The Coverage of the Presidential Aspirants by Kenyan Media ahead of 2013 General Election
Preface

The Media Council of Kenya is the sole statutory body mandated to regulate media in Kenya through the Media Act 2007. The Council through its monitoring unit continually produces reports to help check the performance of print and electronic media in Kenya. Development of the reports are guided by the “Guidelines for Election Coverage” developed by the Council in cooperation with other stakeholders and the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya as provided for in the second schedule of the Media Act 2007.

The Council monitored media adherence using the said codes in the month of January 2013 ahead of the March 4 general election. The guidelines are aimed at helping journalists to provide comprehensive, accurate, impartial, balanced and fair coverage of the elections.

By sharing media monitoring results on regular basis, such as this report, the Media Council of Kenya wants to ensure that the media can rectify negative trends in order to contribute to a free, fair and democratic election process, which enables citizens to make informed choices.

Haron Mwangi
Chief Executive Officer
Media Council of Kenya
Acknowledgements

The Media Council of Kenya (MCK) wishes to thank all those, who have contributed to this report.

We particularly thank the Media Council of Kenya Deputy CEO and Programmes Manager Mr. Victor Bwire, for review of the report; Dr. Ken Ramani and Mr Joe Kadhi, consultants for the media monitoring project.

We wish to acknowledge the work of the MCK Media Analysis team:

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Special thanks also goes to the Media Council of Kenya’s Communications and Information Officer Jerry Abuga for overseeing production of the report.

Finally, we thank the German Development Cooperation, GIZ, (Social Justice and Civil Peace Service), the Kenya Media Programme and Pact-Kenya for the support to this project.
Executive Summary

The Media Council of Kenya (MCK) is the statutory body established under Media Act 2007, to regulate media and advance professionalism of the media in Kenya. As part of its mandate to monitor media performance, the MCK monitored the coverage of presidential candidates in Kenyan daily newspapers, TV and Local Language Radio stations in January 2013 in order to evaluate the quality and fairness of the pre-election coverage and adherence to the Code of Conduct for Practice of Journalism.

Key findings

- While the January 2013 pre-election coverage was largely personality based and not issue driven, the presidential candidates addressed issues that included: Youth employment, Security, Land, Agriculture, Education, International Criminal Court, among others.
- The most frequently mentioned presidential candidates were The National Alliance (TNA) party leader Uhuru Kenyatta and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party leader Prime Minister Raila Odinga making most of the headlines.
- The two major political parties ODM and TNA were extensively covered especially in relation to party nominations which were marred by irregularities. TNA party received by far the highest coverage.
- Hate speech was not encountered as a breach of the code of conduct.
- Pre-election coverage was largely a man’s affair with majority of the articles published, written by men (64%). Women were underrepresented with only (7%) of articles written by women journalists.
- Two presidential candidates Paul Muite and Abduba Dida were not covered proportionately during the period under review.
- There was a clear indication that women were not represented as prominently as their male counterparts as news subjects. On TV, there was hardly coverage of women issues.
- The extent of coverage accorded to the different politicians did not differ much on the five sampled TV stations. KTN covered James ole Kiyiapi more than any other station (35%). In all other stations, his coverage hardly went beyond 5%.
• Imbalanced reporting was the only breach observed on TV with most biased reports being observed in connection with political campaigns.
• Raila Odinga and his running mate in the CORD Coalition Kalonzo Musyoka received the highest amount of airtime on TV coverage.
• The radio stations strongly adhered to the Code of Conduct and Practise of journalists and the election guidelines
• Elections are predominantly covered in all the news and talk shows.
• Only very few cases of hate speech were encountered. The vernacular radio stations do not use the news or talk show as platforms to disseminate hate speech.

Objective, Sample and Methodology

From January 23 to 30, 2013, the Media Council of Kenya monitored the coverage of presidential aspirants for the March 2013 general election by Kenyan newspapers, TV stations and local language radio stations. All articles in the four dailies; The Star, The Standard, Daily Nation and The People that mentioned any presidential candidates and their parties were analysed. In addition, all 9pm prime time news bulletins on KTN, NTV, Citizen TV, K24 and KBC were monitored. A total of five local language radio stations: Kass FM, Kameme FM, Mulembe FM, Nam Lolwe FM and Radio Salaam were monitored. 1pm and 7pm news bulletins and the 6am to 10am and 10pm to 12am talk shows were analysed.

The total number of print items analysed were 467 while 184 bulletins from TV were analysed. Print data were entered into MCK’s digital media portal (NewBase) using “Enhanced Evaluation” software. The TV data were entered into Excel. Statistical analysis was carried out with SPSS version 17.0.
Findings

Print

Scope and focus of coverage

The presidential candidates were prominently featured with a total of 467 articles within the 8 days of monitoring. 90.4% of the articles were news reports, and 9.6% opinion pieces. 36.4% of the articles covering presidential candidates were published in The Star, 22.9% The Standard, 20.6% The People and 20.1% in Daily Nation.

Most of the presidential candidates were featured in their campaigns, party primaries, and during the presentation of nomination certificates by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The dominant topics during the period of monitoring were politics and election matters. Other topics featured were International Criminal Court (ICC), agriculture, education, security and land issues among others.

The coverage in the Daily Nation

Majority of articles published were under election and political topics. The focus mainly was on the party primaries conducted in various counties which were marred by irregularities. The most frequently mentioned presidential candidates were TNA party leader Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM party leader Prime Minister Raila Odinga. The two major political parties ODM and TNA were extensively covered especially in relation to party nominations which were marred by irregularities. ODM was however given the highest overall coverage. Opinion poll conducted by Ipsos Synovate was extensively covered “Raila Uhuru headed for run-off says poll” 26th p.1&4. Disputed TNA and ODM party primaries dominated the opinion pieces with different authors expressing their views on the nominations that were marred with irregularities. “Perhaps we should postpone the March general election,” 27th p. 19&18.

“Drama as Wambui storms IEBC offices”; “Nyeri politician leads colleagues in night invasion of electoral body HQ”, DN 23.01.13, p. 1&4
“Lifeline to sacred cows”; Protests, anger rock ODM and TNA as names of some key aspirants who had won in last week’s primaries are deleted from final list of nominees presented to IEBC”, TPN 23.01.13, p. 1&4;
“ODM official arrested over certificate scam”; Elections board members are alleged to have made millions selling the papers to the highest bidders”, STD 24.01.13, p.9
The coverage in *The Star*

The major focus was on party nominations targeted at aspirants who had lost and won in the various seats such as Governor, Senator, Women Representatives and parliamentary aspirants. The nomination exercises were dominated by ODM and TNA for both News reports and Opinion pieces. They were closely followed by United Republican Party (URP), United Democratic Forum (UDF) and Wiper Democratic Movement. In the presidential race coverage, CORD presidential aspirant Raila Odinga dominated while Jubilee flag bearer Uhuru Kenyatta came second. Amani Coalition’s presidential aspirant Musalia Mudavadi was third. The rest of the presidential flag bearers were not as significant although ole Kiyapi received two page coverage when he unveiled his plan for Kenya: “Presidential hopeful James ole Kiyiapi talks about his plans for Kenya”. 28th p.28 & 29. “Lessons from the party nominations” 21st p. 22.

“Chaos rocks Nyanza over nominations” Star 21.01.13, p.6.
“Murang’a losers quit party amid rigging”, Star 21. 01.13, p.6
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The coverage in *The Standard*

Most election and political related articles were published in *The Standard* under “Decision 2013” and “Election 2013” pages. *The Standard* on Sunday gave extensive coverage on politics under the “Power and Politics” Section. County politics was expansively covered on “County Leaders the Search for Managers” pages. On 24th January; *The Standard* conducted special coverage on party primaries under “Parties Decide” and allocated two pages on the matter. Elections, political, land and tribal issues were discussed by politicians in their rallies e.g. 28th, p. 5, “Mudavadi vows not to antagonise Rift Valley over land once elected”, “Kenneth cautions against voting along tribal lines”.

The International Criminal Court matters was given a lot of limelight, e.g. on 24th .01.13, p. 1&7 the headline was “Now 80 witnesses against Ruto, Uhuru in safe houses”; “Those to testify against Kenyan ICC suspects moved out with their families and given homes plus lifetime protection”. In the opinion and editorial sections, the major topics covered were; Election matters: January 27th p.14, “Let parties pick candidates instead of subjecting voters to two elections”, rows that arose from party nominations, IEBC disputes resolutions in regards to party primaries: January 28th p.17. “IEBC must stand firm for public trust” and International Criminal Court issues: January 25th p.16, “Keep Hague cases out of campaigns”.4

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“Academics, politics clash in search for Makueni’s first CEO”STD 30.01.13, p.18

“Tribal rivalry likely leave giant Trans Nzoia in deep slumber”STD 28.01.13, p.18 &19. STD,28.01.13:“Mudavadi vows not to antagonise Rift valley over land once elected”, STD,28.01.13: “Kenneth cautions against voting along tribal lines”.STD, 24.01.13: “Now 80 witnesses against Ruto, Uhuru in safe houses”; “ Those to testify against Kenyan ICC suspects moved out with their families and given homes plus lifetime protection”.

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Coverage in *The People*

Elections and politics topics dominated the better part of *The People’s* agenda, with election primaries receiving the highest coverage. At least the first 10 pages of the newspapers were dominated with election related stories. Presidential aspirants Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, Musalia Mudavadi, and Martha Karua were covered, in regards to party nominations and campaigns. Jubilee presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta however received the highest coverage 28%, followed by Musalia Mudavadi at 24%, Raila Odinga 23%, Martha Karua 12%, Peter Kenneth, Abduba Dida, Paul Muite and James ole Kiyiapi received less than 10%. Nyeri business woman Mary Wambui nomination issue was widely covered; 26th p. 1 & 4; “Jimmy Vs Wambui”, 24th p.1 & 4; “Rows rage over lists as IEBC talks tough”. International was among the topics extensively covered, 24th p. 5; “Uhuru says ICC not a barrier to his bid”.

‘TPN, 24.01.13: “Uhuru says ICC not a barrier to his bid”; TPN,23.01.13: “Raila says March 4 poll will be revolutionary”; “The Star 28.01.13 “Presidential hopeful James Ole Kiyiapi talks about his plans for Kenya” STD, 23.01.13: “Mudavadi unveils Kioni as running mate ending rising speculation”; STD, 23.01.13: “Raila and Uhuru take huge lead” ; The Star, 30.01.13: “Uhuru, Ruto plan to seek ICC extension”; The Star, 28.01.13; “IEBC may reject list of cronies”; DN, 28.01.13: “Fresh headache for Raila, Kalonzo over defections”
Adherence to the Code of Conduct

Of the major trends noted during the period under review is the remarkable adherence to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya across the media outlets monitored. 95% of the articles analysed adhered to the set guidelines as stipulated by the Code of Conduct while 5% were classified as containing breaches of the Code.
Accuracy and Balance

57% of all news reports satisfied the six W/H questions (Who? What? Where? When? Why? How?), 8% only met the requirement whereas less than 1% answered only two questions. 40.5 % of all news items referred to only one news source, 28% to two news sources and 6.6% to more than two sources. 34.8% of all news reports presented only one viewpoint.
Another trend of concern is that the majority of one source news items were noted in all four dailies. 20% of *The Star* reports, 9%, 8%, 5% of *The Standard, People Daily* and *Daily Nation* reports respectively had only one source.
**Distinction between Comment and Facts**

90.4% of the total articles monitored (467 articles) were news items (422). The majority of the articles didn’t introduce personal opinions/comments into facts. 86% of all news reports didn’t contain any journalistic opinion, whereas 13% contained journalistic opinion while less than 1% contained a higher portion of journalistic opinion.
The Coverage of The Presidential Aspirants By Kenyan Media Ahead of The March 4, 2013 General Election

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**Format**

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<tr>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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*The Star* had the highest number of news reports with no journalistic opinion at 31%, *The People Daily* was at 20%, with *Daily Nation* at 19% and *The Standard* at 17% of all 422 news reports analysed.
Hate Speech

100% of all news articles monitored contained no hate speech.

Gender Balance

Majority of the articles were written by men (64%) while only 7% of articles were written by women. Men were the majority sources in the items (70.4%) whereas women were featured as main sources in only 7% of the articles. The rest of the articles (26%) did not have by-lines.

It is required of the media to give fair coverage to all gender; bearing in mind the issue that minorities need fair representation.
There were significantly more news reports by female journalists in *The People* (4%) than in other dailies. *The Standard* had women journalists write articles at 2% as opposed to *The Star* and *The Daily Nation* at 1% and 0% respectively.
The Standard presented more women as central subjects in the articles at 3% than other papers that presented the women as news subjects at 1% (The people and The Star) or less.
Allocation of Space

Uhuru Kenyatta was the most prominently covered presidential candidate in all newspapers (27% of coverage of all presidential aspirants observed), followed by Musalia Mudavadi (24%), Raila Odinga (23%) and James ole Kiyiapi (10%). Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth received (8%), whereas Abduba Dida and Paul Muite scored less than one per cent of all articles analysed. The coverage was based on presidential candidates rather than their parties. TNA received the highest amount of party coverage (49%), followed by ODM (35%), KNC (9%), UDF (5%), and NARC Kenya (1%). RBK, Safina and ARK received less than one percent (0%) of total party coverage.

Coverage of Politician (%) n=467

*The Standard* allocated the highest amount of coverage to Musalia Mudavadi (39%). The People subsequently allocated the highest space to Uhuru Kenyatta (28%) as well as Daily Nation (32%). Raila Odinga received the highest coverage from The Star (27%). James ole Kiyiapi received significant coverage in *the Star* newspaper (26%) due to an extensive special segment of two pages that profiled his plan for Kenya if elected as the president in the coming March 4 general elections. NARC Kenya presidential candidate Martha Karua, received substantial coverage from *The People* represented by (12%).
Coverage of Presidential Aspirants per newspaper

Coverage of Political Parties (%) n=467
Tonality of Coverage

29% of the overall coverage of both Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga was classified as neutral, whereas (1%) was negative and (1%) positive coverage. The reporting on Musalia Mudavadi was classified as (19%) neutral, Peter Kenneth (8%) Martha Karua (7%) and James Ole Kiyiapi (3%).

Topics of Coverage

The pre-election coverage largely focused on election issues (e.g. political party primaries and presidential candidates’ campaigns), general national politics (Presentation of nomination papers by presidential candidates and running mates to the IEBC. The ICC, internal party matters, employment, gender and national cohesion were not significantly covered.
Presidential candidates were covered majorly in reference to general politics and internal party issues. ICC, infrastructure, security, agriculture, employment and land issues, were substantially covered in their campaigns. National cohesion, education, water, youth, corruption and economic issues were not significantly covered.
### Presidential Candidates’ Coverage According to Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidential Candidate</th>
<th>cm² DN</th>
<th>% DN</th>
<th>cm² STD</th>
<th>%STD</th>
<th>cm² TPN</th>
<th>%TPN</th>
<th>cm² STAR</th>
<th>%STAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dida</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muite</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenneth</td>
<td>643.2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>533.88</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>384.59</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>389.77</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karua</td>
<td>554.76</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>438.13</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>631.1</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>367.85</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td>Kiyapi</td>
<td>245.63</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>188.8</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>266.39</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1842.79</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<td>Odinga</td>
<td>1822.61</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>827.52</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>1155.07</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>1860.35</td>
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<td>Mudavadi</td>
<td>1741.67</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>1970.78</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>1219.24</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>883.16</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<td>Kenyatta</td>
<td>2394.25</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>1059.22</td>
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<td>1393.32</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>1658.15</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>7402.12</strong></td>
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<td><strong>5023.33</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>5049.71</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>7002.07</strong></td>
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### Party Coverage According to Newspapers

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<th>Party</th>
<th>cm² DN</th>
<th>%DN</th>
<th>cm² STD</th>
<th>%STD</th>
<th>cm² TPN</th>
<th>%TPN</th>
<th>cm² STAR</th>
<th>%STAR</th>
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<td>TNA</td>
<td>304.67</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>117.11</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>277.92</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>1514.19</td>
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<td>ODM</td>
<td>314.84</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>151.11</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>165.12</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>961.17</td>
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<td>KNC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>13.11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>270.24</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>104.45</td>
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<td>103.98</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<td>NARC Kenya</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>29.22</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>RBK</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td><strong>359.55</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>742.28</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>2670.35</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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</table>
Findings TV

Scope of analysis

The total number of TV items analysed were 184 containing 571 mentions of politicians. Almost a quarter of the mentions were aired on Citizen TV 189, 118 on K24, 96 on NTV, 94 on KTN and 74 on KBC. The majority of items were news reports (85%), 11% were interviews, while 5% were special features. The highest number of mentions of politicians were observed on Tuesday and Wednesday (29.1.13 & 30.1.13) when the IEBC was clearing Presidential candidates and their running mates to run in the March 4th 2013 general election.

The coverage of the IEBC clearing presidential candidates and their running mates was the most dominant topic during the monitoring period. Voter education and registration were major topics too. Opinion polls from different pollsters were also dominant. The aftermath of the party nominations was prominently covered. Majority of reports covered presidential candidates on the campaign trail.

Coverage of Politicians/Allocation of Airtime

Raila Odinga was the presidential candidate most prominently mentioned in the TV coverage (19% of all mentions), followed by Uhuru Kenyatta (15%), Musalia Mudavadi (10%), Peter Kenneth (8%), Martha Karua 5% while Paul Muite and Abduba Dida got 2% of all mentions.

Kalonzo Musyoka was the highest mentioned Presidential running mate at 13% while William Ruto got 11% of the total mentions. Ronald Osumba got 5%, Jeremiah Kioni 4% while Winnie Kaburu and Lotodo got 2% each of the total mentions. Shem Ochuodho and Joshua Onono got 1% of the total mentions.

Most Odinga mentions were from CTV (29%) whereas the least mentions came from KBC (14%). Nearly all Odinga mentions (84%) covered him as the Coalition for Reform and Democracy presidential candidate. 15% only covered him in his capacity as Kenya’s Prime Minister. In comparison, only 11% of Musyoka’s overall coverage was associated with his activities as the Vice President. 85% of the overall mentions covered him in his capacity as Odinga’s running mate in the CORD Coalition.
Airtime Allocated to Politicians

Raila Odinga was also the leading politician in terms of overall airtime (measured in seconds) allocated to presidential candidates at 15% of the TV coverage on presidential candidates. Kiyiapi received 14%, Mudavadi and Kenyatta 11%, Kenneth 9%, Dida and Karua 4% and Muite 1% of the airtime.

On running mates, Jubilee Coalition running mate William Ruto received the most airtime (11%) of the overall airtime, Kioni and Musyoka got 7% each, while Eagle Alliances’ Ronnie Osumba got 3%. ARK’s Onono got 2%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politician</th>
<th>CTV</th>
<th>K24</th>
<th>KBC</th>
<th>KTN</th>
<th>NTV</th>
<th>Total%</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kaburu</td>
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<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karua</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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<td>19%</td>
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<td>24%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<td>Ochudho</td>
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The amount of airtime accorded to presidential candidates and their running mates on the five sampled TV stations did not differ much.

On Citizen TV, Deputy Prime Minister Uhuru Kenyatta was the highest covered Presidential candidate with 19% of the total airtime. Kenneth came second with 15% and Odinga third with 14%. The high coverage of Jubilee’s candidate Uhuru Kenyatta was occasioned by a lengthy interview, on location from KICC on Wednesday 30.1.13 with Citizen TV after he had been cleared by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to run in the March 4th poll. He was also extensively mentioned on 28.1.13 on the Monday special a programme hosted by CTV’s trio of Julie Gichuru, Janet Mbugua and Hussein Mohammed where the focus was his rising popularity according to pollsters Infotrak Harris, Ipsos Synovate, and Strategic Research and Public Relations.
Peter Kenneth’s high coverage was due to an in-depth studio talk in which he was hosted in on Sunday 27.1.13 by CTV’s anchor Julie Gichuru in the Sunday Live series.

*K24* allocated 14% of the total airtime to both Karua and Odinga, 13% to Dida, 12% to Kenyatta, 5% to Mudavadi, 4% to Kenneth and 1% to Kiyiapi and Muite. Martha Karua and Mohammed Dida appeared at studio interviews at the station shortly after being cleared by the IEBC thus their high coverage.

More than a third of *KBC-*’s coverage was accorded to Odinga. Kenyatta followed with 24%, while Kenneth got 8% and Mudavadi 5%. Kiyapi got 4% while Karua and Muite got 1% each.

On *KTN*, James Ole Kiyapi received a share of 35% of the coverage, Mudavadi 20% while Odinga received 8%. Both Kenyatta and Kenneth received 3%. Karua received 2%. Similar to all other candidates that have exhibited high coverage, Kiyapi was covered in a long interview on 23.1.13 with *KTN* host Luis Otieno.

*NTV* had the highest Odinga coverage at 25% followed by Kenneth at 19%. Kenyatta received 8%, Mudavadi 5% with Karua, Dida and Kiyiapi at 2%. The high coverage of the Prime Minister was due to being featured in an extensive studio interview with *NTV-*’s anchor Larry Madowo about his coalition’s manifesto on 28.1.13.

*CTV* allocated 11% of the total airtime to Ruto, while Musyoka got 9%. Osumba got 7%, Kioni 3%, Onono and Kaburu got 1% each.

Alliance for Real Change’s Joshua Onono was the highest covered running mate with 12% of the total airtime on *K24* followed by Musyoka (9%). Ruto got 8% of the total coverage while Osumba got 2%. Lotodo, Kioni and Kaburu got 1% each of the total coverage. Onono’s high coverage can be linked to an extensive interview on 30.1.13 after he and ARK’s presidential candidate Mohammed Dida had been cleared by the Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission to run in the March 4th election.

Musyoka was the highest covered running mate on *KBC* at 14%, Ruto at 10% while Eagle’s Osumba got 4%.

On *KTN*, Ruto was the highest covered running mate with 16% of the total airtime owing to being interviewed for a long time on 30.1.13 with regard to the Jubilee Coalition’s governance plan. Kioni was given 9% while Musyoka got 3%.
Almost 20% of NTV’s airtime was allocated to Amani Coalition’s running mate Jeremiah Kioni. His high coverage was as a result of his presence on ‘The trend’ programme on Friday 26.1.13 with NTV’s Larry Madowo. 8% of the total airtime was allocated to Musyoka, 4% to Ruto while Osumba got 3%. Onono, Kaburu, Ochuodho and NARC-Kenya’s Lotodo got 1% each.

**Tonality**

The overall tonality of coverage was highly neutral (74%). Prime Minister Raila Odinga had the highest number of negative mentions at almost 10% Kenyatta was most associated with positive coverage (25%), followed by Muñavadi (22%). Among running mates, CORD presidential running mate Kalonzo Musyoka got the most negative mentions (11%), while Ruto got 23% of positive mentions.

**Topics associated with Politicians**

The overall coverage focussed on the forthcoming general election and campaign activities of politicians. Topics such as Agriculture, health and Youth empowerment were not adequately covered.
Odinga and Kenyatta were the presidential candidates who received significant coverage on land issues. Odinga was more often associated with security issues than any other candidate. On the other hand, Kenyatta was the candidate who mostly spoke on infrastructural issues than any other candidate.

Onono, Lotodo and Ochuodho were only associated with election issues and not any other topic while Musyoka and Ruto were the running mates most associated with the Economy/employment topic.

**Adherence to the Code of Conduct/ Examples**

The most common breach of the code of ethics for the practice of journalism in Kenya was lack of balance in news items. In most stories, only one side of the story was told. The KBC TV news of 27.1.13 reported that the Smart Octopus Polling Company in its latest opinion poll had shown Jubilee Presidential Candidate as the most popular candidate in the Country. In the story, former Mathira MP Ephraim Maina (who is a TNA member, the political vehicle for Uhuru Kenyatta) was interviewed and he agreed with the pollster’s results. There was no one interviewed from other competing parties or coalitions that had been featured in the poll.
In other examples, journalistic opinions were introduced into the news coverage. On January 28 2013, Citizen TV reporter Francis Gachuri while reporting on the launch of the CORD manifesto said that ‘it was at this time that focus shifted to the jubilee Coalition and particularly its Presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta’. This statement seemed to back Odinga’s statement in the same news item that ‘some people owned huge tracts of land while Kenyans are killing each over quarter an acre of land’.

Most one sided stories were verbal attacks between competing coalition politicians which were broadcast without the right of reply from the negatively mentioned parties. For instance on KTN prime on 25.1.13, while campaigning at the Coast, Jubilee presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto had accused the CORD Coalition Presidential Candidate Raila Odinga and his running mate Kalonzo Musyoka for being in Government for long and achieving little. The two leaders who were negatively mentioned were not given the right of reply.

On January 25 13 KTN in a similar story reported that CORD’s presidential running mate Kalonzo Musyoka while campaigning in Uasin Gishu County had accused Jubilee’s leadership of using civil servants to manipulate the March 4th election without covering the side of the story of the Jubilee Coalition.
Radio Analysis 23.01.2013 to 30.01.2013

Objective, Sample and Methodology

The Media Council of Kenya monitored five vernacular FM stations. These included Kameme FM (Kikuyu), Radio Salaam (Kiswahili), Kass FM (Kalenjin), Mulembe FM (Luhya) and Nam Lolwe FM (Luo). The main scope was the morning and the late night talk shows (6am-10am) and (10pm to 12 am). The scope also included the 1pm and 7pm news analysis.

The radio analysis was purely descriptive with analysts filling in forms for talk shows, news and weekly reports. The key areas critically analysed in talk shows were the assessment of accuracy, balance, bias, hate speech and moderation skills. Headlines, accuracy and bias, sources, sound bites and hate speech were some of the areas analysed in the news coverage.

Findings

Coverage in Kameme FM

Majority of the talk shows monitored in Kameme FM focused on elections with sub-topics mainly on party nominations. The National Alliance party (TNA), the Jubilee Alliance and Uhuru Kenyatta were prominently covered. This was clearly shown by the guests invited to the show. On the 23.01.2013 Ferdinand Waititu, aspiring Nairobi Governor was a guest and was mainly asked to discuss the just completed party primaries. Ephraim Maina, aspiring Nyeri senator (TNA) was invited to discuss why he was the best candidate, 25.01.2013. On the 29.01.2013, the host had an open call-in discussion on Uhuru Kenyatta’s comment requesting voters to vote for one party. In the period monitored the United Democratic Forum (UDF) was mentioned only once while other parties were not mentioned. The presenter invited Peter Njoroge Karanja, UDF Deputy Secretary General as a guest 23.01.2013.

Coverage in Mulembe FM

Mulembe FM talk show aired discussions on the concluded party nominations and mainly focused on the eligibility of candidates that were either, given direct nominations or were chosen amidst controversial elections. On 25.01.2013 the discussion was on whether political parties were justified to give direct nominations based on tribe to achieve regional representation. 26.01.2013 the question on whether IEBC should reject names of nominees in chaotic party primaries was discussed. The other topics that the station focused on were education, family and political process and administration and this was on the 29.01.2013 and 30.01.2013.
Mulembe FM presented all topics monitored accurately; all the W and H questions were answered (What? Where? When? Why? Who? and How?). The station included all parties and majority of the presidential candidates. On 28.01.2013 the presenter asked audiences if direct party nominations should be accepted by the IEBC after the poll. Those quoted for nominations were from United Republican Party (URP), United Democratic Forum (UDF), The National Alliance (TNA) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The presenter named all parties/candidates that have given nominations to their relatives without bias. 23.01.2013 the question posed was neutral and focused on all the coalitions and did not favour any one coalition. “Which presidential candidate and his running mate will be able to work together? “

A noted trend was that the station aired open discussions and did not have guests on the talk shows. The presenter instead had a call in session where the views of the public on the day’s topics were aired.

Coverage in Radio Salaam

Elections were a major topic in Radio Salaam. The main issues discussed under elections in the period of analysis include the party nominations, 24.01.2013 and 28.01.2013.

The morning show also held interactive issue based discussions on Constitution, Land and Party manifestos on the 29.01.2013 guests invited to aid in the discussion were TNA and ODM organising secretaries (Patrick Birya and Ali Hassan Joho) with Kwive Wambua, Constitution and Reform Education Consortium and Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance representatives. On the 28.01.2013 the talk show held a debate between the ODM and UDF Governor aspirants, Ali Hasssan Joho and Suleiman Shabbal.

While not all the parties and coalitions were given coverage, the station focused on three parties. ODM was given slightly more coverage than UDF or TNA. On the 23.01.2013 and 29.01.2013 Ali Hassan Joho, was invited to the studios under two capacities one as the Party organising secretary and another as vying for the Gubernatorial position.

The station strongly adhered to the set Elections Guidelines and Code of Conduct and Practise of Journalists. All talk shows monitored were accurately presented with NO hate speech monitored. Few cases of journalistic opinion and poor moderations skills were however sited.
Coverage in Kass FM

The most covered topic in the monitored period was Elections. Kass FM held an open discussion on the morning call in show to discuss party nominations. On the 24.01.2013 the discussion surrounded whether the public will vote a ‘six piece suit’ (voting leaders from one political party) given the reports of unfair nominations. 28.01.2013 presenter posed the question to IEBC and listeners whether they will accept lists from parties that contain names of those that were not democratically elected by the people.

Kass FM focused on issue based discussions with issues like role of civil society, gender and education. On 30.01.2013 the studio guest, Morris Odhiambo, National Civic Society Congress President who discussed the role of the civil society during the election period. On the 23.01.2013 the show talks on the Challenges women encounter during elections.

For the period monitored the station did not have any breaches in the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalists in Kenya but displayed extreme adherence to the set Guidelines and Code of Conduct. Gender was among the commendable topics discussed on the 23.01.2013 and also on the 30.01.2013 invited a guest who was not a Kalenjin speaker. The presenter requested the audience to speak in Kiswahili.

Coverage in Nam Lolwe FM

For the period monitored the station did not air a lot of electoral content. The only content that was aired on elections was on the 23.02.2013 and the talk show discussion was based on, whether the media was biased in their coverage of primaries in Nyanza and specifically on the ODM coverage. On the 25.01.2013 the discussion was on the call by the European Union elections observers to IEBC to step up voter education ahead of the elections.

Majority of the content aired did not have any journalistic opinion; the topics were presented in a fair and unbiased manner. Only one talk show aired on the 23.01.2013 had less than 20 per cent journalistic opinion. All other talk shows strongly adhered to the guidelines and the Code of Conduct.

Adherence to the Code of Conduct / News Items

All five radio stations covered the news in a professional and fair manner. Sources of the stories were credible and some of the news items had sound bites. Slightly more than half of the news items covered were on elections.
This was mainly due to the eight presidential aspirants cleared to vie for presidency by
the IEBC. Some of the elections coverage was on party primaries and the subsequent
complaints launched by candidates.

The most violated article of the Code of Conduct was that of fairness and
accuracy. This is mainly article 1(a); the writers that breached the code did
not write fair, accurate and unbiased stories of public interest. All sides of the
story shall be reported, wherever possible. Comments should be obtained from
anyone who is mentioned in unfavourable context.

**Adherence to the Code of Conduct / Talk shows**
Majority of the content monitored between the set period (23.01.2013 and
30.01.2013) adhered to the set Elections Guidelines and Code of Conduct for
the Practice of Journalism in Kenya. However some talk shows violated the
article on accuracy and fairness. Poor moderation skills were also noted in some
of the shows monitored; very few cases of hate speech were highlighted with
majority of the hosts strictly stopping any stereo-typical or inciting remarks and
comments before they are aired.

Examples of this are under breaches of the code of conduct / examples
Breach of the code of conduct / examples

Accuracy and Fairness Breached

Unbalanced news content was the most common breach.

In other examples, ODM elections board is not given a chance to reply to Meru Senatorial candidate Gitobu Imanyara’s accusations on delaying his certificate. This story falls short of accuracy and fairness. This was aired on Nam Lolwe, 23.01.2013, news at 1pm.

On 22.01.2013 Nam Lolwe news at 7pm, Hon. Raila Odinga while at Wilson airport blames some media housed for exaggerating the chaos that rocked ODM primaries particularly in Kisumu, Siaya and Homa Bay. The side of the media was not covered.

On 24.01.2013, Kameme FM at 1pm news the Gender Commission accused political parties of leaving out persons with disabilities out of the party nomination exercise and using propaganda during the process. Political parties were not given a chance to reply to the accusations, making the news item one sided.

Some of the talk shows that were inaccurate and unbalanced included Kameme FM talk show on 23.01.2013. The topic was presented in a biased manner, the presenter endorses TNA as his party of choice and offers to be Waititu’s running mate as Governor of Nairobi.

Example:

Presenter ‘mheshimiwa reu ndirenda koikia application yakwa ta running mate waku akorwo ndii chereirwo’

Transcription: ‘Mheshimiwa I want to submit my application to be your running mate if I am not too late’.

Ferdinand Waititu, “Njogu derenda kogushokeria gatho nioria utoteithetia kiamaine gaito gia TNA”
Presenter in his parting words tells Mr. Waititu ‘I believe in you, I know you shall make it’.

Radio Salaam on the 28.01.2013 aired the views of a caller Ali. His sentiments mentioned Uhuru Kenyatta in unfavourable terms. These statements were neither verified nor the person mentioned given a change to reply.

Example:

Ali, “shida ya coast ni shida ya Ardhi, Uhuru ndio aliye nyakua”

**Transcription:** “The problem of coast is land and Uhuru grabbed it”

**Hate Speech**

The majority of the content aired did not contain hate speech, but there were some cases of coded expressions for ethnic groups. During the same talk show, Ephraim Maina used coded expressions that could amount to tribal mobilisation: He asked people from the Kikuyu community to join hands and vote as a block to ensure Uhuru Kenyatta was elected as the fourth president of the Republic of Kenya.

He figuratively uses the Kikuyu community as ‘Mbogo’ (Buffalo) and describes an unnamed enemy that he refers to as “simba”. The simba he deduces that there are people that will attack the Kikuyu’s.

Example:

Ephraim Maina: “…mbogo itiikaranagia ni kwedana, cie ikaranagina todo ire iki nii akoreo nii simba.”

**Translation:** “…Buffalos do not huddle together because of love; they do so because if they are alone the lion will attack.”
Conclusions and Recommendations

• There is a considerable bias when it comes to gender representation, as noted male share the highest percentage as news subjects, as well as the biggest portion as authors of news articles. It’s important to ensure balance as the variable 15, of the code of conduct for practice of journalism on sex discrimination; requires ‘both women and men to be treated equally as news subjects and news sources’.

• In covering politicians during the campaigns, the media at all times must observe the core values of accuracy, fairness, and balance, to all political parties and politicians. However when monitoring the coverage of presidential aspirants and their parities for the March 4, 2013, general elections by both Kenyan TV and newspapers in the sample period, MCK noticed, a biased coverage in favour of some presidential aspirants, their parties and running mates. In compliance with the election coverage guidelines the media must provide a balanced and impartial (pre-) election coverage, which includes a fair coverage of minor parties and candidates.

• The media is society’s watchdog and there is always need to have an impartial media in the run up to elections. There was a general neglect of issues with campaigns being more personality-based rather than being issue-based. Most important issues such as agriculture, youth employment, and security were hardly covered.

• There is need for media houses to always adhere to the code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya.

‘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, violation or discrimination against any person, group or community on basis of ethnicity, religion or race.”
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