Mediatised Horserace Political Analyses: Interrogating the 2017 General Elections Political Propaganda in Kenya

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Abstract

Horserace political analysis is the practice of scrutinising political situation, players and institutions based on their perceived popularity, polling data, public perception and opinion instead of their policy and workable agenda. It is more of a propaganda and biased analysis than an informed, objective and balanced undertaking. It is born of propaganda political analyses which are analyses lacking objectivity and balance as they favour one political side and defame the opponents in explicit terms. The political propaganda analysed in this paper are from NASA and Jubilee political parties in Kenya and could be considered as both professional and gutter media depending on the perspective of the viewer and listener. The assumption of the researchers is that these political propagandists were paid as spin doctors to produce political stunts that favoured identifiable political factions. The theoretical framework was constituted of three media theories; the political economy of media, the agenda setting theory of media and the propaganda theory. The data for this paper was obtained from political propaganda video clips from YouTube which by nature of their perspective were considered radically pro-Jubilee and Pro-NASA. The findings show that during the 2017 general elections in Kenya, through political propagandists, both NASA and Jubilee political sides produced considerable propaganda which was ethnically energized.

Key words: Ethnopolitics, horserace political analyses, propaganda political analyses, pro-jubilee, pro-nasa.

Introduction

Ethnicity is a phenomenon that has stalled transformation in Africa, like in many other parts of the world (Berman, 2010). In Africa, ruling regimes are established as ethnic dynasties in which large ethnic groups dominate power and where necessary come into coalitions with other larger or smaller ethnic groups to form ethno-political oligarchies that always strive to sustain their political hegemony (Osaghae, 2006). Ethnic groups have spokespersons that represent their communities in the political power brokerage. In these set ups, smaller ethnic groups join the big ones as appendages of extended interests and ambitions in order for them to remain relevant (Osaghae, 2006). This way, they (the minority ethnicities) are assured of protection from political extinction and aggression from their enemies, whether political, social, cultural, or economic. Leaders who in their search for popularity, relevance and domination, retreat to their ethnic communities and use ethnic discourse ideology as a consolidation ideology to do the formation of ethnic forces. Ethnic discourse ideology is a social discrimination system manifested in text, talk and other forms of communication (Elchinova, 2001). The discourse becomes an ideological tool used to appeal to ethnic emotions of group members and it is highly effective in capturing the attention of the media.

The formulation of ideology started during the French revolution with the word *ideologie* which in its original Greek meant a logic that produces ideas and images or the logic of ideas or

images (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019; Fuchs, 2014). The term is also used within the critical establishment with roots from Marxist conception of false consciousness that the bourgeoisie (the rich and the owners of means of production) use to deny the proletariat (the poor workers) realisation of the material exploitation (Babe, 2011). To Karl Marx, ideology is a tool that represents the interests of the powerful in society and functions to obscure critical analysis of the process of production, distribution, and consumption of resources in the society (Apuke, 2018). It is this Marx's conception of ideology that applies to the media theory. In the argument of Adorno and Horkheimer (2002), media disseminates ideology for the audience consumption leading to domination and discrimination (Babe, 2011; Klikauer, 2018) because the audience has limited choice and control.

Horserace political analysis is a new form of propaganda political analysis on social media that threatens to deny citizens truth and independence in political communication. This kind of analysis was rampant during the 2017 electoral period in Kenya. In this paper, the researchers examine the horserace political analyses during the 2017 elections period in Kenya with a view of situating mass media at the pitch of political propaganda. The study used descriptive research design since the data collected was qualitative. The researchers used observation schedules to obtain data from propaganda political videos clip. The data was processed and analysed using the critical interpretative approach. The videos uploaded between June 2017 and February 2018 were sampled and analysed for Ethnopolitics elements as well as horserace political analysis approaches.

Utility of EthnoPolitics

Ethnopolitics during campaigns is a form of negative content, which is presented in the form of political attacks on members of identifiable ethnic groups and this is done either directly or through propaganda. In the argument of Trussler and Soroka (2014: 173), 'the proliferation of both negative and/or strategic coverage in political news content' is a big concern for scholars (Malloy & Pearson-Merkowitz, 2016; Dowling & Wichowsky, 2015). It is argued that the news norms and priorities of news journalists tend to favour the demand side of news rather than the supply side; that the audience demands that they be supplied with such news (Fridkin, Kenney, & Wintersieck, 2015). Ordway and Wihbey (2016) demonstrate that political attacks are inevitable during elections campaign as exemplified by the 2016 US campaigns where in just one month, 53 of television adverts were found to have attacks.

In Kenya, ethnicity in politics is commonly referred to as a curse that is supposed to be a blessing. Ajuong (2017: 1) decries that ethnicity is used to create political divisions for political ends, making Kenya's ethnic diversity both a blessing and a curse. Munene (2010) also decries that whereas diversity is a great heritage to celebrate, ethnicity has been used to create divisions for political ends. This negativity in elections politics (as theorised by Soroka & McAdams, 2014 and Soroka, 2014) is normalised in Kenya and the politicians know that engagement in ethnic politics has mileage value because citizens tend to reward those who are good at it.

In the analysis of Trussler and Soroka (2014), the demand side rather than the supply side of news and information prefers negative news in what is called selection bias. They argue that politically interested participants have been proved to select negative news with greater choice for strategic frames leading the news outlets to prefer exhibiting negative news content. Stafford (2014) argues that the reason our media is drawn easily to negative news is that unconsciously, the audience is tempted to choose depressing stories. This argument agrees with that of Rasmus (2014) who posits that news media coverage of elections is marked with strategic use of game frame and the politician's use of negative campaigning. Rasmus' (2014) position is that

consumer demand and journalistic independence norms push news media to cover negative campaigning strategically.

Ethnic discourse in Kenya, has been used for political mobilisation, resource allocation, and public appointments especially in the cabinet (Biegon, Kivuva, Asingo, & Wahiu, 2018; Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008). In the analyses of Balaton-Chrimes (2016) and Biegon et al. (2018) precisely, Kenyan politics have been ethnicized since independence and this trend has been normalised by the citizen over time and taken by media for appropriation. It has been noted that in 2007, 2013 and 2017 general elections, the media and the politician have had one relationship; as media is looking for 'newsworthy' content to cover, and the politician is looking for voters to speak to. Media is in search of audience consolidation while the politician is in search of voter consolidation. However, the means for consolidation of the media's target commodity is capitalist by the fact that it involves maximisation of accumulative-power and influence. Halbrooks (2016) who argues that reporters seek the truth, while politicians seek election best illustrates this relationship. Ouma (2018) avers that in the process, the media finds an audience in reporting about negative ethnic political narratives and discourse. Soroka and McAdams (2014) and Soroka (2014) theorise that it is in this perspective that the audience demand negative news and the politician must produce it if they are to receive any media attention during campaigns. Without doubt, the media coverage model during the elections process is largely shaped by the audience, whom they desperately need for their commodification in the view of the political economy of media reportage.

There has been a lot of debate on whether ethnicity is a creation of colonialism or a new postcolonial phenomenon in Africa. In the argument of Osaghae (2006), ethnicity in Africa is historically central to the process of its construction and reconstruction. He posits that ethnicity was a deliberate and consequential construction of colonialism through adoption of principles of the state. To Osaghae (2006), ethnicity is created and sustained through colonial ideology, and thus Africans themselves are innocent as far as its existence is concerned. On the contrary, Berman (2010: 2) argues that African ethnicities are new in the sense that they are part of 'complex responses to colonial modernity'. He goes on to argue that the pre-colonial Africa was characterised by heterogeneity, hybridity, alternate identities and intermingling of communities through cultural and linguistic borrowing. Berman's (2010) argument is that against the historical experiences of Africans, they were not passive victims of external supremacy. Instead, Africans were active participants in the process of the very domination. The active interaction between the Africans and their colonisers laid ideological, institutional and cultural foundations upon which ethnicity and nationalism were constructed (Appiah, Arko-Achemfuor, Adeyeye & Toerien, 2018). It is undeniable that ethnicity in Africa is a dynamic phenomenon created socially, politically and continuously and is not a static consequence of the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial rule.

Pro-Jubilee Propaganda: Mutahi Ngunyi and the Fifth Estate
The Fifth Estate is a digital media for political analyses made and produced by a renowned political analyst called Mutahi Ngunyi who is assisted by his 'African young scholars'. Mutahi Ngunyi is well known by Kenyans for his popular theorising of 'tyranny of numbers' during the 2013 electoral period. During the 2017 electioneering period, Mutahi Ngunyi came out as a highly persuasive political propagandist openly drumming up for Uhuru Kenyatta (for Jubilee) and spoiling for Raila Odinga (for NASA). These two were presidential aspirants among others for the 2007 general elections in Kenya. In one of the videos entitled *From Hero to Zero_ Raila*

will have a Bitter Christmas of December 23, 2017, he confesses; 'the fifth estate was started to expose Raila's lies.'

Video 1: *Tyranny of lies: why Uhuru will defeat Raila*
In a video entitled: *Tyranny of lies: why Uhuru will defeat Raila* of 5 August 2017 that was airedexactly three days to elections, Mutahi Ngunyi uses ethnic profiling to predict elections outcome and giving the Jubilee government a plus in their expectations. He argues that 'unless they are incompetent', incumbent presidents in Africa do not lose elections. He analysed that Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association (GEMA) has 5.6 million and 'Kalenjin Nation' has 2.3 million votes, and this would give Uhuru a vantage 7.9 million votes for a start. He avers that the 'Luo Nation', 'Kamba Nation' and 'Luhya Nation' add up to 6.9 million, which is Raila's starting point. The analyst reminds Kenyans that 'Raila is a constant factor in violence equation', and downplays the 'Ten Million Strong' narrative earlier given by NASA but ignores a similar 'Jubilee's 70 percent plus narrative'. He warns Uhuru that NASA is using 'tyranny of lies' to bully him out of power. This conclusive attack on NASA and Raila Odinga's person exposes him as a Jubilee political hit man.

Video 2: *Should Raila concede defeat?*
In another video dated August 11, 2017 entitled: *Should Raila Concede Defeat?,* Ngunyi argued that after losing elections, Raila is facing the 'Samsonian' blues; he wants to die but die with people. The analysis celebrates the victory of Uhuru Kenyatta; advising him to 'destroy his enemy, make no covenant with him, show no mercy to him for [he] shall receive no mercy from them'. He argues that it was time for Uhuru to finish Raila 'once and for all'. He hypothesised what would happen to the 6.7 million Kenyans who fell to Raila's 'lies'. He advised them that if Raila does not concede defeat, they must show him no mercy, by abandoning him because Raila would equally show them no mercy. In this analysis, Mutahi continues his dichotomist theory and horserace political analysis by reducing Kenyan politics into two political parties and their party leaders. More so, he fiercely zeroes in his attack to Raila and NASA coalition, volunteering to advise Jubilee on how to ruthlessly handle the NASA situation.

Video 3: *Forget Supreme Court, Secession is next Stop*
On August 26, 2017, the fifth Estate released a video clip entitled: *Forget Supreme Court; Secession is Next Stop.* In the video, Ngunyi attacks David Ndii (ardent NASA supporter) and refers to him as an 'Angry and ignorant voodoo expert, a Kikuyu intellectual from Kiambu who has mortgaged his morality for Raila'. Ngunyi argues that the secession project led by David Ndii is meant to 'breed ethnic cleansing especially now that it is meant to install "Emperor Odinga", the King of Poverty'. The analysis argues that the '6.7 million NASA voters must live with the consequences of their choices'. Ngunyi warns that Raila is serving notice of possible ethnic cleansing and Uhuru should stop the 'secession nonsense' decisively. He finalises that Raila is dreaming because he is old; blaming his failure to thieves and a computer that breeds leaders. Ngunyi's analysis in this clip is predictable given his previous line of propaganda. His usual attack is narrowed down to Raila Odinga and the NASA political divide.

Video 4: *The fall and fall of Raila Odinga*
On November 18, 2017, the Fifth Estate released a clip entitled: *The Fall and Fall of Raila Odinga,* after the Supreme Court in Kenya nullified the August 8th general elections. Ngunyi blames Supreme Court arguing that the 'Maraga Court will be blamed forever'. Ngunyi predicts

that Raila is condemned to roll the presidential stone up the hill forever like Sisyphus, the founder King of Corinth. He further argues that 'the West have rejected Raila; the warlord whose only currency of political transaction is violence'. The video reiterates that 'Uhuru should handle Raila like a person brandishing a sword'. Regarding the then looming swearing in of Raila Odinga by NASA, he stated that, 'if Raila swears himself in, Kisumu will burn and in any case we are used to that'. This hate speech supposes that Kenyans from Kisumu and their property are worthy of burning. The statement exposes the deepest spine of ethnicity through ethno-political narrative that entrenches ethnic hatred in Kenya.

Video 5: *Not yet Uhuru for Raila and the Luo Nation*
On December 9, 2017, a clip entitled: *Not yet Uhuru for Raila and the Luo Nation* was released. This video clip was in reaction to the already announced swearing in of Raila Odinga in defiance of Jubilee's victory. The tensions were high and division along ethnic lines were clear. It is during this time that Ngunyi and his team uploaded their regular clips arguing that December 12th will be Independence Day for the 'Luo Nation because Raila will swear himself in'. Ngunyi argued that swearing in 'Raila will energise Kisumu people to massacre'. He issued what he called a 'message for the Luo Nation'; that 'on 12th December, you can bury Raila or continue carrying his yoke. In this video, Ngunyi argues from his usual propagandist angle, attacking Raila and NASA as well as the Luo community. It is notable that he, as usual, singles out two ethnic groups and their political leaders and energetically draws them to an abstract conflict.

Pro-Nasa Propaganda: Kenya News Alert TV
Kenya News Alert TV is a YouTube channel operated by Samuel Okemwa. Kenyans guess that Samuel Okemwa does his propaganda videos from the state of Minnesota in the United States. One online commentator said that Samuel 'has been busy stroking the embers of ethnic hatred on social media', sentiments expressed in a study by Ndonye (2014). The following video analysis demonstrates this observation.

Video 6: *Meru Revolution*
In video named, *Meru Revolution_Gema has politically exploited Meru and Embu while benefiting Kikuyus. Wake up now!,* Okemwa takes the viewer to a rally in Meru County whose background music is *Wameru tumeamka* (Meru people we have woken up). The narrator with agility starts his clip by arguing that Meru people have woken up because for a long time they were put in a bag called GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association) and they have been used by 'Kikuyu as voting toys and machines'. He says 'Kikuyus have been telling Meru people to vote them and when they get power, they forget them'. In his argument 'Meru and Embu are exploited economically and politically but when it comes to elections they are told they are GEMA which is a fraudulent organisation because they do not find themselves in the government'. Okemwa concludes that Meru people should not be supporting Kikuyu and then be forgotten; 'Embu and Meru people should leave Jubilee which is Kikuyu and join NASA'. In this propaganda video, Okemwa reduces Kenyan politics into Jubilee (Kikuyu, Embu, Meru) and NASA business. He further projects the Kikuyu community as the source of political woes in Kenya. By doing this, he was speaking to a population of Kenyans who subscribed to NASA political ideals. His extreme sentiments counter the sentiments of Mutahi Ngunyi on the other side of the political divide.

Video 7: *Moses Kuria is truly a devil that Kikuyu always glorify as long as he insults Luos*
On January 22, 2018, Okemwa released a video entitled *Moses Kuria is truly a devil that Kikuyu always glorify as long as he insults Luos: Moses Kuria calls a medical camp to cut Luos.* Moses Kuria has been in and out of prison and has found himself in public criticism for hate speech especially against the Luo community whom he stereotypes as uncircumcised and not fit to be president. In this video clip, Okemwa analyses a photograph featuring Moses Kuria wearing doctor's dustcoat and interprets it as meaning Moses Kuria is ready to circumcise Luo people. The speaker says the picture represent deep rooted tribal hatred and animosity. The speaker in the clip mourns that some people are allowed to do this and nothing happens to them. He says, while pointing at the photograph that '*hii makasi ndio anataka kutumia kutahirisha Wajaluo* (these pair of scissors are the ones Moses Kuria wants to use to circumcise Luo people). He also points to the other guy seen standing alongside Moses Kuria in the photograph as 'he has dreadlocks and represents *Mungiki* people.' *Mungiki* is an outlawed sect from the Mount Kenya region of Kenya and its majority members are from the Kikuyu community. In this video, Okemwa demonstrates what a propagandist can do. He draws a plausible meaning to a photo which features Moses Kuria and a colleague with dreadlocks at a medical camp to fit into a stereotype on circumcision. In his propaganda, Okemwa strikes one as the 'embers of ethnic hatred' in the country as one of his critic said online.

Video 8: *Revealed Kikuyu Mungiki criminals used during elections*
In another video entitled *Revealed Kikuyu Mungiki Criminals used during Elections* released on January 24, 2018, Okemwa decries that there are very many boys mugging people and stealing their property in Nairobi town. His position is that Jubilee brought *Mungiki* in the name of Nairobi business community from Nyeri, Thika, Muranga and elsewhere to protect their interest and help police to attack and kill NASA supporters.

Pro-Nasa Propaganda: Chris Kumekucha Analyses
Chris Kumekucha has managed to keep his identity a top secret while being very active as a blogger on social media. He seems to be one of the undercover bloggers for hire by politicians and other institutions. His FaceBook introduction reads that he 'manages dark secrets of the Kenyan presidency'. However, he is a fierce analyst whose consistency on social media communication makes him a daring social media critic of political events. His posts during the 2017 elections period were explicitly Pro-NASA and his approach resonated with that of Mutahi Ngunyi and Samuel Okemwa as a propagandist on a mission. In this paper, the horserace political analyses used in their propaganda for or against NASA and/or Jubilee are examined.

Video 9: *We Will Get out of Uthamaki and Vote Raila, Ameru Now Say*
The rally (in Okemwa's video 7) is captured and analysed on September 5, 2017 by *Kumekucha* Chris in a video entitled, *We Will Get out of Uthamaki and Vote Raila, Ameru Now Say*. Kumekucha's video features Peter Munya (the then governor of Meru County, and the chairperson of the Council of Governors in Kenya) holding hands with NASA principals and he interprets this to mean that Meru people are coming out of Uthamaki (a Kikuyu word for kingship). Chris enumerates that NASA principal Raila Odinga will get between 150 and 200 thousand votes in Meru because they are not satisfied with Jubilee rigging in the nomination primaries. Although Kumekucha is not seen coming out as viciously as Okemwa, he advances the same ideals of horserace political analysis, reducing the 2017 political process to be a race between ethnic groups and the two political sides that they represent.

Video 10: *Why We Must Give Kikuyus a Break Part 1*

On September 4, 2017, Chris uploaded another video clip with the title *Why We Must Give Kikuyus a Break Part 1*. In this video clip, he goes back to the oaths supposedly administered to Kikuyu people against the Luo community. He says the oaths were administered by Kenyatta in 1968 and were the cause of the Kisumu massacre when Kenyatta visited Kisumu and no one knows how many people were killed. The video serves to resurrect the animosity between the Luo and Kikuyu people as claims for decades emanating from the Kisumu shooting. The emotional appeal through historic events functions as propaganda to keep ethnic political blocks tight for control and manipulation. Whether it is a Kikuyu or a Luo listening to this propaganda, it functions to keep ethnic animosity and division wider.

Video 11: *Raila Leads in Latest Poll but this is How Uhuru Can Win*

Seven days to elections on August 1, 2017, *Kumekucha* released a video titled *Raila Leads in Latest Poll but this is How Uhuru Can Win*. In the analysis, Chris refers to *infotrac* poll that put Raila ahead of Uhuru by 1 percent. He uses the poll statistics where Uhuru was leading in Central, Rift Valley and North Eastern while Raila Odinga was leading in Luo Nyanza, Western, Coast, Nairobi and Eastern regions. He concludes that Uhuru is very thin on his support. In this video, the utility of these statistics aligns with the mainstream media value for opinion polling in their horserace journalism regimes. The political propaganda therefore, in their horserace political analysis finds a willing partner in the mainstream media narrative.

Horserace Political Analysis: Two Horses

From the above analyses, it is clear that the propagandists created a reductive binary opposition strategy, reducing politics in Kenya to be a battle as Jubilee versus NASA, Uhuru Kenyatta versus Raila Odinga, Kikuyu versus Luo, Central versus Luo Nyanza and the allies of the binary oppositions where applicable. They deliberately left out any other candidate, political parties or coalition of parties who were also in the political race. This way, the propagandists produced an ideology that governs their audience and normalises their sensational ideals centring on political heavyweights and their ethnicity on mass media.

Klikauer (2018) makes an analysis of Adorno and Horkheimer's proposition that mass media disseminate beliefs, which represent an imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. This is also demonstrated by Louis Althusser in 'ideology and ideological state apparatuses' where he argues that an ideology that an individual accepts governs them (Fuchs, 2014). It is believable that the divisive ideology and the binary oppositions that informed this propaganda is well entrenched in Kenyan society and has existed since independence and with this elitist propaganda being disseminated at critical times as the 2017 elections period on mass media, it is bound to remain for a while.

Ethnic Signatures

The propagandists at extremes resorted to referring to the presidential candidates and supporters of Jubilee or NASA by their presumed ethnic signatures, names and referents. This is seen in examples such as; the Kikuyu Nation, Uthamaki, *Nyumba ya Mumbi* (House of Mumbi), the Luo Nation and their support for Raila Odinga, the Mt. Kenya region, the Luo Nyanza, the Western Vote, and so on. By doing this, the propagandists entrenched ethnic ideology that the audience find hard to drop for alternatives as illustrated by the audience knowledge of political issues. This is in line with the argument of Babe (2011) that mass media produce mass ideology, which masses have no choice but to accept. Berger (2018) contends that mass culture ideology is not a

product of consumer demand but created by the mass media (of whatever form) in order to create demand for the products of capitalism while killing independent thoughts and pluralism as also revealed by McCombs and Donald Shaw's 1972 study that gave life to agenda setting function of mass media through manufacturing of consent in the society (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2014).

The propagandists also explicitly reduced Kenya into a battle between two tribes, the Kikuyu (referring to Uhuru Kenyatta) and Luo (referring to Raila Odinga). Capitalising on ethnicity as their ideology, these propagandists use video clips posted on YouTube and other internet sites for their own benefit such as viewership consolidation, power and influence consolidation and this forms the political economy of such productions. It is assumed that these propagandists are hired by political formations to speak to their audience on what they want to hear and spoil for the opponent. The acceptance of explicit ethnicity in these video clips is a reflection of the information culture and preference of Kenyan audience, as shaped by the mass media.

Setting the Agenda through Propaganda Analyses

The agenda setting function of mass media was lately given another reality by Max McCombs in 2014 interview where he argues that mass media may not only influence the audience on what issues to think about, but may go further to tell the public 'how to think about some issues and even what to do' (Griffin, 2014). The propagandists were aimed at telling people what to do with the 'unfit' candidate; Mutahi Ngunyi in a video entitled *Tyranny of lies: why Uhuru will defeat Raila* (August 5, 2017) advises Uhuru Kenyatta to out-bully Raila. In another video entitled '*The fall and fall of Raila Odinga'* (Nov 18, 2017), Mutahi Ngunyi directs that 'Uhuru should show Raila no mercy, should not make any covenant with Raila, he should destroy him decisively'.

Samuel Okemwa in his Kenya News Alert TV video entitled *Meru Revolution—Gema has politically exploited Meru and Embu while benefiting Kikuyus. Wake up now!* (June 19, 2017) advises that Meru people should not be supporting Kikuyu and then be forgotten; that Embu and Meru people should leave Jubilee, which is an enterprise for Kikuyu and join NASA, which is predominantly Western and Nyanza project. In another video entitled '*Revealed Kikuyu Mungiki criminals used during elections* (Jan 24, 2018), Samuel Okemwa orders Jubilee to 'take these *Mungiki* boys to Nyeri, Muranga and Thika where you brought them from they are mugging people in Nairobi'. The voice of these propagandists is taken as the voice of their political support followers and their order of action is borrowed as an ideology to reckon with during the electoral process.

The mobilisation strategy through propaganda is the fifth filter in Herman and Chomsky propaganda model based on handling an external enemy or threat (Josh, 2017). The theory has it that the mass media mobilises the society (in this case NASA or Jubilee followers) against a common enemy (which is the opponent party and their member's ethnic group). According to Herman and Chomsky (2010), the mass media does this by demonising opponents of a favourable policy by manufacturing consent on behalf of a few elites who are deemed beneficial to them. As a result, any form of sponsored journalism (whether mainstream or alternative as in our case of political propagandists) according to the propaganda model is never objective, but only serves the elitists' interests. Balaton-Chrimes (2016) and Biegon, Kivuva, Asingo, & Wahiu (2018) explain why this is possible in Kenya, arguing that Kenyan politics have been ethnicized since independence and it has been a trend normalised by the citizens over time and taken by media for appropriation. This appropriation has, as seen in 2017, been graduated to the internet audience. Given the argument that mass media producers tend to favour the demand side rather

than the supply side (Fridkin, Kenney, Wintersieck, 2015), the propagandists prey on the high demand of ethnic hatred by the supporters of the political affiliations they choose to support.

Conclusion

The study showed that during elections, there is a lot of ethnic propaganda in Kenya from propaganda political analysts. This ethnic propaganda was found to be coupled with ethnic referents at extreme ends. The findings also indicated that the propagandists, knowing that the online platform is less controlled and enjoying its anonymity, they are free to describe their target audiences' opponent by name. Consequently, the titles of the videos bear such referents as Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, Luo (sometimes *Wajaluo*), Kikuyu (sometimes *Wakikuyu*), *Uthamaki*, and *Gema*. The study findings also revealed a notable presence of Horserace political analysis among the propagandists. Propaganda political analyses provided analyses that used extreme ethnopolitics and their analyses revolved around NASA and Jubilee and their ethnic groups constituting their leadership, thus normalising ethnicity during the electoral process. Through the propaganda analyses, the media consumers were denied objectivity in their way of voting and conducting other affairs related to the electoral process. Further research should be done on the political economy of propaganda political analyses during elections in Kenya to find out the level of economic gains that these analysts get from the number of subscribers on social media.

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