that it is not a vernacular station, as it broadcasts predominantly in Kiswahili. Only 1/8 of the airtime is allocated to vernacular programmes for ethnic minorities such as the Teso, Sabaot, Pokot and Turkana both in Kenya and in Uganda. These vernacular programmes focus on HIV/Aids, reconciliation and farming issues. According to the chairman of West FM, the station was set up primarily to fill the information gap of the radio stations broadcasting from Nairobi: *"In the rural area the media consumption habits are very different. In Nairobi you can crack jokes the whole day and people will be very happy. In the rural area, people are looking for information."* According to him, the majority of programmes focus on education of farmers and on socio-economic issues. He says the station provides the local context and interpretation of news for the people in the region. The station has an editorial staff of 8 based in Bugoma and 8 journalists reporting from the field. Each reporter is equipped with a digital recorder, a laptop and a camera in order to

produce live coverage both for radio and the West FM website. West FM only hires permanent staff and no freelancers, but takes on interns from the university on a regular basis. According to the chairman, editorial staff members need to have a media-related diploma or degree from a university. Training needs for 2012 lie in the fields of voter education and especially opinion polls reporting.

Royal Media Services (RMS)

RMA was set up in 1999 and is owned by Samuel K. Macharia and his wife Gathoni. The company employs a permanent staff of 800 and 100 freelancers. Besides the English and Kiswahili TV station Citizen TV and the Kiswahili Citizen Radio, RMS runs 11 vernacular radio stations broadcasting in Kikuyu, Luo, Wanga, Bukusu, Maragoli, Kisii, Meru, Kamba, Kalenjin, Embu and coastal Swahili. MCK monitored Ramogi FM, Muuga FM, Musyi FM and Egesa FM. Ramogi was started in 2003 and has 14 editorial staff, Muuga and Musyi were set up in 2005 with 13/14 staff members and Egesa FM followed 2006 with currently 15 employees. RMS´s aim is to target all age groups, both urban and rural. Core thematic focus of the vernacular stations is local content supplemented by national and international issues of interest. Music is *"predominantly local with a touch of African music"*. According to RMS´ Editor-in-Chief, the vernacular stations play an important role in reaching the masses while addressing issues of the communities: *"We need to empower people to come up and take responsibility for their counties and their regions. It is through the vernacular stations that people speak out."* News on all RMS vernacular stations is run from one central news desk. The bulletins consist of national news produced by the headquarters and 2-3 additional local stories. According to the editor-in-chief, there was an editorial decision to cover the hearings of both ICC cases equally on all vernacular stations: *"The suspects were all Kenyans who went to The Hague and there was no reason to specify this for this or that region."* [27] According to the chief-editor, the RMS vernacular stations do not air sound bites of political speeches that might incite the audiences. Special attention is given to the language used:

"We try as much as possible not to address communities. There are cases where you don´t have to mention the tribes but you can just use the sound bites."

[27] Also see findings p.7

Nam Lolwe

Nam Lolwe is owned by Hon. Jakoyo Midiwo, the ODM chief whip and MP for Gem constituency and was set up in July 2007. The radio station employs a permanent editorial staff of 18 and 3 freelancers; the total number of staff is 34. According to the manager of the station, the minimum qualification for editorial staff is a journalism diploma. Nam Lolwe targets all age groups with some programmes dedicated to specific groups, like a regular show for school-children on Saturday mornings. The major programmes focus on political, economical and social issues and the general development of the region. According to the station manager, the owner doesn´t influence the editorial programme: *"We have a very free hand here (...). The party is never part of it."*

The station manager says, the station has several measures in place to avoid broadcasting hate speech: *"We screen the callers. We tell them: This is what we expect from you, don´t refer to other communities with some stereotyped names. So for these rogue callers, who call and want to say something contrary to what you have told them, we normally just switch them off."*

With regard to the ICC hearings, the station decided to cover them only in the news but not in the talk-shows. *"The topic polarises the people; it is a very sensitive area. So for the healing to take place, we didn´t want to make matters worse."*

According to the manager, there is the need for additional training workshops for journalists, especially on election coverage and constitutional implementation.

4.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

Vernacular radio stations didn´t use the coverage of the ICC hearings in September/ October 2011 as a platform for disseminating hate speech. However, there was a lack of in-depth information and only a very few voices of victims of post-election violence were covered.

The radio stations limited the reporting on the ICC topic predominantly to the news section. Only a few talk-shows took up the topic. Several editors and managers described this editorial decision as an attempt to avoid ethnic tension and incitement. Blocking controversial issues from public debate in call-in-shows, however, is not a convincing editorial strategy. Instead of fading out such topics, emphasis should be put on the thorough training of talk-show hosts. Well trained presenters and reporters and a clearly defined editorial policy on hate speech and conflict-sensitive reporting are key factors for a fair and balanced coverage in the election year lying ahead.

Editors and managers of the radio stations claim that there are measures in place to prevent hate speech from being aired on their stations. They also state that their stations only hire trained staff with a minimum degree of a diploma in journalism or communication. However, most stations expressed the need for the further intensive training of journalists in election coverage, ICC proceedings and conflict-sensitive reporting. Conducting such workshops should be top priority for 2012 for all institutions engaged in the trainings of journalists.

Meanwhile, the confirmations of charges against four of the suspects, among them the two presidential aspirants Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, have heightened tensions in the country. The "race gets hotter" ahead of the "epic" State House elections", headlined The Daily Nation and the Standard at the beginning of February.[28] Further monitoring of all Kenyan media, including the vernacular radio stations, with a special focus on ICC and election campaign coverage will therefore be crucial.

[28] See The Standard, 01/02/2012, p.1 and The Daily Nation, 04/02/2012, p.1

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6. Appendix

Questionnaire Chief-Editors / Managers of Vernacular Radio Stations

A. Profile of the station

a. Owner; Editor-in-chief
b. Start of operation
c. Funding / Finances
d. Reach
e. Advertising Rates
f. Target Groups
g. Major themes/focus? Scope of programme (local, national, international)? Formats, music—word share, type of music?
h. Number of staff (editorial, technical, administrative); permanent - freelancer? Male - female?
i. Educational background of staff, in-house training?
j. Editorial Guidelines?

B. Questions

k. What role do vernacular radios play in the Kenyan media landscape?
l. What role did they play during the last elections and the post-election violence?
m. Looking back at 2007/2008, what would you do differently today?
n. How do you prepare your journalists for the elections 2012? What needs to be done to ensure a conflict-sensitive coverage of the election campaigns? What are your training needs?
o. How do you handle hate speech?
p. Which editorial line did you follow during the ICC confirmation of charges hearings?

Tables

Table 1

Sample of Radio Items (Case 1+2)a

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kameme FM	789	13,2	13,2	13,2
	Kass FM	508	8,5	8,5	21,8
	Ramogi FM	871	14,6	14,6	36,4
	Coro FM	105	1,8	1,8	38,2
	Egesa FM	775	13,0	13,0	51,2
	Musyi FM	844	14,2	14,2	65,3
	Star FM	452	7,6	7,6	72,9
	Nam Lolwe FM	84	1,4	1,4	74,3
	Muuga FM	738	12,4	12,4	86,7
	West FM	790	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	5956	100,0	100,0	

a. For Coro and Nam Lolwe only ICC related primetime news reports and talk-shows were monitored.

Table 2

Format of Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	News report	5257	88,3	88,4	88,4
	Feature	22	,4	,4	88,7
	Opinion Piece	42	,7	,7	89,4
	Interview	13	,2	,2	89,7
	Talk Show with callers	352	5,9	5,9	95,6
	Talk Show without callers	69	1,2	1,2	96,7
	Song	38	,6	,6	97,4
	Announcement	52	,9	,9	98,3
	Song Request Programme	51	,9	,9	99,1
	Other	53	,9	,9	100,0
	Total	5949	99,9	100,0	
Missing	System	7	,1		
	Total	5956	100,0		

Table 3

Topics of Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
Valid	Accidents/Disasters	589	9,9	9,9	9,9
	Economy	234	3,9	3,9	13,8
	Legislation	166	2,8	2,8	16,6
	Corruption	32	,5	,5	17,2
	Law and order	562	9,4	9,4	26,6
	Culture	26	,4	,4	27,0
	Infrastructural Issues	65	1,1	1,1	28,1
	Education	651	10,9	10,9	39,1
	Environment	116	1,9	1,9	41,0
	Ethnic Conflicts	28	,5	,5	41,5
	Health	195	3,3	3,3	44,8
	ICC	1131	19,0	19,0	63,8
	IDPs	114	1,9	1,9	65,7
	Lifestyle/Family	265	4,4	4,5	70,2
	Media	7	,1	,1	70,3
	Politics	463	7,8	7,8	78,1
	Religion	74	1,2	1,2	79,3
	Sports	237	4,0	4,0	83,3
	Truth+Reconciliation	23	,4	,4	83,7
	Other	972	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	5950	99,9	100,0	
Missing	System	6	,1		
	Total	5956	100,0		

Table 4

Scope of Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Local	1635	27,5	28,0	28,0
	Regional	542	9,1	9,3	37,3
	National	1617	27,1	27,7	65,0
	African	344	5,8	5,9	70,9
	International	1563	26,2	26,8	97,6
	Other	139	2,3	2,4	100,0
	Total	5840	98,1	100,0	
Missing	System	116	1,9		
	Total	5956	100,0		

Table 5

Hate Speech in Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Story doesn´t contain hate speech.	5894	99,0	99,5	99,5
	Story contains hate speech	6	,1	,1	99,6
	Other	26	,4	,4	100,0
	Total	5926	99,5	100,0	
Missing	System	30	,5		
Total	5956	100,0			

Table 6

Obscenity in Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No use of obscene language	5899	99,0	99,5	99,5
	Other	28	,5	,5	100,0
	Total	5927	99,5	100,0	
Missing	System	29	,5		
Total		5956	100,0		

Table 7

Accuracy in News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Facts are reported correctly	2719	99,5	99,5	99,5
	Facts are not reported correctly.	14	,5	,5	100,0
Total		2733	100,0	100,0	

Table 8

Balance in News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	One side covered	116	4,3	4,3	4,3
	Two or more sides covered	2578	95,7	95,7	100,0
Total	2694	100,0	100,0		

Table 9

Bias in News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Story is not slanted.	2672	96,9	96,9	96,9
	Story is slanted.	86	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	2758	100,0	100,0	

Table 10

Hate Speech in News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Story doesn´t contain hate speech.	2685	99,4	99,4	99,4
	Story contains negative stereotypes or insults.	9	,3	,3	99,8
	Story contains threats or alarming statements.	2	,1	,1	99,9
	Story contains ridicule or sarcasm.	3	,1	,1	100,0
	Story contains coded expressions (...).	1	,0	,0	100,0
	Total	2700	100,0	100,0	

Table 11

Gender Presence in News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Women are central to the story.	190	7,2	7,2	7,2
	Men are central to the story	1162	43,8	43,8	51,0
	Both women and men are central to the story.	1300	49,0	49,0	100,0
	Total	2652	100,0	100,0	

Table 12

Scope of News Reports (Case 1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	National	829	31,0	31,0	31,0
	African	192	7,2	7,2	38,2
	International	697	26,1	26,1	64,3
	Local/Regional	952	35,7	35,7	100,0
	Total	2670	100,0	100,0	

Table 13

Sample ICC Related Radio Items (Case 1+2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kameme FM	61	8,4	8,4	8,4
	Kass FM	51	7,0	7,0	15,4
	Ramogi FM	89	12,3	12,3	27,7
	Coro FM	100	13,8	13,8	41,5
	Egesa FM	90	12,4	12,4	53,9
	Musyi FM	74	10,2	10,2	64,1
	Star FM	11	1,5	1,5	65,7
	Nam Lolwe FM	81	11,2	11,2	76,8
	Muuga FM	90	12,4	12,4	89,2
	West FM	78	10,8	10,8	100,0
	Total	725	100,0	100,0	

a. Sample is based on all ICC related Prime Time News (9.00, 13.00, 19.00, 21.00) and on all ICC mentions in major talk-shows from September 1-8 (Case 1) and September 21 - October 5, 2011. The relevant talkshows were selected based on monitoring findings from September 1 - 8; during this period all radio programmes were continuously monitored from 6.00 - 24.00.

Table 14

Hate Speech in ICC Related Radio Items

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Story doesn´t contain hate speech.	718	99,0	99,4	99,4
	Story contains hate speech	4	,6	,6	100,0
	Total	722	99,6	100,0	
Missing	System	3	,4		
Total		725	100,0		

Table 15

Accuracy in ICC Related Radio Items

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Facts are reported correctly	714	98,5	98,8	98,8
	Facts are not reported correctly.	8	1,1	1,1	99,9
	Other	1	,1	,1	100,0
	Total	723	99,7	100,0	
Missing	System	2	,3		
Total		725	100,0		

Table 16

Bias in ICC Related Radio Items

		Frequency	Percent Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
Valid	Story is not slanted.	690	95,2	95,4	95,4
	Story is slanted.	33	4,6	4,6	100,0
	Total	723	99,7	100,0	
Missing	System	2	,3		
Total		725	100,0		

Table 17

Focus of ICC Related Radio Items

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Victim-centered	15	2,2	2,2	2,2
	Perpetrator-centered	633	94,8	94,8	97,0
	Equal victims+perpetrators	20	3,0	3,0	100,0
Total		668	100,0	100,0	

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