

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Title

New Media Technologies and Hate Messages: Investigating the Role of Social Media in Propagation of Hate Messages in Kenya

MWONGELA MIKWA FRANCIS

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

A Research Project Report Submitted In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Communication Studies (Public Relations) of the University of Nairobi

November 2015

DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I declare that this Research Project Paper is my original work and has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

.....

Francis Mwongela Mikwa

REG.NO. K50/66490/2013

.....

DATE

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

This Research Project Paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

.....

Dr. Sam Kamau

School of Journalism and Mass Communication

University of Nairobi

.....

DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to my Daughter **Shirleen Mwongela**

To, my dear Wife, **Joan Mwongela**, my Dad **Mikwa**, and my Mum **Paulina** for their love, patience, encouragement and understanding that made this possible.

To my friend Mr. **Cosmas Ongesa** for encouragement and moral support

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Abbreviations

CAK- Communications Authority of Kenya

CCK- Communications Commission of Kenya

FB- Facebook

ICCPR- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

IT- Information Technology

ITU- International Telecommunication Union

KNCHR- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

LSK- Law Society of Kenya

NCIC- National Cohesion and Integration Commission

NEPAD- New Partnership for Africa's Development

NTIA- National Telecommunications and Information Administration

SNS- Social Networking Sites

TJRC -Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya

Abstract

This study sought to investigate the use of Social Media in propagation of hate messages in Kenya. It was carried out among undergraduate students of The Co-operative University College of Kenya, Karen. The sample size was 200 units. The objectives of this study were: To establish the presence of hate content on social media, to determine the extent of exposure to hate messages among social media users, to explore the nature of hate messages on social media and to determine the diffusion (flow and spread) of hate messages online.

The new media can play a key role in advocacy of human rights, preventing atrocities like genocide, ethnic cleansing, mutinies, rebellions, and revolts, and mobilization to a course. It can also be used to span ethnic hatred, religious intolerance, radicalization, racial divisions and spreading of hate messages. By informing, educating and perhaps sometimes by deceiving, the media in any society is the epicenter of the events palpable; such is the power of the media. However, this power of the mainstream media is experiencing competition as well as boost from the social media coupled by fast-growing technology. Inasmuch as the mainstream media is self regulatory in various aspects, in the matter hate speech, the law is specifically in the ambit of the State. To the contrary, social media is an open field devoid of a grip of control. This coupled by vague legal framework on hate speech, has provided a fertile ground for spread of hate content. Conversely, hate speech is becoming one of the greatest tools to spur violence, mass atrocities, ethnic hatred, radicalization, and religious intolerance among other discords. This aspect needs to be taken into consideration and addressed firmly. Few studies have been carried out to address the aspect of new media technologies and hate speech. The study adopted a descriptive survey design allowing for the collection of information and data without changing or manipulating the environment. The study used descriptive statistics to show distribution, relationships between variables under study, proportions in terms of texts, percentages, charts and tables. The study found out that hate speech is rife in the social media space; Top in the categories is ethnic hatred at 55.9%, political hate at 50.2% and religious hate at 34.3%. The study recommends education from elementary levels by introducing hate speech studies into curriculums, and more behavior change campaigns, enact tougher legal penalties to deal with propagators of hate speech on social media and mainstream media. Also, more studies to be carried in this area to bridge the academic gap and find more practical solutions to hate speech prevention, mitigation and possible elimination.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND

There have been assertions in many spheres on what constitutes hate messages. Developing countries especially in Africa have been hard hit with violence and uprisings in the recent past to what could be blamed to such. However, what can be drawn and asserted to lead to advocacy of national, ethnicity, racial or and religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence, prohibited by Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) often precedes mass atrocities like genocide, civil wars, mass and forceful displacements of populations and war (ICCPR, 1966).

Some scholars argue that there should be more restrictions levied on some speeches and freedoms of media at particular social settings in order and specific dimensions to prevent such atrocities and enhance peace prosperity. To the contrary, other commentators argue that not all hateful speech reaches the level of prohibited hate speech and a clear threshold must be developed (Ringera, 2010). It is worth noting that, for instance in Kenya, there is a National Cohesion And Integration Commission (NCIC), tasked with a mandate to ensure Kenyans live amicably without such issues as hatred, discrimination among others and also send early warnings to the government of the day in case such magnitudes of hate speech and hatred crop up (NCIC, 2008).

Throughout history, information is a key factor in beginning of conflicts around the World. The media plays an important role of a watchdog in the society; exposing to the public what is essential but hidden, however, it can also be used to mobilize for violence and or hatred. There is the mainstream media also known as traditional media and social media. Social media can act as a tool for widening the democratic space; however, can also lead to destabilization of peace and spring of violence. Messages and information are instant; newsrooms, as places for editing news are being overtaken; raw information is sent by anybody to everybody unedited. Journalism has been stolen! Information, whether likely to generate hate or bring peace goes out uncensored! (Jeffrey, 2002)

While there may be no consensus or sole role the social media played in the Arab uprising and other uprisings in Northern Africa, there is considerable debate of what credit properly goes to

the social media compared to other factors in precipitating this wave of political unrest. Despite the lively debate, there is little systematic research on this area. The few resources are specific to conflict environment and how social media was used for coordination during the violence. There is inadequate material on the use and role of social media for conflict prevention and peace building. This could be partly explained by the lack of control over the research environments, rapid shifts of public attention, difficulties in measuring the casual impact of media intervention, and the heterogeneity of conflict environments and changing objectives in the conflict torn countries (The Sunday Nation [17.4.2011, Kituyi]).

Moreover, the growth of Social media enthusiasm in the world has been tremendous with the rapid growth in technology. Gizmos that are internet enabled and availability of cheap internet are key factors. Therefore then, social media is coming up as a fast growing tool to reach out to people especially the youth. The Social Networking Sites (SNS) are providing cost-effective platforms to communicate with large population with zero time difference. Noting that media is a powerful tool of communication, media literacy is an issue that cannot be ignored. It is therefore pertinent to evaluate the potential impacts that social media play especially facebook in propagating hate speech and hate messages (Marinkovic & Rowe, 2013).

Incitement to violence or ethnic hatred, including by ordinary citizens or politicians, community leaders or journalists, has actually resulted in massive violence and mass killings in many countries across the continent. Rwanda presents the most extreme examples of how the relationship between a government, the media and politics can go horribly wrong. But throughout the continent, there are sporadic instances of alleged incitement resulting in massive violence, such as in Kenya, Ivory Coast, Uganda, Burundi, Nigeria, etc. Unfortunately, the jurisprudence on incitement cases remains very limited, with the exception of South Africa. Many charges of incitement have never been actually investigated or pursued to the end in a court of law.

Many countries in Africa share a similar history of colonialism and white supremacy characterized by abuse and misuse. These regimes were characterized by the divide and rule policy which was a human right; this aimed at ensuring white hegemony and dividing population

along racial and ethnic lines. The legacy of these violations still persists in the region and is often manifested in deep divides in the societies, especially in the Southern African region. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda spurred by ethnic hatred is a case for reference. Moreover, during the colonial and apartheid time, the calls for national liberation or against white oppression were prosecuted under incitement laws (Marinkovic & Rowe, 2013). For example, in South Africa, the laws prohibiting racial hostility were, according to available information, only applied against anti-apartheid opponents of the government. A large number of laws still on the book in many African countries, including those related to incitement to hatred, or those regulating the media, dates back to colonial regimes and thus to political regimes that had enshrined racism as a core value (e.g. Zimbabwe). Even if the laws in question are not used, their continuing existence is highly problematic at many levels.

Further, the emergence of social media, has dared to liberalize communication; this due to the involvement of the mass or individual audience in the creation and dissemination of information perhaps from an individual to mass or otherwise through incidental messages. This has thus altered the role and design of traditional media in information dissemination and created a room to what is referred to as citizen journalism. Social media has provided a means of constant and immediate communication, which link individuals and persons globally and locally; anybody can publish anything from anywhere. Kaplan, and M. Haenlein 2010, argue that social media has caused a shift in the communication environment which was previously dominated by the mass media, in fact breaking news are no longer such.

In my opinion, Social media has implications for power relations. It has posed a challenge to the traditional media; it is diluting the mainstream media's monopoly of information transfer and dissemination. Progressively, everyday, it is tricky for those in power to bury or manipulate information since breaking news are no longer breaking news with social media. This defragmentation of the traditional media spells huge 'power' of the new media.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Concerns have been raised about increased presence of hate content in the Kenyan Social Media space. The last one year has witnessed several people taken to courts of law over posting material online that was deemed to have crossed the line of free speech into the realm of hate

speech. Most notable of them, is a sitting member of parliament and several bloggers some associated with prominent political personalities. Maweu (2013) observes that in the 2013 electioneering period, the Kenyan social media space experienced highly inciting speeches similar to what was witnessed in 2007, including openly advocating for violence, murder and eviction of certain communities especially those associated with the major political players.

Knee-jack reactions from authorities and regulators on what constitutes hate speech has on the other received accusations of strictly applying and expanding the interpretation of the limitation of rights to levels considered as stifling free speech. This is compounded by the fact that hate speech is not clearly defined in law; further some social media users have been accused of abusing their freedom of expression and stretching it too far. A major challenge for most scholars, governments and regional organizations has been where to draw the line between freedom of expression, hate speech and the right not to be discriminated against. Volkova et al insist there must be a balance between combating hate speech and protecting freedom of expression. It has further has been argued that attempts to limit hate speech mostly result in censorship (Cornwell and Orbe, 1999).

The social media space is a fertile ground for the spread of hate content. In the mainstream media, it is possible to regulate hate speech through self regulation and strict adherence to journalistic codes. Social media presents a different challenge altogether (Malik, 2012. Majority of social media users have no background in journalism and are not subject to any specific code. Further, Social media has been seen an evolution from broadcast delivery of content – content created by a few and distributed to many – to network delivery, where content can be created by anyone and published to everyone, in a context that is “many to many.” Said another way, publication and delivery by professionals to mass audiences has changed – now publication and delivery can be by anyone, professional or not, to niche audiences through networks of many channels without limitations of timing (Marinkovic & Rowe, 2013).

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role played by social media sites in the propagation of hate speech in Kenya.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Overall Objective

The overall objective is to investigate the role of social media in hate speech propagation in Kenya

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- (i) To establish the presence of hate content on social media
- (ii) To determine the extent of exposure to hate messages among social media users
- (iii) To explore the nature of hate messages on social media
- (iv) To determine the diffusion (flow and spread) of hate messages online

1.4.3 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- a.) Are there hate messages on social media?
- b.) What is the nature of hate messages on social media?
- c.) How are hate messages propagated through social media?
- d.) What is the potential role of social media in generating social and potential tensions that might result in hate speech?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is an addition to a few studies done in Kenya to supplement not only the policy framework and strengthen the existing agencies on peace, reconciliation and cohesion but also look at the legal framework on hate speech. More importantly, the study will seek to underscore how social media can be positively used to rally citizens into economic, social and political empowerment and change their lives for the better.

1.2 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

There have been few studies targeting social media users in propagation of hate in Kenya. The few studies that have been conducted have been only keen on the use of IT and new media for crisis management as opposed to peace building and conflict prevention (Tommo, 2012). It is thus essential to target social media as the conveyer belt of hate messages.

This study will contribute to a better understanding of the role of social media in propagation of hate messages, their prevention and peace building which will offer insights to the formulation of effective strategies by security agencies on conflict prevention to policy makers and peace stakeholders.

Further, the emergence of social media, has dared to liberalize communication; this due to the involvement of the mass or individual audience in the creation and dissemination of information perhaps from an individual to mass or otherwise through incidental messages (Tommo, 2012). This has thus altered the role and design of traditional media in information dissemination and created a room to what is referred to as citizen journalism. Social media has thus provided a means of constant and immediate communication, which link globally and locally.

Moreover, it has caused a shift in the communication environment which was previously dominated by the mass media. Social media has implications for power relations (Kakai, 2010)

.Therefore then, the prime example is how social media is diluting the mainstream media's monopoly of information transfer and dissemination. It is therefore becoming progressively tricky everyday for those in power to bury or manipulate information since breaking news are no longer breaking news with social media. This defragmentation of the traditional media spells huge 'power' of the new media.

The World is in the midst of a social media revolution. Social sites like facebook, twitter, LinkedIn, MySpace, Skype, Whatsapp are a new frontier tool in modern day communication. Social media have the potential to fundamentally change the character of our social lives, both on an interpersonal and a community level. Tommo, 2012 argues that the new media are a powerful tool of communication. Social media information is designed to be disseminated through social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable publishing techniques.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This section provides insights into literature review on new the new technologies; media use conducted by other scholars. The section will dwell so much on literature that have relevance to the objectives of this study. Also, this section also reviews the theories upon which the study is anchored and more so their relevance to the study.

2.2 Definition of Hate message

Hate message generally has been defined as a speech that attacks a person(s) or a group on the basis of color, origin, race, religious affiliation, gender, or sexual orientation. It is also a communication disparaging a racial, sexual, or ethnic group or a member of such a faction. Outside the law, communication that vilifies a person or a group based on discrimination against that person or group (NCIC, 2010).

From a legal perspective, hate speech/ hate communication is any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display which is forbidden for it may incite violence or prejudicial action against or by a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group (Mulei, et al 2003).

2.3 Legal Jurisdictions on hate speech

There are various treaties, pacts, agreements and conventions, which have globally all touched and laid emphasis on the doctrine of hate speech. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states that any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law (ICCPR, 1996).

All governments have a duty to prohibit hate speech by adoption of a domestic legislation; this is one of the limitations to the freedom of expression and right to speech by citizens of any democratic nation. However, this should be viewed as respect of the rights and reputation of others; and for the protection of national security and or public order, or of public health and or public morality (McGonagle, 2012).

2.4 The concept of language and New Media Technologies

Language is one of the greatest inventions that man ever had in civilization and during prehistory. It is this discovery that over the years has made communication an innate aspect of humanity. Channels of communication however, have been in constant evolution just as language has been. Media, has, emerged out of growth of humanity and development since antiquity (Meiller, 2009). It has become one of the major channels of communication henceforth; However, mainstream has been a domineering as a communication, which include broadcast media (Television and Radio) as well as print media (newspapers, reviews, magazines among others).

The elites in Africa own and control the mainstream media to their advantage either economically, socially or politically. To this end, Mainstream media has been accused of manufacturing consent; manipulating and relaying information that represent the interest of their owners and the ruling class especially in 3rd world nations (Meiller, 2009).

The ruling class enjoys media protection and political economy (Jeffrey, 2002). The ownership of the media houses is split between political actors which have given the Kenyan media a long continued support in terms of buying space and airtime for advertising.

It is worth noting that the new media which has also referred to as social media has entered the stage and completely revolutionizing communication in terms of time, and content. It has complemented main stream media in relaying information to the masses. The mostly used social media platforms include; Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, Google chat, Skype, Yahoo chat Instagram, MySpace, LinkedIn among others (Tommo, 2012). In March 2010 there were a little over two million Facebook accounts according to the Communication Council of Kenya CCK; in 2014, this number has doubled to slightly 4 million accounts in Kenya. This accounts for about 9 percent of the entire population. A great majority of those on social media are the youth (Kaplan, and Haenlein, 2010)

The popularity of facebook has been attributed to the easy access from cell phones; there is a Short Message Service SMS to Facebook for instance, that sends a text to the users on every time something happens on Facebook (Tommo, 2012). There is also an application called Facebook

zero, a text only free version of Facebook launched in 2010 in collaboration with mobile providers, which has brought Facebook to a larger number of people who prior to that did not have access to it.

Social media is also accessible by via computers that are internet enabled or connected. Computer literacy levels in Kenya have also grown tremendously in the 21st century. The 2008 Consumer Insight Limited study reported that 74 percent of the population in Nairobi had used a computer at least once in their lifetime (CIL 2008). Back in 2009, Synovate, on other hand had estimated that in 30 percent of the Kenyan urban population used the internet weekly (ITU 2010).

Twitter is a social networking site more or less like Facebook; the only difference is that Tweets, (twitter messages), have a maximum of 140 characters long. Facebook has a limit of 5,000 friends for every member account, there are no such limits on followers on one's Twitter handle. However, on facebook, one can have a fan-page with limitless likes or a group which can also have many likes (Tommo, 2012). Like the mainstream media, social media is also powerful in shaping opinions and setting public agenda. As such, on political undertones, social media can ignite violent conflicts in a nation.

Respectively, they view the social media's rapid growth in popularity as a catalyst that will inevitably lead to more transparency in governance and democracy, and conversely the elitist protagonists, only see the danger that uncontrolled communication might pose to a country, nation or a society. Notably, the Arab spring and uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa in early 2011 has prompted calls on the need of rigorous study into the potential role social media can play in conflict escalation, prevention and peace building and reconciliation. In these countries, protesters across the region relied on varying degrees on social media to organize protests against the governments of the day. They also leveraged on international news organizations and perhaps non governmental bodies to solicit for international support and sympathy (Kaplan, and Haenlein, 2010).

Recognizing the power of social media, in that their contents are uncensored, the governments made asserting controls over social media platforms a top priority as a reactionary measure to

coil violence. For instance, Former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak banned access to Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Google in the first few days of the protest, he then shut down internet on 28th January 2011. Former Libyan ousted leader president Gaddafi's security officers blocked all internet traffic in and out of the country, in response, the international community redirected funds towards programs that aimed at strengthening media in the North African region (Kaplan, and Haenlein, 2010). These leaders, viewed social media wave as the trailer to hate messages spiking revolts to their unprecedented revolutionary fate and imminent ousters.

However, to the contrary, on the legal aspect, Article 20 of the ICCPR remains unclear and problematic on issues that may qualify as hate messages. A further elaboration of the ICCPR standards needs to be developed to define hate messages. Courts, all over the world; both at the domestic and international levels, Africa included, have grappled with these issues with an array of results. At the domestic levels, countries have not been able to develop clear definition in their disparate bodies of laws. Similarly, domestic courts have not given any consistent interpretation of what may be constitutive components of speech as such to be defined as "promotion of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to prejudice, antagonism or violence." However, some law enforcement agencies in various countries may be seen to be pro government of the day; they tend, at times to brand any political speech they do not agree with as geared at incitement to hatred (ICCPR, 1996).

2.6 The Concept of Social Media

Social media refers to the means of interaction among people in which they create share and or exchange information ideas in virtual communities or networks using technology based applications. Heanlein (2010) defines social media as a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of the web and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content. The content might include text, video, images, podcasts and other multimedia communications. The most prominent examples of social media include, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Reddit, Google +, Google talk, Yahoo chat, Skype, Whatsapp (Kaplan, M. and Michael Haenlein 2010).

Facebook is a popular free social networking website that allows registered users to create profiles, upload photos and video, send messages and keep in touch with friends' family and

colleagues. Twitter is a free micro blogging service that allows registered members to broadcast posts called tweets. Twitter members can broadcast tweets and follow other user's tweets by using multiple platforms and devices (Tommo, 2012).

Furthermore, social media depends on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share co-create discuss and modify user generated content. It introduces substantial and persuasive changes to communication between organizations communities and individuals. It is argued that social media has introduced positive effects such as allowing the democratization of the internet while also allowing individuals to advertise and form friendship. Much of criticism of social media has been that it has decreased face-to-face interactions, there have been issues of trustworthiness and reliability of information presented, concentration, ownership of media content, and the meaning of interactions created by social media.

2.7 The Concept of Hate messages

2.7.1 The Grounds for Hatred

In many African countries' jurisdictions, the term "hatred" generally covers racial, ethnic, national and religious hatred and in the same manner (McGonagle, 2012). In some countries it often also covers hatred on the grounds of sex, political convictions, language, social status or physical or mental disability.

In the case of Kenya, the Constitution in Article 27 guarantees equality and freedom from discrimination. In Article 27 (4) it outlaws direct and indirect discrimination against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth. The Constitution through Article 33 (1) also guarantees freedom of expression (Constitution of Kenya, 2010)

It is worth noting that the National Cohesion and Integration Act in section 13(1) states that "a person who uses ... which is threatening, abusive or insulting or involves the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour commits an offence if such a person intends thereby to

stir up ethnic hatred, or having regard to all the circumstances, ethnic hatred is likely to be stirred up.” (NCIC, 2011)

2.7.2 Hate content on social media space

Hate speech discourses on social media in critical events are likely to lead to the demystification of sociopolitical actors, as well as to an overall uncertainty among citizens which might finally result in their political disengagement and social fabric deterioration. Moreover, in a public space where messages of hatred and intolerance are allowable, people might feel uneasy and intimidated to express their points of view. In other words, hate speech on a popular social media platform such as Twitter, and Facebook can possibly obstruct the constructive process of deliberation, and threaten democracy and peace. Also, the fact that it is very hard –if not impossible- to control and regulate hate speech content on social media, intensifies the need to identify and make sense of the hate speech phenomenon in order to find the right solution for its diminution without challenging the right to free expression (Sevasti, 2014). This study seeks to establish the presence of this hate content on social media in its varying degrees.

Whereas hate speech, most of the times takes cue, when there have to be uttered or spoken word (s), such words may also be written in a book, a newspaper, a pamphlet, a brochure, or expressed in a public performance. The spoken word must be capable of being understood by the audience as stirring hatred directed at a particular section of the population. Publication may entail the actual printing of the material containing hate speech as well as physical handing out of the material to the public or sections of the population (NCIC, 2008). Social media platforms being channels of communications expose people in varying degrees to hate speech in varying degrees.

The Social Networking sites (SNS) are providing cost-effective platforms to communicate with large populations with zero time difference. Noting that media is a powerful tool of communication, media literacy is an issue that cannot be ignored (Parekh, 2012). It is therefore pertinent to evaluate the potential impacts that social media especially Facebook in propagating hate speech in Kenya.

Mostly, growing democracies and economies face various challenges; economic, social and political. Hate messages would be of different contexts in such a circumstance of a developing nation; economic, social or political wrangles are obvious (Matas, 2000). Political rivalry, social

injustices and economic struggles may push populations to blaming others for their woes. This often may push for hatred. Most of the times the only option to vent is the readily available social media which goes uncensored.

Further, hate messages that are communicated and spread via different social media are in different forms. Some may be in form of pictures (cartoons), in coded languages, and others in outright and straight forward language. Bloggers and micro bloggers may have incidental posts of hate messages posted on their timelines (Jaishnkar, 2008). Others may decide to either share the message, like the messages, or comment on them. Either way, the hate messages have been spread.

2.8 The Threshold and Tests for Hate Messages

There is need to measure threshold and intensity of hate messages in a robust and codified threshold before speech is deemed “hate speech”. This is essential for the promotion of coherent legislation and sound international, regional and national jurisprudence in this area (McGonagle 2012). According to Dworkin (1997), the following variables could be used: Severity, Intent, Content, Extent, in particular the public nature of the speech, Imminence, Likelihood or probability of action, and Context.

Intent can be also determined from the scale and repetition of the communication (e.g. if the inciter repeated the communication over time or on several occasions, it might be more likely that there was an intent to incite the action). However, if the court can identify a legitimate objective (such as “historical research, the dissemination of news and information, and the public accountability of government authorities”) for the speech, other than to incite to discrimination, hostility or violence, then the speech should fall short of the threshold (McGonagle, 2012).

The content of the speech constitutes one of the key foci of the court’s deliberations and is a critical element of incitement (Dworkin, 1997). Content analysis may include a focus on the form, style, nature of the arguments deployed in the speech at issue or in the balance struck between arguments deployed, etc.

2.9 The Likelihood or Probability of Harm Occurring

Incitement, by definition, is an inchoate crime. The action advocated through incitement speech does not have to be committed for that speech to amount to a crime. Nevertheless some degree of risk of resulting harm must be identified. It means the courts will have to determine that there was a reasonable probability that the speech would succeed in inciting actual action, recognizing that such causation should be rather direct (Dworkin, 1997).

Context is of great importance when assessing whether particular statements are likely to incite to hatred and it may bear directly on both intent and/or causation. Unfortunately, as noted by Mendel,

It is extremely difficult to draw any general conclusions from the case law about what sorts of contexts are more likely to promote the proscribed result, although common sense may supply some useful conclusions. Indeed, it sometimes seems as though international courts rely on a sample of contextual factors to support their decisions rather than applying a form of objective reasoning to deduce their decisions from the context. Perhaps the impossibly broad sets of factors that constitute context make this inevitable.

2.10 Historical Contexts of the Incitement Related Regulations

Many countries in the region share a similar history of colonialism and white supremacy (and the apartheid regime in South Africa) during which large scale violations of human rights occurred. These regimes were characterized by the policy of “divide” which was aimed at ensuring white hegemony and dividing population along racial and ethnic lines. The legacy of these violations still persists in the region and is often manifested in deep divides in the societies, especially in the Southern African region (McGonagle, 2012).

These definitions of class and ethnicity played roles in ethnic conflicts, including the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Moreover, during the colonial and apartheid time, the calls for national liberation or against white oppression were prosecuted under incitement laws. For example, in South Africa, the laws prohibiting racial hostility were, according to available information, only applied against anti-apartheid opponents of the government (Human Rights Watch, HRC, 2008).

A large number of laws still on the book in many African countries, including those related to incitement to hatred, or those regulating the media, dates back to colonial regimes and thus to political regimes that had enshrined racism as a core value (e.g. Zimbabwe). Even if the laws in question are not used, their continuing existence is highly problematic at many levels (Kakai, 2010).

2.11 Grounds for Protection

Given the multiple identities citizens in most countries in Africa exhibit, there is utter need to evolve the laws and initiatives dealing with incitement, discrimination and inequality to recognize other identities and possible grounds for hatred besides race and religion. Some of these identities may include national origin, ethnicity, sexual identities, immigrants etc (Manuel et al. 2004).

2.12 A case of Kenya's hate speech social media

Himmelboim et al. (2013) argues that groups, friend connections, fan pages and 'followers' on SNS result in people forming ideologically homogenous clusters which can in turn facilitate a discourse of 'us' vs. 'them' especially in matters politics (Sevasti, 2014)

Quite often on social media, ordinary discussion around politics generates strong opinions especially on polarizing issues or when there is a clear divide in the political environment. Some of these conversations degenerate into personalized attacks and the expression of bigoted views which in turn provoke strong reactions and the cycle continues.

Ethnicity has been the Key driver of politics in the Kenyan society. Different observers have argued that political discourse, voting behavior, political party affiliations, public opinion are all informed by ones ethnic identity (Maweu, 2012, Wanyama 2010, Kagwanja, 2005). The evolution of politics, the ushering of multiparty democracy and the evolution of new media technology have not necessary altered the established ethnic voting patterns; in any case, they have been entrenched as some have observed. Maweu (2013) argues that modern ethnicized politics are now executed through new media, particularly social media.

Maweu further notes that there was a captive calm during the 2013 general elections with mainstream media calling for calm and engaging in what has now been labeled as 'peace propaganda'. The European Union Elections Observation Mission noted the active participation

by the media in calling for calm. Major news outlets exercised great restraint and self censorship to avoid falling into the mistakes of 2007/2008 when the Kenyan media was accused of having incited and promoted ethnic tensions. She however argues that 'as the mainstream media censored itself to ensure peace and calm in the country, the country was 'burning' through ethnic hate messages transmitted through social media".

Kenya, like most African nations experiences increased tension close to election period. The divisions and passions are mostly driven by the political choices of the ethnic 'kingpins' in their quest for political power. In 2007 and 2013, the major political players commanded a huge following among their ethnic bases and coalitions were built based on ethnic calculations.

The character of national debate is normally reflected in the online spaces. The period immediately before and after the 2013 general elections, social media became the battle ground for divergent political views and in some cases, civility disappeared and debate degenerated to alarming levels inflaming passions. The character of online political debate is such that certain 'opinion leaders' on social media acting on their own or at the behest of political leaders post controversial issues provoking instant response from those with supporting or opposing views and some cases debate spirals out of control as bigotry takes over.

Maweu (2013) observes that in the 2013 electioneering period, the Kenyan social media space experienced highly inciting speech similar to what was witnessed in 2007, including openly advocating for violence, murder and eviction of certain communities especially those associated with the major political players.

Benesch, (2014) argues that in the Kenyan election of 2013, the accusation of hate speech was used as a political weapon to surpass debate during an election when it was more needed than ever.

2.13 The Use of Social Media (Face book and Twitter) to Impact Sociopolitical Change in Recent times

Several scholars have documented how social media was used as the main medium of communication that brought change to political leadership in Northern African states and the Middle East. The studies have shown how social media was instrumental in coordinating the

protests during the uprising. They have also documented how civilians in authoritarian regimes relied on social media to champion their political rights. Middle East countries and Northern African have been further discussed in this study because they exemplified the most recent ways in which social media has been used to coordinate uprisings that later became revolutions. These regions have exposed the potential of social media in coordination and how social finds its place during conflicts (Kaplan, and Haenlein, 2010).

2.14 Collaboration in the Middle East and North Africa through Social Media Using Facebook and Twitter for Political Change

Facebook and twitter have enabled users to collaborate on issues they feel strongly about. The first step towards collaboration is shared awareness. An important component in understanding influence is to detect sentiments and opinions. Aggregated opinions over many users are predictors for convergence of interest in a community (Java, 2007). Considering that 89% respondents in Egypt during the revolution had twitter accounts against a near perfect 99% who had Facebook accounts. 66% of the people in Cairo used twitter to follow the latest news on the Egyptian revolution. The message has been clear. Young people armed with little more than laptops and mobile phones can help amplify popular voices of freedom and justice (Harsh, 2011).

Social media helps angry people achieve shared awareness about how people are angry and helps those people to take action (Clay, 2011).

The Middle Eastern countries showed how weak ties between people initiated on the web can become strong ties and can forge close relationships that are effective in organizing for social change (Tapscot, 2011). Shared awareness gives people courage to act in ways they wouldn't otherwise "Twitter and Face book let us show people the size of the demonstration", said Jiji Ibrahim, a university student at the university of Cairo (Harsch, 2011). These platforms are empowering people to become the new influencers (Breakendge, and Solis, 2009).

These could be considered as one of the strong points of social media as a tool for influencing change. With shared awareness comes the collective strength of the crowd "young activists in Egypt as in nearby Tunisia and elsewhere in the region, were able to use their access to new

social media tools to publicize demands, call demonstrations and win support from broader sectors of the population (Harch, 2011).

Thanks to social media's increasing popularity and ability to connect activists to ordinary people, "Egyptians are protesting police brutality in unprecedented numbers" (Eltahaway, 2010). Many believed that Khaled Said's fatal beating sparked a virtual revolution that is affecting Egypt's tightly controlled society. Thanks to social media's increasing popularity and ability to connect activities to ordinary people, the photograph of said's battered corpse which disseminated through Facebook and twitter prompted a protest outside the interior ministry in Cairo, the largest in living memory against police brutality (Eltahaway, 2011).

The social media tools gave Hosni Mubarak's opponents unprecedented ability to share information and organize their activities including the massive protests which riveted the world attention (Tapscott, 2011).

As hundreds of thousands Egyptians in Cairo's Tahrir square celebrated the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on 11th February 2011, some wielded signs proclaiming "Thank you Facebook" Harsch 2011. Bouazizi's suicide tragically brought to light many of the long standing problems, Tunisia's youth now face government cronyism, corruption restriction of civil right and unemployment rate of 30% (Wambugu, 2011) with these problems on their mind angry Tunisian's used twitter to organize their protest and inform the outside world of their activities (Tapscott, 2011).

These protests, which were largely organized by the apparent leaderless online activists, asked people to stand up, showing the World that they are not a cowardly submissive people (Wambugu, 2011). In addition to generosity shared awareness and collective strength, Facebook and twitter have delivered increasing visibility to the world. Twitter is the first person's broadcast medium said Douglas Rushkoff, author and media theorists (Morozov, 2011).

2.15 Pressure to Authoritarian Government from Facebook and Twitter

The power of Facebook and Twitter to coordinate is certainly a threat to the authoritarian government. For many years political violence upheavals, nuclear proliferation and international

terrorism have posed the biggest threats to the nation state. We are now in an era in which the internet has been added to that arsenal. Where millions of finger plucking and poking at touch screen phones, a logging in posting, can bring down a government as they did in Egypt (Countemanche, 2011). “I’ve always said that if you want to liberate a society just give them the internet” said Wael Ghonim a Google executive and the administrator of Facebook page (Ghannam, 2010).

After many years of built-up repression, people equipped with social media tools have begun to stand up for themselves and have their rights. These tools provide a two way conversations unlike the mainstream media, making it easier to mobilize a group (Wafula, 2011).

While Facebook and Twitter have made it easier to assemble activists, they have made it harder for authoritarian governments to steer the public. In the past such governments took control of television, newspapers and controlled the public knowledge and behavior. But internet is interactive and decentralized; it is a model to share information from many people to many people. Finally civilians have found their voice and they are certainly using it. Few can deny that social media has enabled the most significant advancement in freedom of expression and association in contemporary Arab uprising (Ghannan, 2011).

The swift and unexpected overthrow of 23 year old regime in Tunisia and the mass unrest in Egypt have sparked debate on how far social media networks can challenge governments around the world (Wambugu, 2011).

The challenge I pose is this, were it not for these social media tools would the revolutions not happened in any case? It is unclear to say that the initiative to go to the protests were originating from the social media especially in communities like Egypt where the pre-dominant population had a relatively low degree of internet penetration and internet access. Facebook and Twitter have their place in social change but the real revolution happens in the streets, and thus to prove that communication via the new media or social media is actually what brings people to the streets is difficult (Manuel et al. 2004). Because it is no surprise that authoritarian government in the Middle East and North Africa tried to restrict internet freedom. Arab leaders have long

recognized the threat posed by the internet and most have instituted filters and legal restrictions in attempts to control online activities.

Hosni Mubarak's government tried to stifle the protests by shutting off internet indefinitely, after the demonstrations in Libya started up. Internet access and cell phone services had severely deteriorated however shutting down internet backfired for these governments as people went on with the protests and they even got more intensified. When people had their tools of communication such as Twitter and Facebook taken away from them, they had no choice but to come to the street and communicate. So this had the effect of stimulating mass action in the street (Tapscott, 2011).

Even on the streets people were continuing to collaborate in ways other than social media to unite, social media was replaced by the analogue equivalent Twitter. Handheld signs held aloft at the demonstrations, with the information of where and when people should gather the next day (Beaumont, 2011). Though soon enough the civilians received a helping hand. In Egypt for instance, when the last internet operator in the country was ordered to shut down all services. Google and Twitter joined together to establish three mobile numbers for people to call and record tweets as voice messages. These voice messages were then made available to users. They could listen to the tweets instead of reading them. The new audio tweets instantly gave the content a more personal feel as users could hear the voices of the tweeter and the surrounding background sounds. It was the first time that leading internet search engines and social media combined forces amid widespread upheaval to keep information flowing despite state efforts to shape the public narrative (Joudon, 2011). Google's blog referred to this project as the new weapon against repression.

2.16 Social Media Revolution Criticism

Some critics argue that social media tools are ineffective; Christensen for instance claims that platform of social media are built around weak ties and are only effective at increasing participation and on the other hand they lessen the motivation the participation requires. He says that people need close personal connection in order to get them take action, especially if it is announced through social media and the nature of action is risky and difficult (Meiller, 2009).

Then there are also logistical issues that arise, there were only 20% of the entire population that used internet in the Egyptian revolution (most concentration being in Cairo). Despite the limited access to the social media like Facebook and Twitter, there was a tremendous amount of pressure generated from the onset Cairo (Joudon, 2011). There was the unofficial role played by the trade unions in the protests that was downplayed, away from the trade unionists there were drivers, factory workers and the Suez Canal laborers, nurses, doctors who finally brought down President Hosni Mubarak.

Political theorists also claim that techno-utopian overstate the affordability of the new technologies while understating other underlying factors of their acquisition and use. Economic or gender issues for instance could affect their accessibility as well as other prevalent conditions in the country (Meiller, 2009).

In Libya and Yemen for instance the severe totalitarian regimes stymied reform efforts, and at the core of the revolution there was a force that was more willing to criticize the authority and tolerates diversity than perhaps the mainstream public opinion. The case in Lebanon was different; the activists began to unite with the goal of outdoing the sectarian system. They managed to reach about 15,000 people through a Facebook group entitled “In favor of ousting the Lebanese sectarian system toward a secular system”, the group comprised of youths from different sects, regions and cultural backgrounds. It is thus the sectarian and divided nature of the Lebanese youth partisanship that rendered it difficult to use social media to mobilize the young people through a common goal. This is clear illustration that the prevailing conditions can affect the outcome of the use of the social media when rallying behind a common goal (Joudon, 2011).

Questions also arise, once the dust of the revolution has settled where does social media fit into the new paradigm? Social media help push for a revolution but without creating the expected kind of long term structures which for instance can become political parties after the regimes have toppled (Meiller, 2009).

There is powerful evidence that social media can improve understanding and help establish ties between traditionally opposing groups. Facebook’s own project a partnership with the Peace Pot Initiative at Stanford University called “Peace on Facebook”. The initiative counted new

friendship formation on the site between people who come from groups with a history of difficult relations. The count is done in revealing connections established across geographic division; E.g. friends between antagonizing political blocs, different ethnic groups or religious groups among others.

On March 11th 2012, there were 123, 844 online connections which were made between conflicting Muslims and Jews. It would be a gross oversimplification to suggest that these counts necessarily represent concrete progress towards greater real world harmony. However they do reflect the way that social media can help to maintain relationships online that may prove difficult in person due to social censure, political or logistical constraints (Joudon, 2011).

2.17 In the case of Kenya: Social Media and hate speech

In late 2007 and early 2008 most Kenyans didn't have access to the internet as they do presently (Saila, 2012), not even through cell phones as today. Those who were online experienced a wave of heightened activity. Many experienced the down side of uncontrolled communication, but others were able to even save lives through their blog posts and social media accounts. There was a strong intersexuality within these communications and SMS messages have therefore been included in as the new media. (Iraki, 2010).

Mäkinen and Kuira argue that 'the social media functioned as an alternative medium for citizen communication or participatory journalism' but it was also used 'as channels for biased information, tribal prejudices, and hate speech. Goldstein and Rotich continue in the same vein by stating that digitally networked technologies 'were a catalyst to both predatory behavior such as ethnic-based mob violence and to civic behavior such as citizen journalism and human rights campaigns' during the post-election crisis. (Goldstein and Rotich, 2009).

According to Wa-Mungai (2010) there was a strong intertextuality between sources of information and the means used to disseminate the information. Mass e-mails were shortened to fit SMS and Twitter accounts and mixed with rumors. (Wa-Mungai, 2010) 'Like SMS, cyberspace-based discussions were also fed on rumors and misinformation from the press.' (wa-Mungai, 2010). The majority of those who participated in these discussions was pro-Raila Odinga and expressed despair for the 'failure of democracy.' (Wa-Mungai, 2010)

Due to the rampant spread of SMS messages the government decided, despite a weak legal standing on the issue, to send a warning: ‘The government of Kenya advises that the sending of hate messages inciting violence is an offence that could result in prosecution.’ (wa-Mungai, 2010). This warning did not ring on empty ears as many of the respondents stated clearly that they were wary in fear of government action.

Facebook zero (FB zero) (a free application) together with the spread mobile devices has increased the number of users of social media especially those from the urban poor. As a result when one talks of social media in Kenya they primarily talk about Facebook, Twitter, blogs Whatsapp. Majority of the youth in Kenya have mobile phones which facilitate their access to social media.

There is thus a huge opportunity to shift paradigm and start to look at the tool of ICT4P, so far the focus has been on ICT for development and crisis management. However when social media tools are built to promote peace and co-existence, there will be an enabling environment for development and the atmosphere for conflict prevention (Sid, 2010). This angle of looking at things will bring light to what studies have not shed much light on in the past.

2.17.1 Example of Hate Content on Social Media in Kenya

Politicians are also starting to take note of the social and most now have Facebook or Twitter accounts, as well as blogs that they use for campaigns. There are signs that government is taking online activism seriously and taking action in scrutinizing content online. The audiences are aware of this and some of them fear that the state machinery have expressed the possibility of a repetition of the post election violence and incitement towards ethnic divisions (Sid, 2010). However there has been caution for those who are posting content online with political sensitivity to exercise self-censorship. For instance, the Gatundu South MP hon. Moses Kuria is alleged to be notorious of hate content on social media particularly a facebook account purported to be his.



Figure 2.17.1(a) Snapshot of alleged hate content: source facebook.com/MosesKuria

Kuria’s statement referring to Hon. Kaluma’s decision to reject the said, is a twin hate on politics and ethnicity. However, reactions from one respondent notably Kaberia Laikanya “kuria u are in the same league with Alshabaab, Boko Haram and Islamic state. Radical tribalist”. This comment brings an aspect of religious hate to the effect by linking Islam as a religion to terrorism. To infer how hate speech is spread, the post has been ‘shared’ by 265 persons and liked by 461 persons on social media from the time it was posted to when the study used it; 4th September 2014 and 23rd August 2015. This shows that to the minimum over 1000 persons read this post.

Another notable example of hate content on social is by a political analyst Mutahi Ngunyi on his social networking site twitter:

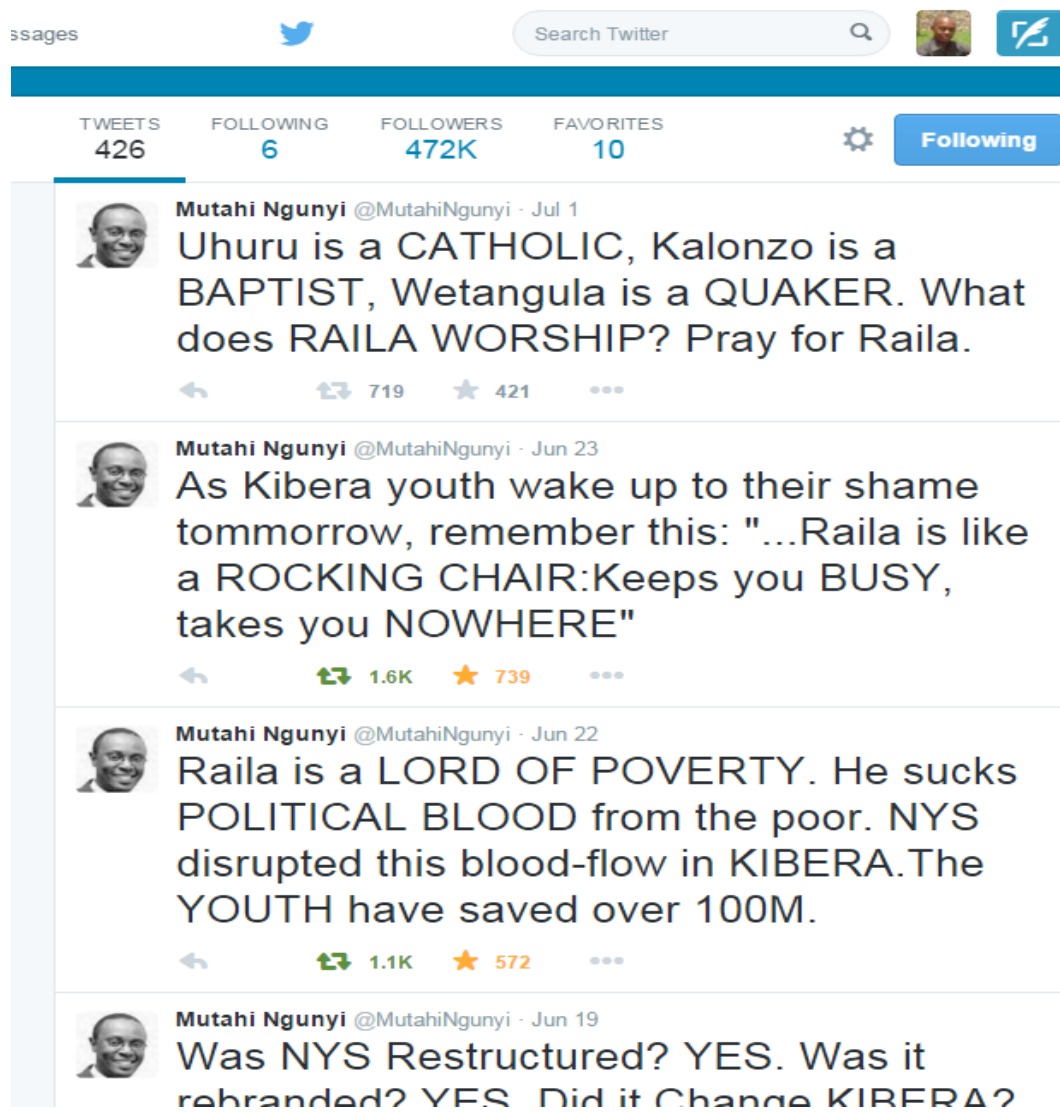


Figure 2.17.1(b) snapshot of tweeter account; source [tweeter.com/MutahiNgunyi](https://twitter.com/MutahiNgunyi)

Mutahi's comments came after turbulence in political balance in the alleged corruption in the Ministry of Devolution and Planning in 2015 department of National Youth Service, where funds were alleged to have been lost through corrupt deals. Raila Odinga being the leader of the opposition was vocal in calling on the resignation of the then Cabinet Secretary in the docket. The posts above are a combination of religious, political and ethnic hatred.



Figure 2.17.1(C) Snapshot of Hate Content On Aladwa; Source Facebook.Com/Collinsokelo

The former Nairobi mayor George Aladwa is alleged to have spoken words dubbed hateful in Kenya’s Kibera slum in an opposition rally during the Kenya’s *Mashujaa day celebrations* on the 20th October 2015. Kenyans took on twitter to quote him and even upload videos on social media. A notable example is one Collins Okello as above, who quoted a portion of alleged hateful content and even uploaded the clip, “*hata sisi tuko na makende mbili kama wao...*”. ‘wao’ in this context may be taken to refer to Kikuyus and Kalenjins if taken in the context of Kenya’s political ethnic base and environment of the speaker.

2.18 Theoretical Framework

2.18.1 Technological Determinism Theory

The Technological Determinism theory states that media technology shapes how we as individuals in a society think, feel, act, and how a society operates as we move from one technological age to another. Scholars argue that human beings learn and feel and think the way they do because of the messages they receive through the current technology that is available. The radio required us to only listen and develop our sense of hearing. On the other hand, television engages both our hearing and visual senses. We then transfer those developed senses into our everyday lives and we want to use them again. The medium is then our message (Griffin, E. 2000).

This is a reductionist theory presuming that a society's technology drives the development of its social structure and cultural values. The term is believed to have been coined by Thorstein Veblen (Cohen, 1978), an American sociologist and economist who said,

Technology marches in seven-league boots from one ruthless, revolutionary conquest to another, tearing down old factories and industries, flinging up new processes with terrifying rapidity.

The first major elaboration of a technological determinist view of socioeconomic development came from Karl Marx the renowned German philosopher and economist. He argues that changes in technology are the primary influence on human social relations and organizational structure, and those social relations and cultural practices ultimately revolve around the technological and economic base of a given society. His position hitherto position has become embedded in contemporary society, where the idea that fast-changing technologies alter human lives is all-pervasive' (Cohen, 1978).

Technological determinism seeks to show technical developments, media, or technology as a whole, as the key mover in history and social change (Croteau, & Hoynes,. 2003). Most interpretations of technological determinism share two general ideas: that the development of technology itself follows a predictable, traceable path largely beyond cultural or political influence, and that technology in turn has "effects" on societies that are inherent, rather than

socially conditioned or produced because that society organizes itself to support and further develop a technology once it has been introduced (Cowan and Ruth Schwarz, 1983).

Technological determinism has been summarized as "The belief in technology as a key governing force in society; the idea that technological development determines social change. It changes the way people think and how they interact with others and can be described as '...a three-word logical proposition: "Technology determines history" Technological determinism has been defined as an approach that identifies technology, or technological advances, as the central causal element in processes of social change As a technology is stabilized, its design tends to dictate users' behaviors, consequently diminishing human agency. This stance however ignores the social and cultural circumstances in which the technology was developed (Cowan and Ruth Schwarz, 1983). Sociologist Claude Fischer characterized the most prominent forms of technological determinism as "billiard ball" approaches, in which technology is seen as an external force introduced into a social situation, producing a series of ricochet effects. (Croteau, & Hoynes., 2003).

2.19 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual frame work is a result of what a study conceptualizes as the relationship between variables in the study. The dependent variable is known as the endogenous variable. This field lacks a shared concept of what constitutes conflict prevention as a dependent variable. The inability to determine what successful conflict prevention is may be partially due to the degree of conceptual ambiguity. As the term conflict prevention suggest different things to different scholars' success or failure depends in large on how prevention is defined in the first place. In this study however the dependent variable was peaceful co-existence and the independent variables were perceived to be; tolerance, transparency, democracy, good governance, social justice, political will and media both mainstream and social media. The intervening variables are conflict prevention and peace building initiatives.

2.20 Summary

The review of some of the existing materials on new media technologies and hate speech has shed more light on the aspect under research. Key aspects have come out clearly. The Growth in

technology is a double edged sword to communication. Inasmuch as there are benefits attached to it, the challenges are equally enormous. A case to site is the growth of and emergence of various social networking sites. Social media, as a communication and information platform is growing tremendously each day. This growth has presented new challenges and opportunities every other time. One of the greatest challenges is a threat to peace and stability. Perhaps, this is due to the silence of legal framework on the aspect of spreading hate messages insofar as the technology is concerned. Loopholes exist in taming online hate speech propagation. For instance there is no existing law that restricts a media house or an individual from sharing hate content in Kenya. Hate speech is becoming a volatile social and philosophical problem. For instance, unlike in the instances of most globally recognized offences, there is no universally agreed upon definition of what hate speech is. As a result what one will find is that different culture and countries or regions have banned expressions that can be included in this general concept, in different intensities.

However, hate speech, generally refers to words of incitement and hatred against individual(s) based on a certain group characteristics they share. It includes, but not limited to speech that advocates or encourages violent acts against a specific group, and creates a climate of hate or prejudice, which may in turn promote the commission of hate crimes. The identification of expressions that could be qualified as “hate speech” is difficult. Sometimes even civilized individuals spread hatred unawares. For example if one asserts that *‘no Meru man can take care of a Meru lady like a Luo man’*, that out rightly to the speaker may have had fun intended, but some Meru men may not take it lightly. Note that this kind of speech does not necessarily manifest itself through the direct expression of hatred or of emotions. It can also be concealed in statements which at first glance may seem to be rational or normal. In this regard, we can have intentional and unintentional hate speech. In this study, the study, therefore then focuses, to investigate the role played by social media in propagation of hate speech.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures that the study followed in conducting the study. It also describes the research design, the target population, the unit of analysis and observation, sampling procedure, data collection methods, and data analysis.

3.2 Area of Study

The study was conducted among the students of The Co-operative University College of Kenya (Main campus, Karen). According to the 2015 records obtained from the University College, the University had a total of 2, 872 students main campus, Karen (CUCK, 2015) as at May, 2015.

The location of this University College and the students are characteristic of urban youth with access to internet connectivity and information. Most of the students were from rural areas and urban minority making it a perfect representative sample of the Kenyan elite youth. It is worth noting that some of the students hailed from marginalized areas with significant socio-economical challenges including high unemployment rate, high insecurity and urban and rural poverty.

3.3 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey design. Descriptive studies, allow for the collection of information and data without changing or manipulating the environment. According to Singh (2007), descriptive research involves gathering data that describes a phenomena or an event(s), then organizes, tabulates and describes the data collected systematically.

Descriptive study is appropriate when the study seeks to describe, explain and validate findings (Churchill, 1991)). Descriptions emerge following creative exploration and then serve to organize the findings in order to fit them with explanations and finally test or validate the explanations (Krathwohl, 1993).

The descriptive survey design is the most appropriate for this study for it will seek to provide the description in the role of new media technologies in propagation of hate messages in Kenya.

According to Singh, (2007) the purpose of descriptive research is to determine and report the way things are; it helps in establishing the current status of the population under study.

In survey research design, a survey is used to obtain a description of a particular perception about a situation, phenomena or a variable and the views are taken to represent those of the entire population.

Questionnaires and interviews were extensively used to collect data and acted as efficient ways of gathering data that represented large populations (Irura et al, 2009). These tools often yield rich data.

Descriptive statistics utilize data collection and analysis techniques that yield reports concerning the measures of central tendency, variation and correlation statistics along with its focus on specific types of research questions, The methods and outcome is what distinguishes descriptive survey research form the other research designs.

This design was chosen for this study because of its ability to ensure minimization of bias and maximization or reliability of evidence collected. Furthermore, descriptive survey design raises concern for the economical completion of the research study. This method is rigid and focuses on the objectives of the study (Gay 1992).

3.4 Target Population

This study was conducted in one location; Nairobi's Karen targeting the students of The Co-operative University College of Kenya. The respondents are College students mainly of between 16- 24 years.

3.5 Sampling Frame/ group

The sampling frame was registered undergraduate students in the University's nominal roll. A sampling frame has properties that can identify with every single element being looked for by the study. And this has to be included in any of his/her samples. For this study the sampling frame included individuals aged from 16-24 years who for this study were considered to be youths. All of these youths were assumed to have access to internet either via mobile phones, Smart devices (IPads, Tablets), Computers (Laptops, Personal Computers) to access social media platforms.

3.6 Sampling Procedure

The study employed both probability and non-probability sampling methods in the study. Cluster sampling was used to select a sample for 200 students. The main reason to cluster sample is to increase the efficiency of survey; of advantage to this is that there was no satisfactory sampling frame available for the whole population to avoid bias and get a representative sample across the board. Since the students in each year are in various classes, the study got sample derived through simple random sampling of 6 major clubs and societies' i.e. the Christian union, the University Students' Choir, the Young Catholic Students, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Muslims group and the students' union.

Stratified random sampling, which involved subdividing youth, aged 16-24 years into males and females to ensure almost equal proportions in the sample of the study, was used. Stratified Random Sampling was further used to separate students according to their level of studies. In probability sampling every unit has a chance greater than zero of being selected and thus the sampling procedure produces unbiased estimates of the population totals.

Singh (2007) assumes that, stratified random sampling generally has more statistical precision than random sampling. A sample size of 200 was considered appropriate for the study, given the large population of the study area and the limited resources the study had at his disposal for this research. Each of the students of the University College was considered a distinct element of each quota in the study, while the college was the sector or quota for the study.

3.7 Data Collection Methods and Tools

This study mainly relied on interviews and focus group discussions as methods of data collection while using questionnaires as the tools of data collection.

3.8 Use of questionnaires

Given the relatively large sample of youths who participated in this research, using questionnaires as instruments of data collection was ideal. The study considered this instrument since it ensured that confidentiality was upheld and it saved time. The questionnaires mostly consisted of structured questions and fewer open ended questions. Structured questions compel the responds to provide specific answers, while the few open ended questions allow for diverse responses, both approaches are essential for variety and getting the respondent's perception of

the phenomena being investigated. Administering questionnaires generally allow for information to be collected from a large sample and in diverse locations (Singh, 2007).

3.9 Key Informant Interviews

The study used face to face interview method to collect a wide range of information on the role of social media as tool hate message propagation in Kenya. A commissioner from the cohesion and integration commission, Prof. Naituli was sought. Further, the Chief Executive Officer of the Law Society of Kenya Mr. Apolo Mboya was interviewed. He has been vocal in advocating for legal actions to be taken against hate mongers.

Marshall and Rossman (1999) states that qualitative data is often dependent on key informant interview, interviews allows the study to understand the statistical data collected from quantitative research by explaining the figures and giving further information beyond the figures.

3.10 Focus Group Discussions

The study held focus groups discussion with the students. Each focus group constituted 5 to 7 youths. Focus groups allowed the study to get the participants' perspectives, attitudes, experiences and reactions on the phenomena of interest by way of interaction and discussion with the participants. Focus groups have a high apparent validity since the idea is easy to understand, the result are believable are low cost and helps in getting quick results.

3.11 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of collected data (Marshall and Rossman 1999p150) In order to bring order, structure and interpretation to the collected data, the study systematically organizes the data by coding it into categories and constructing matrixes. After classifying the data, the study compares and contrasts it to the information retrieved from the literature review.

After administering the questionnaires, the study used Descriptive statistics to compute for all the variables to ensure quality of data. The study then organized the results around the objectives of the study. The study used descriptive statistics to show distribution, relationships between variables under study, proportions in terms of texts, percentages, charts and tables.

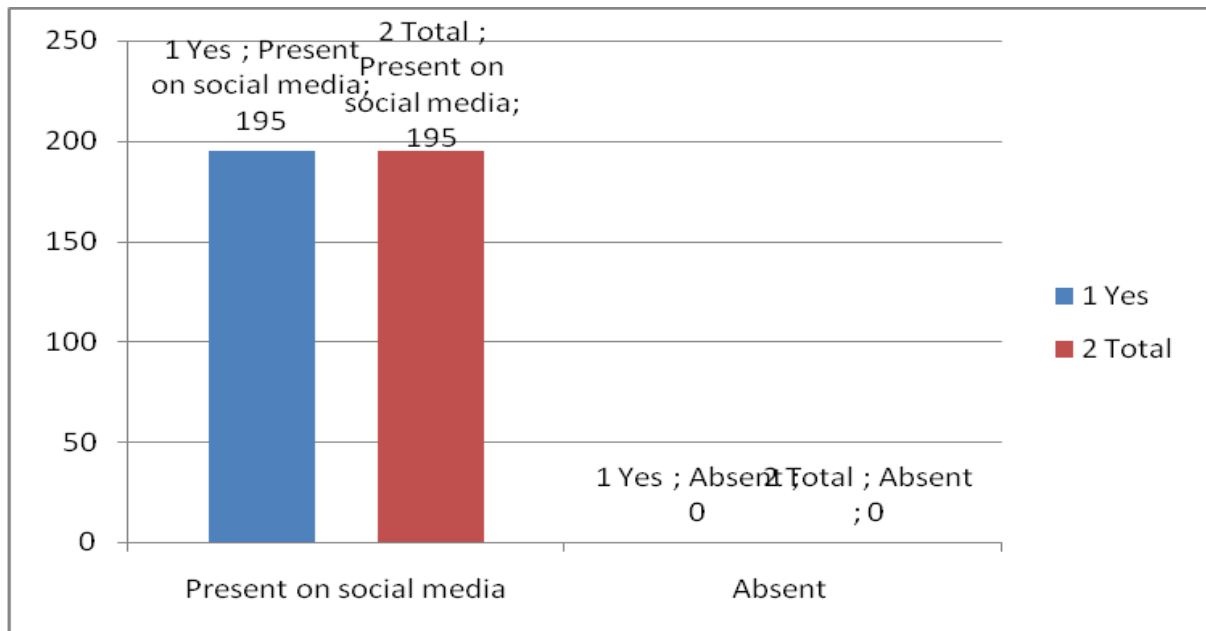
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis, interpretation and discussion of the research findings. The chapter is arranged as follows: The first section addresses the demographic of respondents; the second section looks at presence on social media of the respondents; the third section deals with the presence of hate content fourth section handles the exposure of the respondents on social media and lastly section six is the conclusion. A total of 200 questionnaires were issued out of which 195 questionnaires were returned.

4.3.2 Presence on Various Social Networking Sites



4.2 Demographics

4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

Out of the 195 respondents, 121 respondents were males and 74 were females; this respectively, is 62.0% male and 38% females.

Table 4.2.1: Distribution of Gender

Gender	No.	%
Males	121	62
Females	74	38
Total	195	100

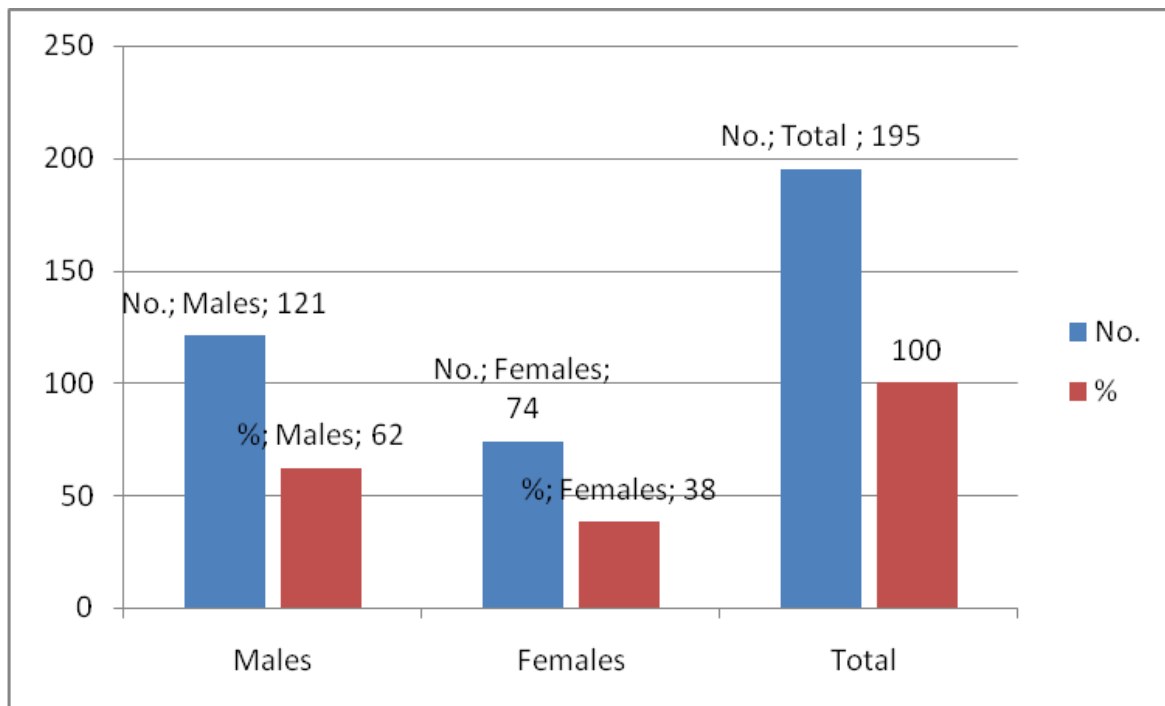


Figure 4.2.1: Distribution of Gender

4.2.2 Age Bracket of the Respondents

The targeted age bracket of the population was college students aged between the ages of 16 years and 24 years of age. Out of the 195 questionnaires that were returned, there was no respondent who was below the age of 16 years. Majority of the age brackets were aged between 19-21 years forming the bulk of the population of the college students at 50.2% while 16-18 years were about a quarter of the sample about 26.6%. At the age bracket of 22-24 years were at 21.5 years majority perhaps who were final year students with minority of the age of over 24 years at 6.7%.

Table 4.2.2: Age Bracket of the Respondents

	Age bracket	%	Number
1.	Below 16 years	0	0
2.	16-18 years	26.6%	52
3.	19-21 years	50.2%	98
4.	22- 24 years	21.5%	42
5.	Above 24 years	6.7%	13
	Total	100%	195

4.2.3 Years of Study of the Respondents

The population targeted was university students at The Co-operative University College of Kenya. All degree programmes offered at the university college run for a maximum of four years. Year 2 level of study formed majority of the students as respondents at 45.2% followed by the year students at 25.6%. Third year students formed a distant minority at 18.4% closely followed by the 4th year level of students at 10.8%. This can be explained following the population dynamics of the university college in that the current fourth year students are the degree programme pioneer students hence their low population. Conversely, first year students can sometimes be described as aloof while the second year students could be described as the active population of college populations.

Table 4.2.3 Years of study of the respondents

	Year of study	%	Number
1.	Year 1	25.6	50
2.	Year 2	45.2	88
3.	Year 3	18.4	36
4.	Year 4	10.8	21
	Total	100	195

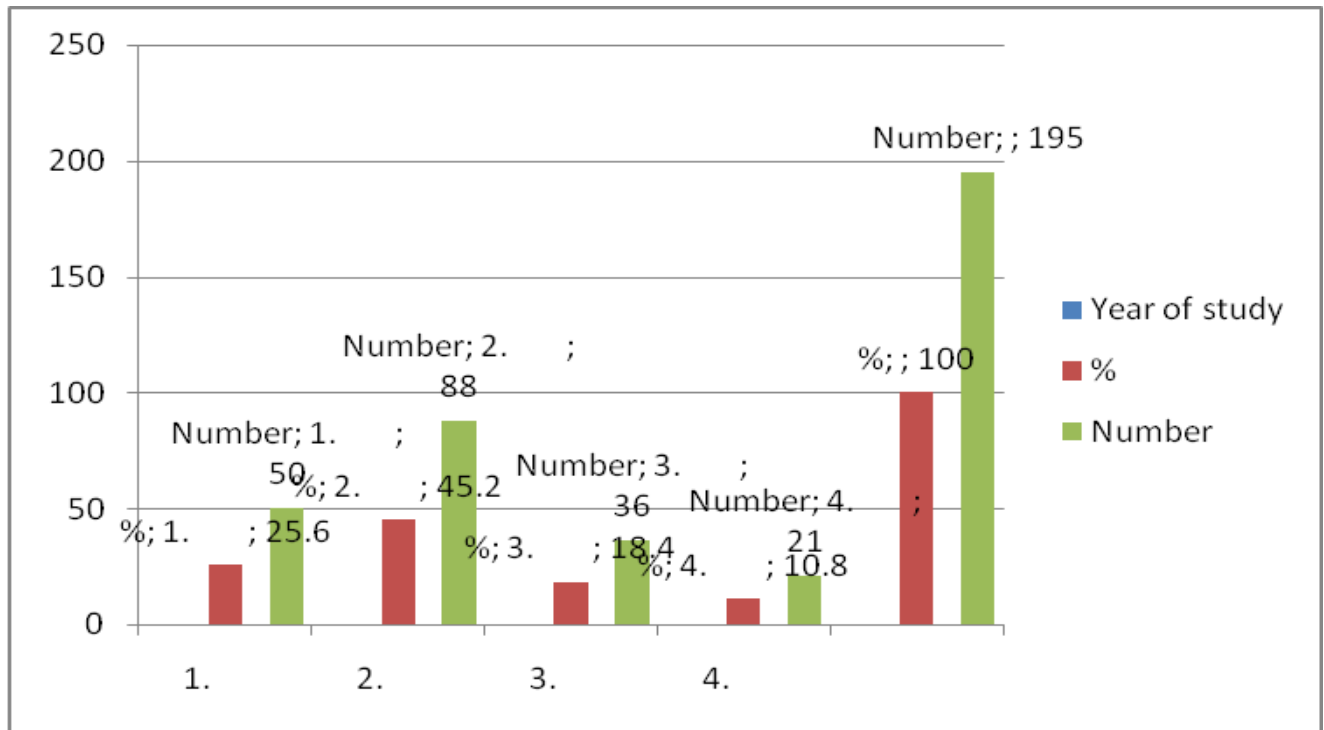


Figure 4.2.3 Years of study of the respondents

4.3 Presence of respondents on Social Media

4.3.1 Presence on Social Networking Sites

Of all the 195 respondents, 100% of them are on social media; a minimum of one social networking site. This can be deduced from the fact that all of them are university students in an urban set up and probably peer influence of being on social media has influenced their presence. This can also be coupled by the fact of free internet in computer laboratories or open wifi within the precincts of the university where they can access internet free of charge on internet enabled gizmos.

	Response	Present on social media	Absent
1.	Yes	195	0
2.	Total	195	0

Table 4.3.1 Presence on Social Networking Sites

4.3.2 Presence on Various Social Networking Sites

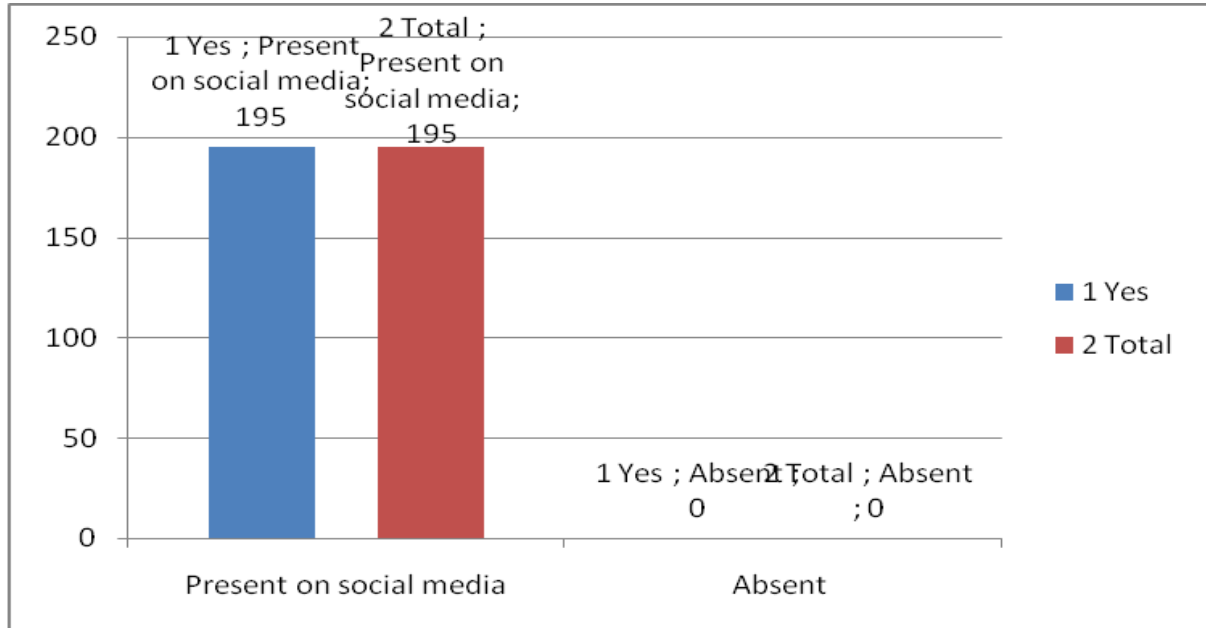


Table 4.3.2 Presence on Various Social Networking Sites

From the responses obtained from this question, it can be deduced that facebook and Whatsapp are the most common social networking sites each drawing 97.4% presence amongst the respondents with facebook leading at 100% presence. Instagram followed at 65.1%. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Instagram is a ‘photography’ social networking site; it is worth noting that most of the college students perhaps have Smartphones they can use to take photos and upload them on this site. YouTube and LinkedIn drew little presence as well as blogs. LinkedIn mostly is a professional networking site and maybe did not attract much attention from the students due to its niche. Other social networking sites also had their following amongst the respondents.

Table 4.3.2 Presence on Various Social Networking Sites

Social networking	Number	%
Facebook	195	100.0
YouTube	46	23.5
Twitter	94	48.2

LinkedIn	38	19.4
Whatsapp	190	97.4
Instagram	127	65.1
Blogs	29	14.8
Others	12	6.1

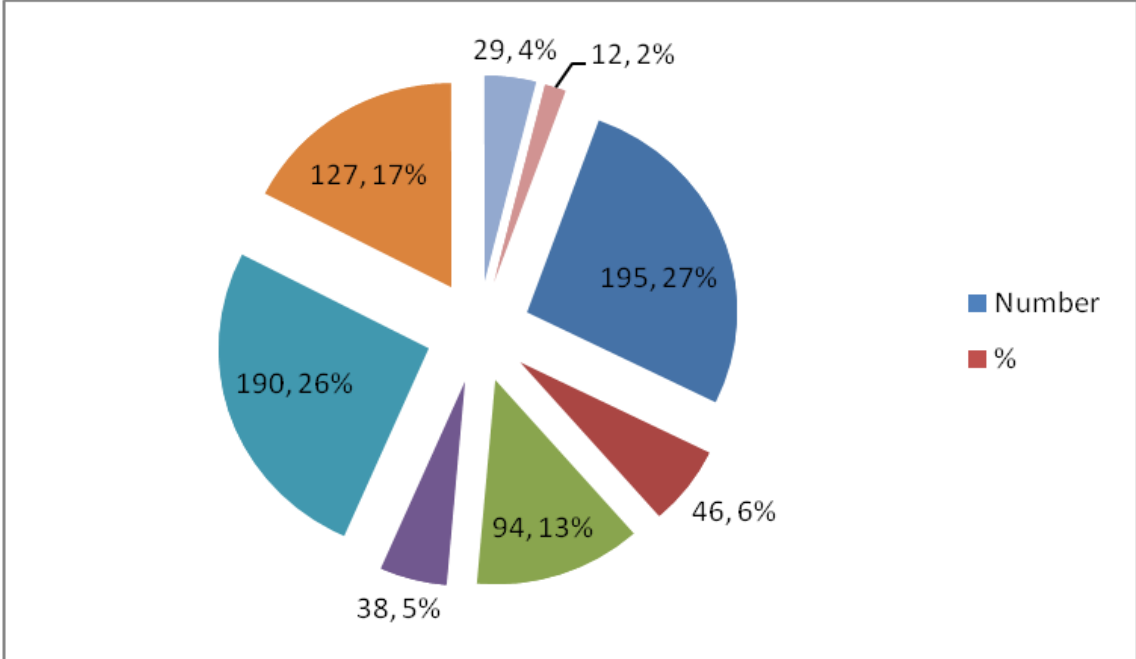


Figure 4.3.2 Presence on Various Social Networking Sites

4.3.3 Major Reasons for Being in SNS

This was an open question to the respondents. Of the 195 respondents, 190 persons responded to this question by giving at least one reason for being on the social networking sites. 5 respondents did not respond to this question giving it about 97.4% responses. The most recurring reason for being on the social networking sites are communication, entertainment, networking, getting news and making new friends.

4.4 Hate Content on Social Media

4.4.1.1 Encounter with Hate Content over the last One Month on SNS

This was a yes/no question to the respondents. From the responses received, it can be deduced that over the last one month, about 87.7% of the respondents had come across hate content on the social media. Having realized that majority of the respondents' social networking sites are facebook and Whatsapp, it is worth deduction that these two sites are susceptible to abuse hence making them fertile grounds for spreading hate content.

Table 4.4.1.1: Encounter with Hate Content over the last One Month on SNS

	Yes	No
Hate content	171	14
%	87.7	7.1

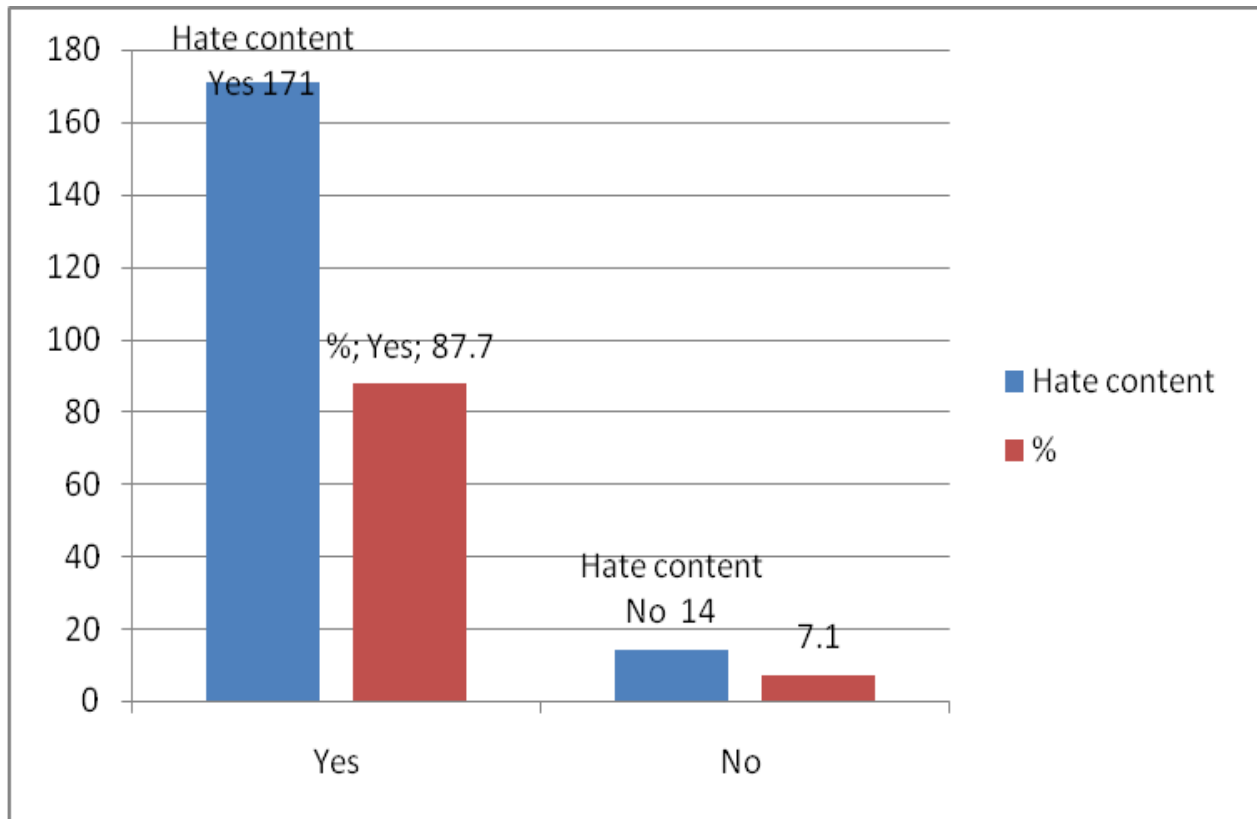


Figure 4.4.1.1: Encounter with Hate Content over the last One Month on SNS

4.4.1.2 Nature Hate Content on social media

There were 190 respondents to this question. The nature of hate content that the respondents came across was varying. The most common was ethnic and political hate content all making over 50% each; perhaps this did not go above 60% in each due to the fact that we are about two and half years after elections and almost a similar period to elections. However, the 50% mark explained by political temperatures between the government and the opposition. The percentages did not following closely in terms of hate was religious. Religious hatred was also demonstrable among the respondents. This could be due to increased terror activities in the world over the last few months notably the Boko Haram of Nigeria, Al Shabaab of Somali and the terror crises in Middle East; sometimes these terror activities are associated with the Islam religious community. Racial and gender hatred were minimal. Other forms of hatred were minimal from the results obtained. It is worth noting that all the respondents had come across at least two forms of hate content on social media.

Table 4.4.1.2: Nature Hate Content on social media

Hatred	%	Number
Religious	34.3	67
Political	50.2	98
Ethnic	55.9	109
Racial	24.1	47
Gender	18.4	36
Others	6.7	13

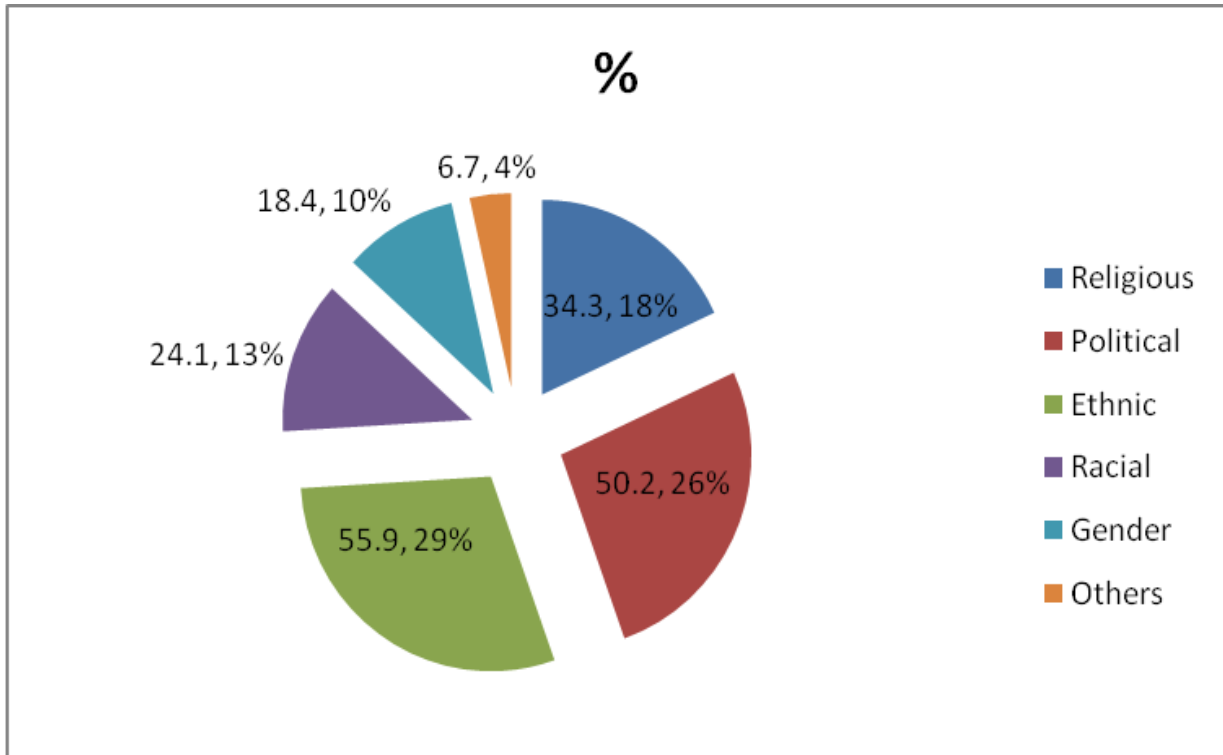


Figure 4.4.1.2 (a): Nature Hate Content on social media

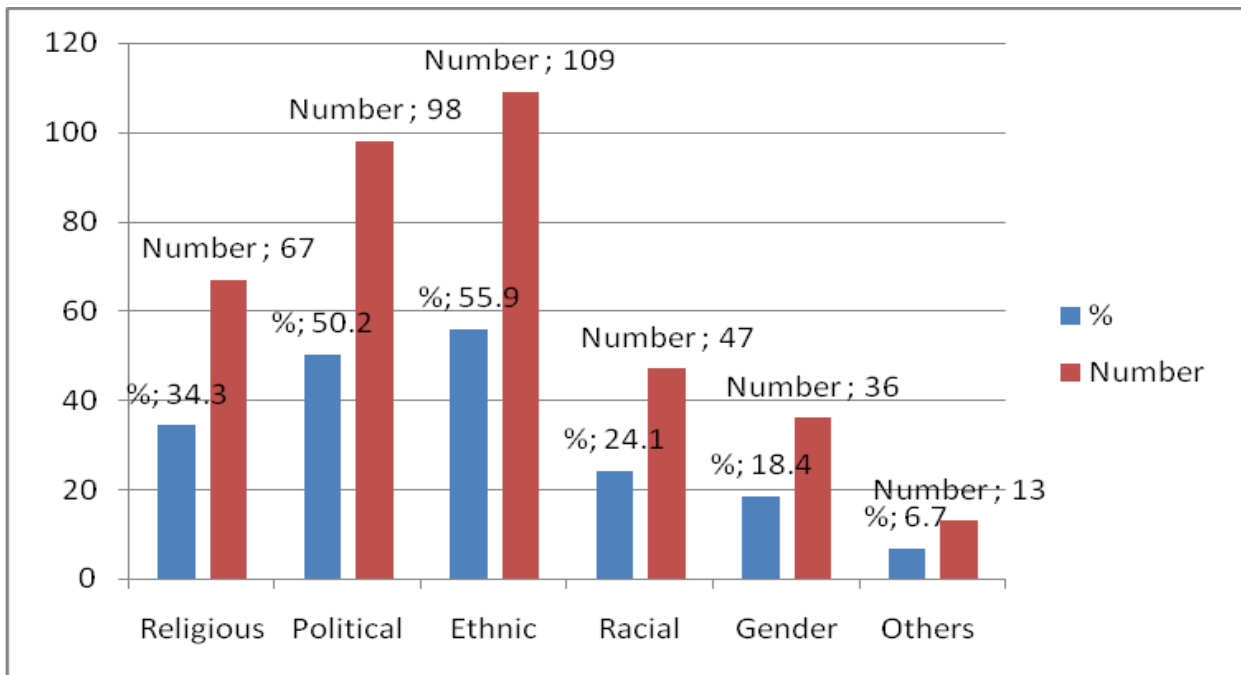


Figure 4.4.1.2(b): Nature Hate Content on social media

4.4.1.3 Common Categories of Hate Content on SNS

192 respondents responded to this question; but for those who responded, the frequency of political, ethnic and religious took toll from highest to lowest respectively. From the responses drawn, it can be deduced that Kenya as a country, has political challenges and ethnic issues that need to be addressed.

4.4.2.1 Sharing of Hate Content on SNS

This question enquired if the respondent, over the last one month had shared tagged someone, forwarded or reposted any hate content on social media. 98% of the respondents denied having done. This could be otherwise since admission of liability is not always given a nod.

The study infers that hate content is spread through either forwarding of the message, liking the message, reposting, retweeting, or resending.

Table 4.4.2.1: Sharing of Hate Content on SNS

	No	Yes
Number	191	4
%	98	2

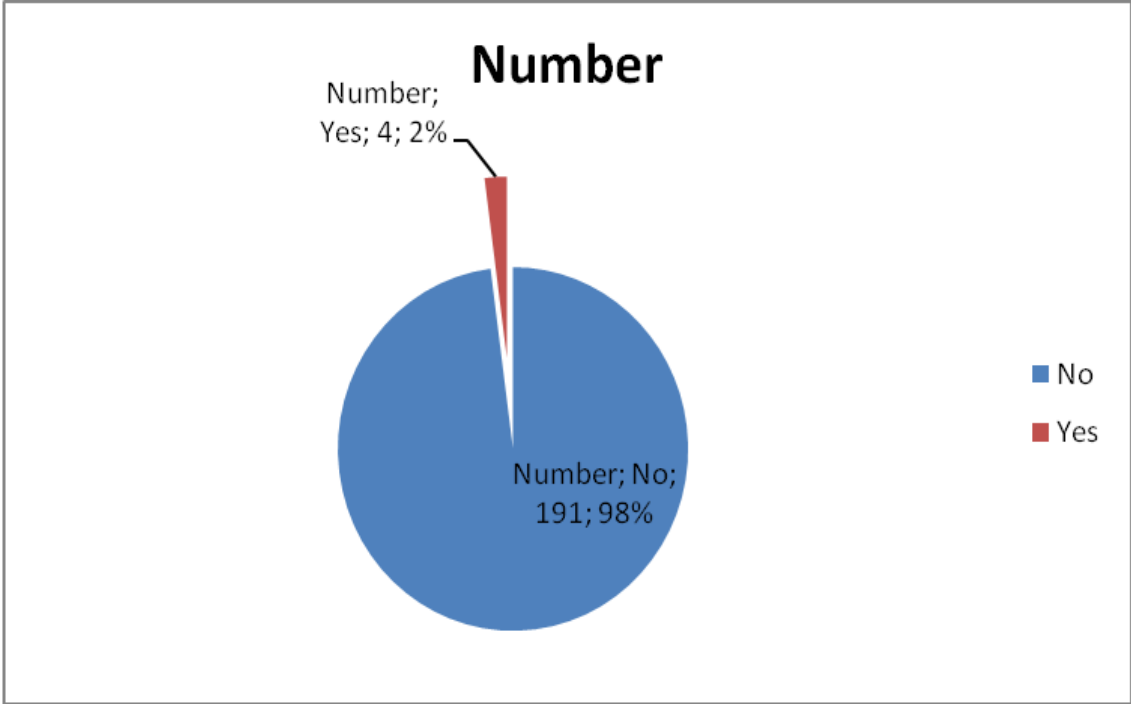


Figure 4.4.2.1 Sharing of Hate Content on SNS

4.4.3.1 Average Number Posts Shared Per Week

Fundamentally, the question sought to find out how many posts on social media does each of the respondents share or ‘like’ in a typical week. Majority of the responded admitted having shared or liked posts of others on social media. However, the nature of those posts was not disclosed. This was a control question to the latter (4.2.4.1)

Table 4.4.3.1: Average Number Posts Shared Per Week

Posts	Number	Percentage
1- 2	56	28.7
2- 4	75	38.4
5- 6	37	18.9
Above 7	26	13.3

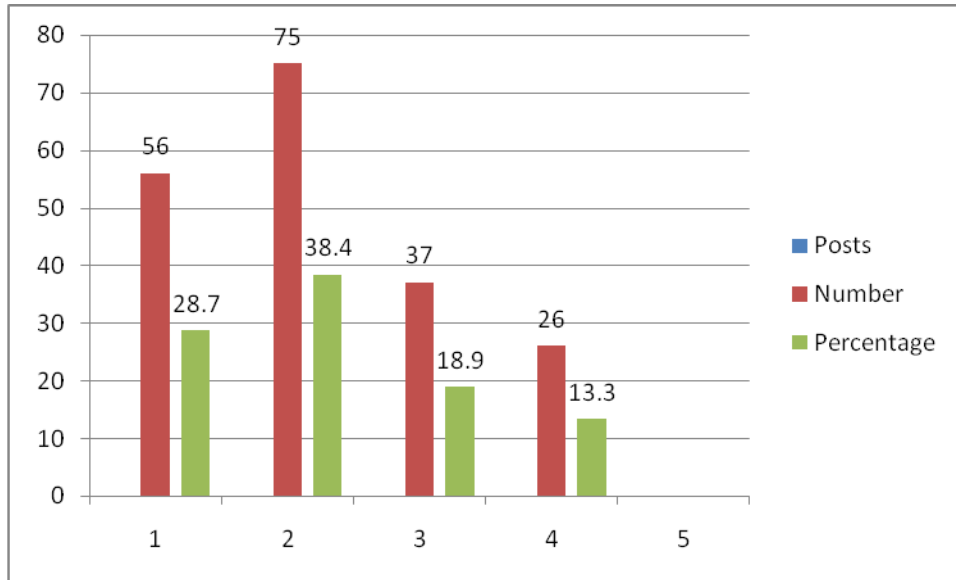


Figure 4.4.3.1: Average Number Posts Shared Per Week

4.4.4 Friends Who Post Hate Content

Respondents denied having more than 5% of their friends on social media posting hate content. The highest percentage recorded was 4%. This perhaps is due to denial of liability from the respondents. This aspect seems to be a major disparity in the research. However, this can be explained in terms of personal friends and just ordinary friends in social media circles. The personal friends would include close relatives, confidants whereas on social media, you apparently can have your personal enemies as friends on the sites!

4.4.5.1 Hate Content on Whatsapp

Table 4.4.5.1 Hate Content on Whatsapp

Hate content	Yes	No
%	57.4	38.4
Number	112	75

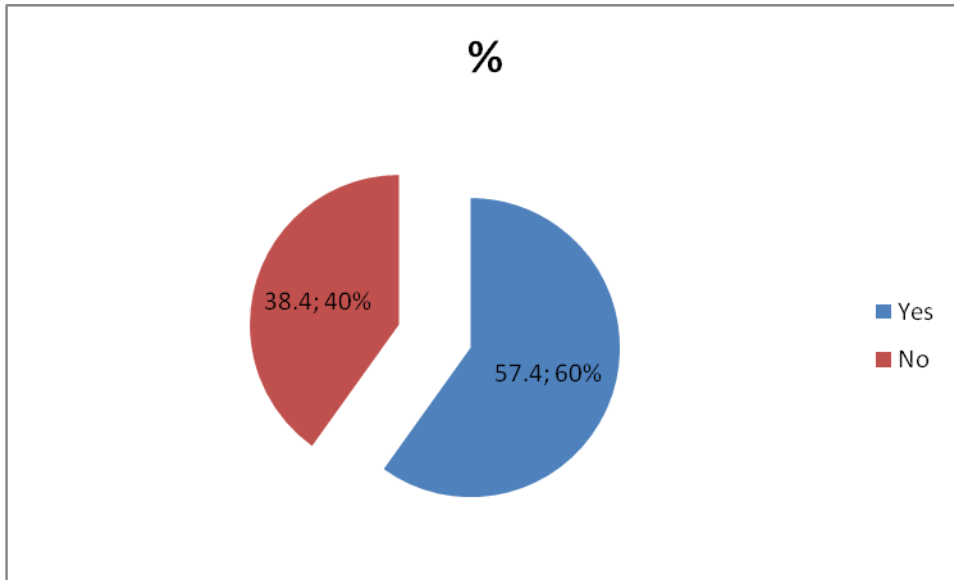


Figure 4.4.5.1: Hate Content on Whatsapp

Whatsapp as a SNS is gaining grounds as seen from the above finding for spread of hate speech content among its users; with 57.4% of its users having come across hate content on the platform in the last one month on administration of the questionnaire. Perhaps it can be deduced those who had not come across the hate content on it being about 38.4% are not in many Whatsapp groups or not very active on the site.

4.4.5.2 Frequency of Encounter of Hate Content on Whatsapp

Table 4.4.5.2: Frequency of Encounter of Hate Content on Whatsapp

Hate content	Daily	Once a week	Twice a week	Not sure
%	18.4	44.6	30.7	6.1
Number	36	87	60	12

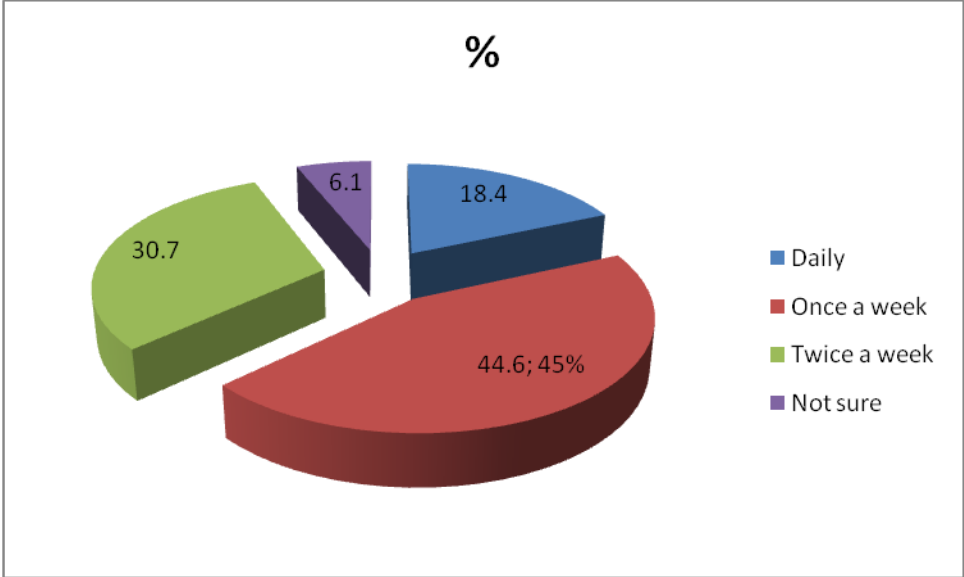


Figure 4.4.5.2 Frequency of Encounter of Hate Content on Whatsapp

From the above the above findings, at least in fortnight an hate speech content reaches or flows through Whatsapp to about 87% of persons on the network. This pits this social networking site as a potential platform for hate content.

4.4.6 Hate ‘Monger’ Groups on Whatsapp

Table 4.4.6 Frequency of Encounter of Hate Content on Whatsapp

Response	Yes	No
Number	101	56
%	51.1	28.7

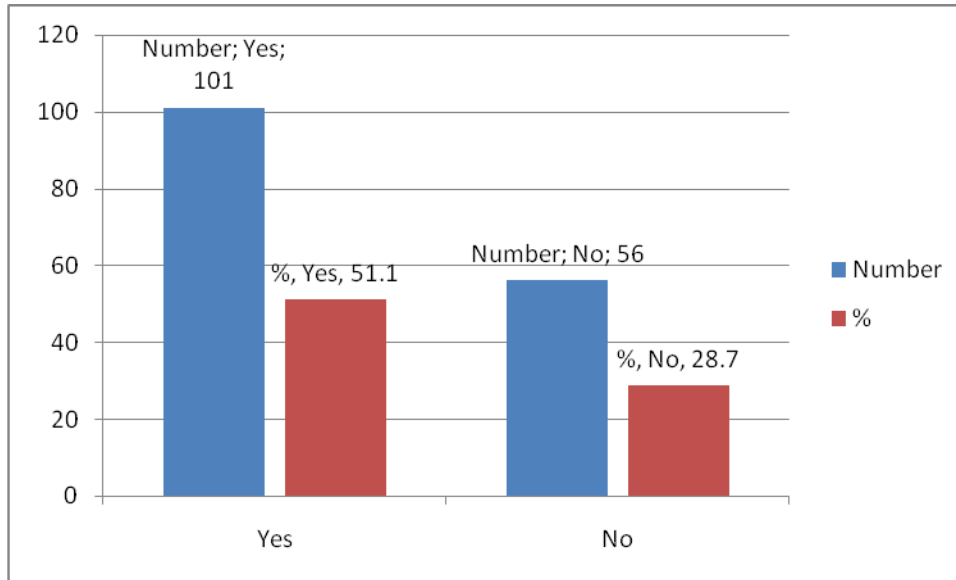


Figure 4.4.6: Frequency of Encounter of Hate Content on Whatsapp

It is evident that there are hate speech groups on Whatsapp. Perhaps that can be used to explain why in a fortnight about 87% of the respondents could get or come across hate content on the network. It can be deduced that probably such groups are based on tribal, religious or political affiliations or other social lines and groupings. Being at 51.1% for groups and 87.7% for individuals explains the difference that not all hate contents are spread on hate groups but some independent individuals perhaps decide to share what they receive from those groups with their friends.

4.7.1 Frequency of Hate Content on SNS

Table 4.7.1: Frequency of Hate Content on SNS

Site	Daily	Once a week	Twice a week	Fortnightly	Once a month	Not sure
1. Face book	78	30	56	30	23	9
2. YouTube	1	4	3	5	1	180
3. Twitter	60	30	26	45	23	66
4. LinkedIn	2	9	6	10	13	7
5. Whatsapp	36	86	60	34	43	12
6. Instagram	12	17	10	13	7	36

7. Blogs	1	11	0	0	2	12
8. Others	0	1	2	2	1	10

Facebook, Whatsapp and tweeter, are the main social networking sites rife with hate content as can be deduced from the above findings. These three social networking sites, from the data gathered are the most common among young college students. Instagram perhaps is not very rife with hate content simply because of its usability in terms of narration; it can be said to be a pictorial platform. It can further be deduced that all social networks are platforms through which hate content are spread. At least every respondent has come across hate content on social network one belongs to in the last one month to the administration of this research.

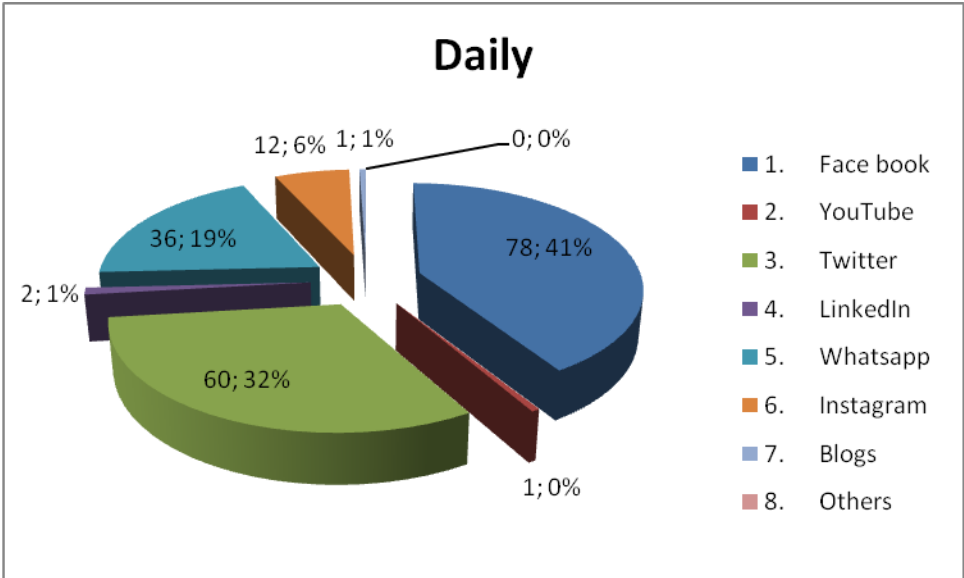


Figure 4.7.1(a): Frequency of Hate Content on SNS

4.4.7 Hate Content over the Last One Month

Table 4.4.7: Hate Content over the Last One Month

SNS	Yes	No	Not sure
1. Face book	112	25	13
2. YouTube	7	3	169
3. Twitter	73	15	59
4. LinkedIn	13	3	5
5. Whatsapp	43	13	15
6. Instagram	17	5	42
7. Blogs	2	4	9
8. Others	1	4	5

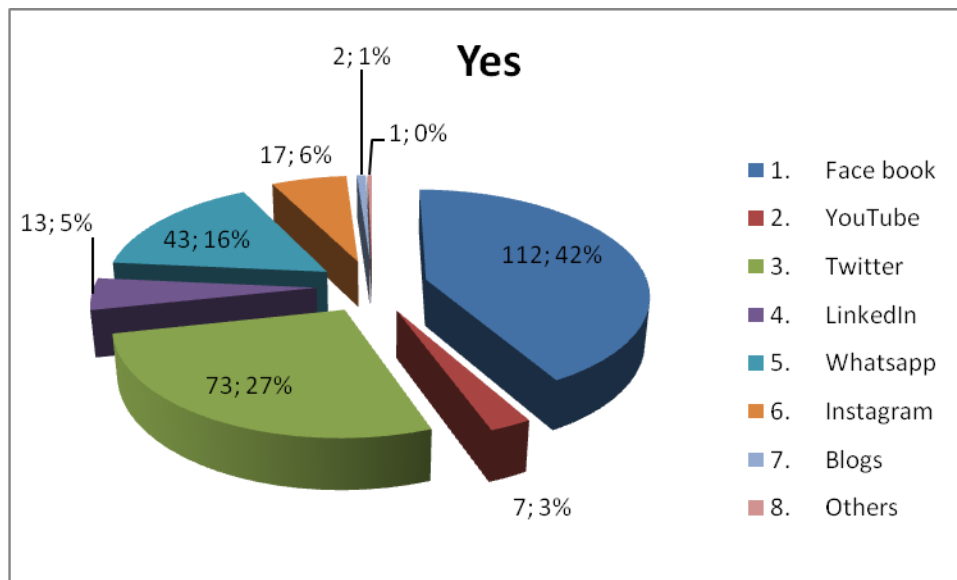


Table 4.4.7: Hate Content over the Last One Month

All respondents were exposed to hate content in the social media they subscribed to at the time of this research. It can therefore be deduced that social media has been awash with hate content. However, the intensity of exposure differed with Whatsapp, facebook and twitter leading.

4.5.4 Change of perception due to hate content on SNS

Table 4.5.4 Change of perception due to hate content on SNS

Aspect	Yes	No	Not sure
1. Gender	24	12	101
2. Sexual orientation	100	21	55
3. Ethnic affiliation	123	32	33
4. Race	12	34	124
5. Political party affiliation	101	23	21
6. Religion	65	27	78
7. Others	2	5	38

The potential of hate content in changing perception of exposed persons can be said to be immense; this is according to the above data. Most of the respondents changed their perception towards others based on their ethnic affiliation, political party and sexual orientation. Sexual orientation is a social aspect whereas ethnic and political party affiliations are political issues in the Kenyan aspect. Race took the lowest toll perhaps because those too much engaged in ethnic issues shelved peoples' colors of their skin. Religion was also highly mentioned maybe because of the stream of terror attacks rocking the country in the last couple of years. However, there were large groups that were not sure if their perception was changed towards particular aspects notably on the higher side race and gender issues.

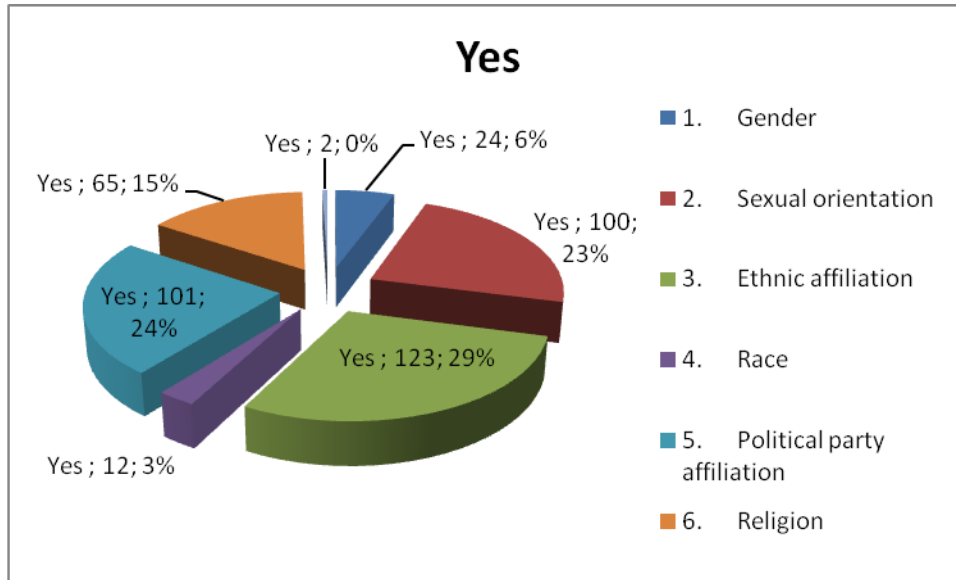


Figure 4.5.4 (a) Change of perception due to hate content on SNS

4.5.5 Hate Content Statements

	1 strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 neutral	4 agree	5 Strongly agree
1. There is hate speech content on social networking sites.	0	2	21	78	92
2. People are exposed to hate content on social media	0	1	13	67	107
3. Hate messages should be blocked / stopped on social media.	5	8	6	87	86
5 .hate content spread fast on social media	2	6	15	90	78
6. Most of my friends post 'hate content' on social media.	78	34	23	15	27
7. I can't stand hate information posted on social media.	12	14	21	59	88
8.Social media is an effective platform for the propagation of hate messages	7	12	23	75	69

Figure 4.5.5 (a) Hate Content Statements

From the above data, it can be deduced that hate content is rife on social media and the respondents or the users of social media do not as such advocate it to a large extent. Respondents feel that social media is being abused in that it is being used by hate mongers to spread hate content because of the loop holes perhaps present in the communication laws to address the aspect of hate speech.

4.6 Hate Content and Relationships with Other People

Most of the respondents who responded to this question recording hate content posted on social media as a major cause of conflict between them and such persons who post hate material. It triggers hatred towards them and can possibly lead to blocking them from their sites.

4.7 Key Informant Interviews

4.7.1 NCIC Commissioner; 24th August, 2015

One of the key informants for this research was a commissioner of The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) Prof. Naituli. The study sought to get his general views on the role of Social Networking Sites in propagation of hate speech in Kenya in a face to face interview. The study chose to engage the key informant in this open discussion so as to address the main and broad objective of the research.

Form the discussions with the key informant; the study found out that ignorance among most of hate speech mongers is on the rise. It further emerged that most SNS messages posted are out of ignorance and incidental in nature. Sources of such mean no harm but the recipients in different environments and cultures take them as hateful stereotypes. A case to point out that emerged in the discussion was one message let out by one Kenyan senator in dowry negotiations between Luo man who had travelled to Meru for the same, *'no Meru man can take care of a Meru lady like a Luo man can do'*; this according to the key informant is hate speech due to its stereotypical nature.

The availability of social media coupled by fast growing technology also emerged as one of the key contributors to the rapid increase in hate speech. The study learnt that to curb hate speech

with the fast growing technology is a big challenge in that, as the technology grows, such laws as were there before continue to be vague or redundant. It further emerged that those with the mandate to monitor and mitigate hate speech do not have adequate technology to identify, filter or gag hate content all together in the social media.

Tracking and arresting hate speech mongers on social media, also it emerged, is a challenge. Most of these intentional hate mongers use pseudonyms making it hard to be tracked. Most of them operate, it was noted, multiple accounts in different social media sites.

Weak legislation to curb hate speech also emerged as a challenge to curbing the speech on social media. However, the study leant that legislation is in the offing with stiffer penalties to individuals, and mainstream media in Kenya sharing hate speech content and hate mongers.

4.7.2 The Chief Executive Officer of the Law Society of Kenya; 14th October, 2015

The Chief Executive Officer of the Law Society of Kenya in 2015 was the 2nd key informant in this research. This was due to his vigor voice on hate content in social media. The study sought to find out what his general comments were on social media and if he feels there is enough legislation insofar as hate speech is concerned.

The study found out that Kenya is an over legislated nation in all aspects. The informant hinted that the challenge to curbing hate speech is on implementation of the law. He asserted that if one senior politician or senior citizen is jailed over hate content, this would drastically reduce the high rate of hate content flying on social media. It further emerged that the office of the director of public prosecution, the police and the public has not taken responsibility enough to curb hate speech. The public have failed to a large extent to take civic duty to report hate speech on social media.

Contrary to arguments that freedom of expression is a gateway to hate speech propagation, the study found out that the application of the freedom of expression tenet is not absolute; regarding the curbing of hate content on social media is in no way infringing on the right to freedom of expression. Further, the study found out that ethnic and political hatred are intertwined to a natural consequence. The two, the informant hinted, are the most common especially in Kenya at the moment when the politics of the international criminal court are being tied to ethnicity in a

bid to save the deputy president of the republic of Kenya from the cases facing him at the Hague based international court.

The informant argued that, the two sides of hate speech in its perpetuation and condoning are the juggles of the political class. He asserted that there is no innocence in hate speech. Prosecution without making political considerations is another major way to mitigate hate content. It further emerged that the police have fallen prey to political power barons; corruption has crippled the fight in that weak cases are taken to the DPP for prosecution. From the discussions, the study deduced that, NCIC has made no moves if at all there are any attempts to have speech mongers prosecuted and jailed.

The study further deduced that there is need to do schooling for people at all education levels. Further, public sensitization would be a way to mitigate hate and ensure cohesion. For instance, the key informant cited the Pokot-Turkana rivalry which he hinted needs a lot of care in handling. Such a case of ethnicity rooted in culture needs clear address to sort out the mess.

It emerged that, after the 2013 general elections, social media did not pull much force to break the country into war; this was largely because the mainstream media restrained themselves from sensational news and also the Kenyans' individual's cases at The Hague based international criminal court. By and large, the silence propaganda coupled with the peace propaganda did outsmart the power of the social media.

The study also noted that social media is here to stay and it is a tool for real time information, misinformation, and deception mobilization among others. Social media, it emerged, especially facebook and twitter are fertile grounds for hate content due to their anonymity as compared to SNS like Whatsapp. Pseudonyms make it difficult to trace an individual but on Whatsapp, a hate monger can easily be traced.

4.8 Discussion

Form the results of the research it is apparent that the social media is a tool for hate speech propagation and is being exploited by hate mongers to their advantage. However, this cannot be absolute. There is a needed firm effort to take into account the extent of unintentional hate

content by some social media users. The sender of the message may not have the intent to cause harm. But bearing in mind the different cultures of Kenyans and other residents of the nation, what may be hate in one corner of the nation is not necessarily hate to all, or what is hate in one religious segment may be otherwise to the other. However, if the loophole of culture is taken as a scapegoat, proponents of hate might exploit that to their agenda.

Social media has the potential to generate potential social tensions that can result in hate speech; slowly, SNS is becoming a powerful force in shaping opinions, delivering information among others. For example if the 195 respondents who are university students sampled are all on social media, they represent the entire Kenyan youth in universities and middle level colleges which can lead to a conclusion that all university students and middle level college students are on social media. Therefore, if universities need to get to all their students on an issue, social media is the platform. Conversely, if a hate monger wishes to reach all university and college going students for a course, social media is the fertile platform.

Since users of social media are exposed to hate content, there is need for a legal framework to protect innocent users from exposure to hate content online. From the research findings, it can be deduced that The new media can play a key role in advocacy of human rights, preventing atrocities such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, and revolts, among others, peace building and mobilization to a course. It can also be used to span ethnic hatred, religious intolerance, radicalization, racial divisions and spreading of hate messages. The mainstream media sets public agenda, influences opinion and determines change.

The literature reviewed reveals that by informing, educating and perhaps sometimes by deceiving, the media in any society is the epicenter of the events palpable; such is the power of the media. However, this power of the mainstream media is experiencing competition as well as a boost from the social media coupled by fast-growing technology. Further, it is worth noting that the power of the mainstream media can be controlled in various ways: by state authority, the market forces and the audience. Media effect has been spurred worldwide with the advent and growth of the internet platform which has increased its reach and richness. Nations control the mainstream media via laws and regulations which can either be altogether state driven, self-regulatory or co-regulatory.

It is this last aspect of the law that the media sector in Kenya is governed by. Inasmuch as the mainstream media is self regulatory in various aspects, in the matter of hate speech; the law is specifically in the ambit of the state. To the contrary, social media is an open field devoid of a grip off control. This coupled by vague legal framework on hate speech has provided a fertile ground for spread of hate content.

Media is main channel through which, and by which, the law on hate speech in the country is breached. Various laws of the land have handled the area, the most notable being the National Cohesion and Integration Act (NCI) which creates the offence of hate speech, and adds more responsibilities to the media operating in Kenya. There is a large body of laws within and abroad defining and delineating hate speech, and various media across the world have had to adjust accordingly.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study titled *New Media Technologies and Hate messages: Investigating the role of Social Media in propagation of Hate Messages in Kenya* investigated the role of new media technologies with focus on social media in propagation of hate messages in the country. It looked at the extent to which the respondents are exposed to various social networking sites among them facebook, twitter, LinkedIn, Whatsapp, blogs, Instagram, among others. Further, the study sought to find out whether the users of social media encounter hate speech on social media. On this aspect, the frequency of exposure to hate content, the nature of hateful messages and on which social networks was explored by the study. Also, the study further sought to find out whether there are hate messages on social media and how the users react to those hate messages and whether such affect their perception on various aspects may they be socioeconomic or political scopes or any other aspect of humanity or their daily lives. The summary of the findings are presented in these areas based on the research objectives.

5.1.1 Presence on Social Media

Among the 195 respondents in the study, all the possible respondents are on one social networking site or another. It is worth noting that there were more male respondents than female respondents standing at 62% and 38% respondents respectively. This can be lead to a deduction that the males are more active on social networking sites; it is also probable that considering the gender dynamics in higher education level that more males than females are in university could have lead to this.

On the aspect of the age brackets, the target being in the age of 16-24 years of the college level students, the bracket of 19-21 year age bracket was the majority of respondents who are mostly in year two of their studies in the university. This amounted to about 50.2% of the total respondents. The least of the respondents were in their 4th year level of study and the level one year of study.

The social networking sites that the study explored are facebook, twitter, Whatsapp, Instagram, LinkedIn, blogs and YouTube among others. Among the young people, the study found out that among all those social networks, facebook and Whatsapp are the most popular. Facebook attracted 100% presence whereas Whatsapp commanded 97.4% among the youth. Facebook is accessible on all internet enabled gizmos including computers, tablets and mobile phones among others. This therefore means that even if a student did not have a mobile telephone that could connect to internet, one could access the application through computers either in computer laboratories or cyber cafes. It can further be deduced that since Whatsapp application is accessible through mobile phones, maybe some students did not possess mobile phones that can carry the application.

It was further realised that twitter is not common among the respondents with 48.2%. The reasons for their presence on social media may not be being well served by the satisfaction offered by that social network and their social circles and peer pressure influence. Further the study found out that Instagram was among the social networking sites with rich among the respondents. Looking at the age brackets of the respondents and their social behaviours and satisfaction, the clientele base perhaps of Instagram is more favourable and fun than what they would find on LinkedIn which they regarded as a professional network.

YouTube commanded 23.5% exposure among the respondents; the few respondents who reiterated their reasons for visiting the social media is entertainment are, maybe the consumers of this SNS.

Blogs were the least common on the list of social networking sites among the respondents. However, 14.8% is a figure worth noting especially that these social networking sites are regarded as rumour mills. Other social networking sites at 6.1% that the students subscribed to meant maybe they do not serve their needs to being on the social networks.

Therefore, it is worth to conclude that of all the respondents, everyone in the population is exposed to at least one social networking site which they visit at least once every week.

The study sought to find out the reasons as to why the respondents were on the social networking sites. This was an open question to the respondents. Some of the respondents alluded their reasons to communication, entertainment, networking with former classmates and age mates, getting communication and news and for their information needs. But the most recurring aspect was to network among the peers and communication.

5.1.2 Social Media and Hate Content

Social networking sites are rife with hate speech in Kenya. The study found out that, of the 195 respondents, the 185 who responded to having come across hate content in the social media over the last one month, 87.7% of them had come across one nature of hate content or another.

Further the study noted that there were various forms of hate content on social media targeting religion, ethnic background, sexual orientation, political party affiliation, race, gender among others.

Among these aspects, hate content targeting ethnic backgrounds was well above average at 55.9% and political affiliation at 50.2%. These two are closely related looking at the Kenyan voting and political patterns where ethnic voting takes place. Further looking at the historical political leaderships of the nation where political parties belong to ethnic communities, this would have further been a catalyst to the above results; people regard perhaps those from other communities and regions as 'not our own'. It is probable that hate messages regarding either political aspect or ethnic affiliation were intertwined in that one hate message targeted the two aspects.

Hate messages targeting religious affiliations stood at 34.3% pitting perhaps the topical issues of terrorism in the world where Muslims are alleged to be sympathisers of terrorists. Following the recent terror attacks in Kenya, Nigeria and Middle East with attackers claiming to be of the religion in question might have influenced such responses and hate contents directed towards religion. Other forms of hate content were based on gender among others taking a combined percentage of 25.1. It is theretofore then worth conclusion that, social media users are exposed to more than one form of hate content on social media.

The study found out that the three most common forms of hate content on social media are political, ethnic and religious. From the patterns of the topical issues around politics and current affairs may have led to this.

Despite the respondents having admitted coming across hate content on social media, 98% of the respondents have denied having posted, shared, reposted or liked any hate content on social media. A negligible 2% however, have admitted this liability. Further, most of the respondents have equally denied having friends who post hate content on social media.

Conversely, respondents admitted having Shared or liked or reposted other people's posts on social networks irrespective of whether they were of hateful nature or otherwise.

The study found out that Whatsapp as a SNS is a fertile ground for spreading of hate speech content among its users; with 57.4% of its users having come across hate content on the platform in the last one month on administration of this study. Perhaps it can be deduced those who had not come across the hate content on it being about 38.4% are not in many Whatsapp groups or not very active on the site.

5.1.3 Extent of Exposure to Hate Speech on Social Media

That Kenyans on social media are exposed to hate content daily as propagated thereof is no doubt as the study has found out. Of the 195 respondents, at least 78 respondents encounter hate content on facebook on a daily basis, at least 30 on weekly basis, and 56 twice a week, 30 fortnightly, 23 once a month and 9 were not sure whether they encounter hate content on facebook. Of the seven social network sites tested among others for hateful content, it is only blogs where no respondent encountered hate content on a daily basis but still hate content is attested on it in progression of count and trend.

The potential of hate content in changing perception is high. The potential of hate content in changing perception of exposed persons can be said to be immense; the study found out that 100 respondents changed their perception towards others based on their sexual orientation. Sexual orientation is a social aspect whereas ethnic and political party affiliations are political issues in the Kenyan aspect. Therefore, the social fabric is most vulnerable as far as hate content on social media is concerned. Race took the lowest toll at only 12 of the respondents having changed their perception negatively perhaps because those too much engaged in ethnic issues shelved peoples' colors of their skin. Religion was also highly mentioned maybe because of the stream of terror attacks rocking the country in the last couple of years. However, there were large groups that were not sure if their perception was changed towards particular aspects notably on the higher side race and gender issues.

5.2 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn based on the research:

The study found out that the social media is a tool for hate speech propagation and is being exploited by hate mongers to their advantage. This is due to the rapid growth of technology coupled by availability of internet and cheap gizmos that are internet enabled. Further, legislation on social media is weak or its implementation is in the hands of power barons and corrupt implementers. Social Networking Sites, apart from Whatsapp, can be anonymous in that you cannot at times trace the hate monger.

Further, the study concludes that Social media has the potential to generate potential social tensions that can result in hate speech. This pits social media as a double edged sword that can be exploited by hate mongers. Inasmuch as SNS can directly propagate hate directly, indirect silent hate is palpable. Hate propagandists can use this to plan futuristic violence with social media as a key and strategic centre of power to communicate and reach masses.

The study has further deduced that social media can be used by the authorities to relay social and political early warning signs that can help in hate prevention. If authorities and communications experts in security orders can read the gaps of probable public disorder from social media communications and discussions, they would be able to advise when there are likely challenges to peace. This could advice in mitigation of such breaches to peace by the authorities.

The study has found social networking sites as fertile grounds for propagation of hate content. This is due to inept law to curb its propagation and poor implementation of the available legislation. Further, this has been compounded by lack of alternate technology to filter hate messages.

The study has further found out that most hate mongers use pseudonyms in their profiles; this is to avoid being tracked and brought to justice. This is because hate mongers are aware of the consequences or they may not want to be identified as discords in the society. It is therefore apparent that authorities find it difficult to identify hate mongers to a large extent.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that Academicians and scholars should do further research and more studies to supplement the few that target social media in propagation of hate content to

supplement the few available. This is because there have been few studies on behaviours change insofar as the social media and hate content is concerned.

Further, the study recommends proper legislation to curb hate speech needs to be enacted to the effect. This is due to the fact that the existing law is devoid of proper grip to curb hate speech. Having too many pieces of legislations on one aspect has not been fruitful in fighting hate speech. Having a more punitive and strong structures to fight hatred is highly recommended.

Since users of social media are exposed to hate content, the study recommends the need for a legal framework to protect innocent users from exposure to hate content online. Without such protection, this exposure would be an aspect of cyber bullying which could alter behaviours of innocent persons who would otherwise have remained in their innocent hate-proof.

The study also recommends General public education to be done in Kenya. From the research, it was found out that most Kenyans, innocently send out hate messages through social media. They should be educated on consequences of hate speech in the society. This could be inform of campaigns through the mass media, community based organisations and non governments organisations. Religious groups could also be a channel for the message.

The study also recommends an urgent need to include, in the school curriculum at all levels, topics on cohesion. This will in turn, prepare students to embrace one another in spite of their ethnicity, religion, race, sexual orientation among others. This will inculcate a culture of a cohesive and a peaceful citizen.

The study further recommends acquisition of a sophisticated technology that can monitor, detect and filter hate speech needs to be developed to aid in fighting the vice on social networking sites. This will be a precautionary measure to prevent hate from being on social media and therefore the spread would be curtailed.

Appendix 1

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Appendix 2: Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire for an academic study on **New Media Technologies and Hate messages: Investigating the role of Social Media in propagation of Hate Messages in Kenya**. Your consent and participation is highly appreciated. The answers you will be held in utmost confidentiality and used only for the purposes of this study.

KINDLY TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

SECTION ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Gender

Male Female Other

2. Age bracket

3. Current year of study

Age bracket	Tick
i. Below 16 years	
ii. 16-18	
iii. 19-21	
iv. 22-24	
v. Above 24 years	

Year of study	Tick
Year 1	
Year 2	
Year 3	
Year 4	

SECTION TWO: PRESENCE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

4. (a) Are you on any social media/social networking sites?

(i).Yes (ii).No

(b) If yes, which among the following social networking sites do you normally use or have an account

SNS	Tick
1. Face book	
2. YouTube	
3. Twitter	
4. LinkedIn	
5. Whatsapp	
6. Instagram	
7. Blogs	
8. Others	

5. What are your major reasons for using social networking sites?

(List them below)

- i.
- ii.
- iii.

SECTION THREE: SOCIAL MEDIA AND HATE CONTENT

6. (A) In the last one month, have you ever come across hate content on social media?

(i) Yes (ii).No

(b) If yes, of what nature was it? (Tick all that applies)

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| i. Religious | <input type="checkbox"/> | iv. Racial | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ii. Political | <input type="checkbox"/> | v. Gender | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| iii. Ethnic | <input type="checkbox"/> | vi. Others | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(c) From the list above (in 6b), List the 3 most common forms/categories of hate messages you encounter on social media

- i.
- ii.
- iii.

7. (a) In the last one month, have you shared, tagged someone, forwarded, or reposted any hate content on social media?

(i) Yes (ii).No

(b) On average, in a typical week, how many posts do you 'like' or share

- i. 1-2
- ii. 3-4
- iii. 5- 6
- iv. Above 7

8. Approximately, what percentages of your friends on social media post hate content?

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9. (a) In the last one month, Have you come across any hate content on Whatsapp?

(i)Yes (ii).No

(b) How often do you encounter hate messages on Whatsapp? (Tick where appropriate)

Frequency	Daily	Once a week	Twice a week	Not sure
Tick				

10. Have you come across groups on Whatsapp where hate messages are being propagated?

(i)Yes (ii).No

SECTION FOUR: EXTENT OF EXPOSURE TO SOCIAL MEDIA

11. Approximately, how often do you come across hate content on the following social networking sites?

Site	Daily	Once a week	Twice a week	Fortnightly	Once a month	Not sure
9. Face book						
10. YouTube						
11. Twitter						
12. LinkedIn						
13. Whatsapp						
14. Instagram						
15. Blogs						
16. Others						

12. In the last one month, have you come across any hate content on the following social networking sites?

SNS	Yes	No	Not sure
9. Face book			
10. YouTube			
11. Twitter			
12. LinkedIn			
13. Whatsapp			
14. Instagram			

15. Blogs			
16. Others			

13. Has online hate content influenced your perception of other people on the basis of either the following aspects?

Aspect	yes	No	Not sure
8. Gender			
9. Sexual orientation			
10. Ethnic affiliation			
11. Race			
12. Political party affiliation			
13. Religion			
14. Others			

14. To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

	1 strongly disagree	2 disagree	3 neutral	4 agree	5 Strongly agree
1. There is hate speech content on social networking sites.					
2. People are exposed to hate content on social media					
3. Hate messages should be blocked / stopped on social media.					
5. hate content spread fast on social media					
6. Most of my friends post 'hate content' on social media.					
7. I can't stand hate information posted on social media.					
8. Social media is an effective platform for the propagation of hate messages					

15. In what ways do hate messages affect your relationship with other people?

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