Social Listening
Analysis of Online Gender Disinformation
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#ShePersisted describes gendered disinformation as “the spread of deceptive or inaccurate information and images against women political leaders, journalists and female public figures” in a way that draws on misogyny and societal stereotypes.

Based on the above as our guide for defining gender disinformation, #ShePersisted and Nendo examined the following categories of attacks:

1. Attacks on qualifications to serve in public office
2. Appearance-based attacks, e.g. mocking women’s appearance, weight, perceived attraction, or manipulating images, or sexualizing women
3. Emotion-based attacks, e.g. mocking women for emotional displays, not being able to handle emotions during menstruation, apt to anger and outbursts, hormonal
4. Attacks on “likeability”, e.g. women leaders are expected to be agreeable, relatable, likable by the public and this is often juxtaposed to their male counterpart in a sexist manner
5. Ethnic and tribal-based attacks that are gendered
6. “Double bind” / criticism around family responsibilities, e.g. women are judged for not being a good mother, or if without children, being criticized as anti-family, or one’s sexual orientation questioned
7. Sexualised attacks meant to humiliate and demean, particularly through images and memes
8. Attacks associated with female politicians advocating for SRH

Nendo created this social listening report which seeks to examine and analyse these forms of attacks and oppressive intersectional complexities that would be lauded against women, and the impact this has on their current professions and/or online persona, through a social listening consumer intelligence platform called Brandwatch.

This report looks at a select category of women in the leadership space specific to a select few in the political, media, business and public office with high volume of online mentions in the 6-month search period. (Link: List of Key Figures)
Key Findings

1. **Female politicians in Kenya face a wide range of attacks.** They are mostly attacked over their way of appearance (attire,) qualifications, and their stand on political matters, which is often questioned and considered as ignorant or uninformed.

2. **When sexual attacks are made, they are crude** and meant to undermine their qualifications by insinuating that the female politicians are using their bodies to gain attention or they are “showing off” too much as a way of enticing men. These types of attacks take away from the qualifications of female politicians and simplify their political standing.

**Illustrative examples**

- Insults are often used against female politicians, especially those seen to “hold their own”. In these situations, female politicians are viewed as headstrong or difficult.
- There are a lot of appearance-based attacks, which again sideline the qualifications of the female politician. In this case, the politician could be attacked for either being too feminine or sexual or she could be attacked for not being feminine enough.
- The qualifications of female politicians are often not considered, despite some of them being veterans in politics. Instead of their qualifications, the women are subjected to scrutiny over their emotions and how this affects their ability to make leadership decisions.
- Media publications (both mainstream and tabloids) and bloggers hold a significant role in how they shape public perceptions about men and women in leadership positions, especially online sites posing as credible sources of information.
Although gender disinformation is a major source of harassment and intimidation for women in Kenyan politics, it is easily spread on Facebook/Meta, TikTok and on messaging apps owned by Meta such as WhatsApp. Gender disinformation cannot be addressed adequately through vigilant fact checking, much of the attacks are based on character assassination and unverifiable information.

The Role of Social Media Platforms

Most Social Media Platforms have policies against these things, yet policies are not enforced consistently.

- Threats of violence
- Hate speech
- Violent and graphic content
- Nudity and sexual activity
- Cruel and insensitive content
- Manipulated media/deepfakes
- Fake accounts
- Coordinated inauthentic behavior

Civil society and political aspirants should be demanding that platforms address their pre-existing Terms of Service to curtail gendered disinformation.
Gender disinformation in Kenya takes various shapes and forms, all with the aim to discredit and undermine female politicians. Although gender disinformation is about the spread of misleading or inaccurate information on women political figures and public figures, its aim is to harass, intimidate and discourage women from seeking political careers or leadership roles.

A lot of the gender disinformation occurs in the digital space, with perpetrators and attackers hiding behind their screens as they reign terror on female politicians.

As there is usually little to no repercussion on the attackers, they continue to spread misinformation and harass the female politicians.

A key way in which gender disinformation spreads in the country is through WhatsApp forwards often with a title “Forwarded as Received”, which is often intended to make the recipient perceive it as true.

**Bait headlines (a form of fake news)** are also an easy way in which gender disinformation is spread on social media. Usually the headline comes attached with an edited picture or video which aims to discredit the female politician or the key figure.

People often spread misinformation on WhatsApp or social media platforms because of a lack of verification of the sources or authenticating them.
Approach & Methodology
For this study, we utilised a three prong secondary research approach delving into gender disinformation and the attacks faced by women in Kenyan politics and well as key public figures.

Brandwatch: Social Listening

Social Listening, through brandwatch is the major methodology that Nendo utilised to gather data around gender disinformation. We utilised this **RESET (List of Key Figures)** as our basis of investigation. This list includes female individuals in politics, the business community as well as media personalities.

The names of the key figures, as well as other key words were inputted in the brandwatch boolean query and we analysed the data to trace and track any attacks related to gender disinformation.

Desk Research

In order to build on and support the data that was collected from the Social Listening phase, we utilised secondary data.

This data was impactful in creating a “historical” story around the attacks that were being witnessed by female politicians and public figures.

We also used secondary research to provide an overview of gender disinformation in an African context, then zoomed in to Kenya.

Eye Testing

Although this can be categorised as secondary research, we utilised it to inform aspects of this study.

This methodology entailed the Nendo team scanning through various social media platforms and identifying various posts or blogs that were perceived to post on gender disinformation.
# Brandwatch - Understanding Social Listening Terms

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boolean</strong></td>
<td>‘Boolean Query’ or ‘Query’, is a type of search that combines keywords with modifiers or operators (AND / OR) to further produce more relevant results. Ex: (“wangui ngirici” OR “Millicent Omanga”) AND country:“KEN”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbatim/Mentions</strong></td>
<td>Often used in Market research to describe a response to a question. Or a ‘comment’ made in reference to a topic online. Additional terms used are: response or sentiment.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dashboard</strong></td>
<td>A collection and visualization of related social data using various visualizations. Best visualized through the following models: Data, Dashboard, Reports and Tools to help categorize the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Keywords</strong></td>
<td>Brandwatch give you insight into how often certain <em>words, phrases or entities</em> are searched and help define what your content is about. Ex: “Slay queen”, “unmarried woman”, “unqualified”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volume of Conversations</strong></td>
<td>This looks at the quantity of online conversations specific to the period of reporting requested. Mainly visualized through a graph as seen from slide 20.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Impressions</strong></td>
<td>This is a social media metric used to explain the number of times social media browsers have been showed your content. Ex: Ghafla had a total of 6,862 impressions for the period of reporting.</td>
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Gendered Disinformation

According to #ShePersisted, Gender disinformation is the combination of three vectors of threats facing women leaders on social media.

01
(1) **Sexism, misogyny and the “manosphere”**
An informal network of websites, forums and social media influencers promoting the concept of the “alpha male” and the embrace of intense ideological misogyny),

02
(2) **Online violence**
Threats, abuse, hate speech, harassment, smear campaigns, and

03
(3) **Disinformation**
Malign actors, artificial activity, coordinated influence operations, fake news
Gendered disinformation campaigns are pervasive around the world yet mostly overlooked by traditional disinformation research. Attacks against women in leadership positions are based on deeply set misogynistic frameworks and gender biases that portray masculine characteristics as those fit for leadership while painting women leaders as inherently:

- **untrustworthy**
  - Insinuating a woman is untrustworthy or dishonest is a tried and true attack against women in politics that is very difficult for women to recover from - often combined with attacks of women as too emotional or libidinous to hold office or participate in democratic politics are a constant, underlying theme of gendered disinformation.

- **unqualified**
  - One of the biggest barriers women face when seeking office is proving they are qualified - while voters assume men are qualified, women have to prove it over and over.

- **unintelligent**
  - Tropes about women as dumb and unfit for the job are a prominent feature of gender disinformation, which trigger the qualification debate, made worse with objectifying sexualized content that sends subtle or overt signals that women don’t belong in politics.

- **unlikeable**
  - Likeability is a stickier issue for women compared to men - evidence has shown that voters are willing to vote for men they believe are qualified but do not like, but are less likely to do so for women.
The “Manosphere” is informal network of websites, forums and social media influencers aligned by their common interest in masculinity and its alleged crisis. What commenced as “niche” communities of Pick Up Artists (PUAs) and Men’s Rights Activists (MRAs) has evolved into more extreme movements of Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW), and Involuntary Celibates (Incels) who embrace and spread ideological misogyny. In both the International and Kenyan contexts, the manosphere is amplified through social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and TikTok. The platforms disseminate targeted information that masculinity is under siege and feminism is hypocritical and oppressive. This has led to a significant increase of extreme anti-feminist views, along with misogyny and violent rhetoric.

1. In Kenya, the manosphere is evidenced by the number of posts focusing on anti-feminism, women’s reproductive health choices, women in positions of power and women running for political posts. This is witnessed particularly during this electioneering period when political women aspirants are constantly harassed, attacked and vilified for “pushing the female agenda”.

2. The weaponization of social media messages targeting young men is directly contributing to socio-economic issues such as neglect of financial duties in the home by men, Gender Based Violence, normalising bullying and harassment in the workplace, censorship of key female voices advocating for their rights.

3. Of more concern is the role of social media platforms in pushing the manosphere agenda. Platforms such as Facebook and YouTube’s algorithms have been promoting misogynistic, anti-feminist and other extremist content to young males by recommended content with messages that are antagonistic towards women and feminism.
Examples

1. These platforms focus on individual and collective responsibility to flag harmful content that promotes gender-based violence, and violence against women, girls, trans and gender diverse people. Social media has failed to address the algorithmic amplification of the manosphere content.

2. The lack of accountability and transparency in addressing regulation of social media platforms by the government is evident as the platforms continue to profit through ad revenues strategically placed with such content.
Background: Women’s Political Participation in Kenya
African women's participation in politics remains a slow progress and ongoing fight to increase women’s participation in decision making positions.

Several studies done report that women occupy an approximate 26.1% participation in Parliamentary participation in sub-Saharan Africa. Women choosing to enter the political space are often seen as brave, with terms such as ‘iron lady’ and ‘aggressive’ used to personify their character, an area that could be looked into as a potential driver in creating bias, with long-term negative effects for women looking to offer their time in political leadership.

An interesting but sad fact highlights that a reported 80% of women in politics in Africa have experienced psychological violence as a result of the sexism and violence they have experienced in their capacity as women in political, with a further 67% having been subjected to sexist remarks.

Reported violence against women in African Parliament spotlights a number of sexist acts mainly thorough various physical and verbal assaults that carry an adverse impact in having fewer women exercising their civic rights to engage in political debate and public participation in politics.

Through a study done on violence against women in politics, some of the solutions highlighted recommended putting in place internal parliamentary policies to combat sexism and pysochological and sexual harrassment as well as training people present in Parliament on gender-based discrimination and violence, as some of the practical ways to create meneangful change in women’s participation in politics.
Veteran politicians and political activists such as the late Prof. Wangari Maathai form a strong basis in analyzing the progress of women’s participation in politics and measuring any notable changes likely to have happened in present day.

Taking a trip down memory lane, we recognize the attacks on women such as the Late Nobel peace prize winner Prof Wangari Maathai, who in her quest to protect the environment through planting of more trees, put herself in a collision with the government of the then president, the Late Daniel Arap Moi. Realizing the solution to environmental sustainability would be to encourage more tree planting, Prof Wangari founded the Green Belt Movement (GBM), an organization that took on more than the environmental agenda, incorporating more political and economic policies to the equation.

This, however, had adverse effects as seen through her assault in the 80’s and 90’s, in which the environmental and political activist was whipped and beaten by police officers, following her (successful) campaign in stopping the seizure of public land in Karura forest, one of her many notable campaigns, as well as yet another physical attack from being beaten by police officers during a hunger strike in 1992, and enduring verbal attacks from the president who dubbed her a ‘mad woman’ and a threat to the security of Kenya.
The examples highlighted below show little progress made in addressing the political attacks and physical assault female politicians face and psychological impact of this violence.

Another example of physical attacks against women in politics looks at Kenyan Politician and long standing Member of Parliament Millie Odhiambo, claimed for her ‘fiery’, ‘feisty’ and ‘warrior blood’ persona in the political arena, was slapped in Parliament by fellow Member of Parliament Moses Kuria, following a dispute that also led to accusations of Millie allegedly being stripped by pulling up her dress, during the confrontation in Parliament.

The physical assault on Member of Parliament Hon. Rachel Shebesh who was slapped by then Nairobi Governor Dr Evans Kidero in his office back in 2013, following a verbal heated exchange where the then woman rep confronted the Governor about county employees’ strike over unpaid salaries that had affected various operations, an issue she was rightfully placed to enquire about in her position as the woman representative for Nairobi county.

Earlier in the report we noted the adverse effect that these attacks have in dissuading women from active political participation, and in this case, Hon Rachel Shebesh noted in an interview that not long after, she had to take a break from politics for at least a year following a number of issues including this particular incident, that was a big trigger in her depression. The online cyberbullying she endured after and the negative effects this caused on her family, health and political visibility, confirms the effects on violence against women in politics.

This case also brings into focus yet another devastating effect of violence against women in politics, the psychological effect of abuse endured by women post violence in their capacity as women politicians.
Key Findings:
High Volume/Reach Targets
Female politicians in Kenya face an array of attacks

Using Brandwatch, Nendo conducted a social listening research on some of the sentiments women in leadership positions experience that would uncover a list of attacks from the online social media space.

The volume of conversation is important to help categorize the list of women that are most talked about online. This is the scoping stage on social listening, an important stage that helps us to dig further into the specific mentions they receive online.
Millicent Omanga and Sabina Chege are targeted with a high volume of attacks and appearance-based attacks

- Nominated senator Millicent Omanga became the subject of a number of critics shaming her for her dance moves during a recent UDA congress gathering. Published in a number of news outlets such as @CitizenTV, Women Rep Sabina Chege shared similar criticisms calling the Senators actions ‘uncouth’ implying a lack of professionalism.

- This view was further expounded by comments calling out the UDA party for supposedly picking the wrong candidate to represent them, as opposed to a candidate with ‘ethics and morals’, which are replies that could have a negative impact on the candidate’s position in the political field.

- Political figure Martha Karua is a well known politician that has been the subject of a number of attacks, such as this specific tweet that called her ‘indecisive’ for her choice of which political party to join in the upcoming elections. Another area of misinformation for the political figure looks at the narrative that she was directly responsible for the post election violence, a narrative that is not informed by any evidence of the same.

- Following an interview where a question on what the bottom-up economy model is about, responses to Alice Wahome’s take on this showed a number of insults targeting her age as an area of incompetence.

- Betty Kyalo, a journalist and entrepreneur is one of the main subject of attack in the online gender-based misinformation analysis.

- Following a recent expose’ on the growing trend of the money-laundering business, many started to question, with no actual evidence in place to support their hypothesis, that her entrepreneurial journey was likely funded through the criminal activity, which is one of the ways to likely discredit her, on the basis of her personal relationships that have come under frequent online scrutiny.
Sabina Chege, a Kenyan politician currently serving as Murang’a women representative and Martha Karua, veteran politician and Member of Parliament are some of the most talked about personalities in the last 6 months as analyzed through the graphical volume of conversation.

Sabina Chege, a Kenyan politician currently serving as Murang’a women representative, has come under fire for her remarks on claims of election rigging. This opened her up to more scrutiny and attacks, with some of the comments alluding to a more sexualized nature of attack.
The nomination of Martha Karua for Deputy President with Presidential runner, Raila Odinga, has made her a focus of political chatter online.
In comparing some of the key figures in politics, Martha Karua, had the highest volume of online conversation with a 62% score that accounts for 9,849 online mentions while Charity Ngilu has a 14% score that accounts for 2,784 online mentions in total.
Sabina Chege accounts for 39% of the conversation that holds 6,128 mentions in total followed closely by Esther Passaris who accounts for 20% of the conversation, which is a total of 3,161 mentions.
A high volume area of attack came from Dr Miguna Miguna, an Advocate of the High Court, who questioned Sabina Chege's relationship status in a Tweet, and insinuating she was being ‘hawked’, as a likely means to discredit her position in the Azimio seat.
Key Findings:
Gendered Nature of Attacks
“Brave is the woman who ventures into Kenya politics. It is a dirty game where they are exposed to sexual harrasment, assault and verbal and online abuse”

Washington Onyando, Standard Newspaper
On the basis of qualification, Martha Karua and Millicent Omanga had the highest volume of mentions in this category of attack. Martha Karua has been questioned on the basis of her qualifications to be Raila Odinga’s running mate in the presidential elections.

Millicent Omanga was questioned on her educational qualification following a tweet she put out that had some spelling errors which unfortunately led to a comment questioning her educational background, which contributed to the bias on women politicians being questioned on their standard of qualification.
On the basis of tribe, Rachel Shebesh scores the highest volume of conversation following a post by top blogger @ItsMutai commenting on Raila Odinga’s relationship to Rachel Shebesh, while emphasizing on their individual tribes, i.e luo and kikuyu respectively.

There was also an additional post pointing out claims on Esther passaris being sidelined to make room for a ‘real kikuyu’ to take the position of Nairobi women rep, with preference on Rachel Shebesh.

Esther Passaris is even being sidelined by AZIMIO LA UJINGA brigade. She is being forced to step aside for a "real Kikuyu" candidate Rachel Shebesh for Nairobi women rep seat!! Can you imagine  Such a stupidity in 21st century!!!!

2:25 PM - Jan 27, 2022
Sexually Violent Attacks

These type of attacks includes comments to one’s gender, sexual acts and sexual anatomy.
The Daily Post is an online newspaper that borders on being a tabloid. Although it reports on politics and business, it often has clickbait headlines around gossip and entertainment that are meant to push readership for the paper: [https://kenyan-post.com/](https://kenyan-post.com/)

Their description of women, whether in the politics or members of the public, often has suggestive sexual undertones.
Esther Passaris offered a Ksh 10,000 reward to anyone who would trace photoshopped pictures of her in bed with the former governor Mike Sonko. With the help of social media users she was able to trace the pictures within hours.

When attacked about her dressing, Esther Passaris accused her critics of misjudged priorities and stated.

“Don’t judge me for what I wear. What I wear is not your business, how I do my job is your business,”

Targeted sexualized attacks

Despite the verbal attacks that Esther Passaris is targeted with, she has pushed back. After being verbally attacked by former Nairobi governor Mike Sonko at a Madaraka Day event in 2019, Nairobi Women's Rep, Esther Passaris fight back the attacks against her.

“I am going to bring down Sonko because it is ridiculous that we have such a governor. People have cautioned me not to bring him down because he will drag my name in the dirt, but I remain committed in my quest to bring him down”

Esther Passaris
Woman representative Sabina Chege and Member of Parliament Aisha Jumwa have been targeted with sexualized attacks through mentions that overanalyze and comment on their body shapes in a sexual manner as an attempt to discredit their professional capabilities.
Insults

Comments include offensive or violent words.
Content specific to Martha Karua positions her as rigid, difficult to work with, and egotistical.
Headlines often promote bias and misinformation - women as difficult and unlikable are a common area of attack

Anne Waiguru is like a Side chick who will keep attacking the wife(Ngirici) but when the wife leaves the man for her, she realizes huh, hii ndoa ni ngumu!! Anne Waiguru doesn't market UDA, doesn't follow Ruto, she just puts on designer yellow tops 😄 Ngirici was a deal. Baba the 5th

8:17 PM - Jan 7, 2022

560 Retweets 14 Likes

Debey Pavlov
@AmThePaul

That Wangai Ngirici leaving UDA dimmed the light of Anne Waiguru is very difficult to understand until you realize that being a Minji is not everything 😁😁😁

3:22 PM - Jan 6, 2022

2 Retweets 14 Likes

Peter Omari Taabu Ratemo
@PeterRatemo4

Charity Ngilu looks very Desperate, confused woman
Very useless

#AzimioLaMawe

1:59 PM - Nov 12, 2021

146 Retweets 14 Likes

Gaturu Salim Mzalendo
@GaturuSalim

This is laughable 😂😂😂
Who’s this in UDA need Sabina chege surely, she’s a wasted material she can’t fit in hustler movement

10:05 AM - Apr 14, 2022

13 Retweets 14 Likes

SABINA CHEGE’s latest post might give UHURU and RAILA ODINGA a heart attack – This woman is flip-flopping like MUDAVAD!

shawskenyx.blogspot.com
SABINA CHEGE's latest post might give UHURU and RAILA ODINGA a heart attack – This woman is flip-flopping like MUDAVAD!

1:03 AM - Jan 14, 2022

1 Retweet 1 Like

Atieno Nyar Asego
@nyar_asego

Babu Owino has never apologized for calling Mama Ngina “Mbowa”. The "socialite bimbo" Esther Passaris never demonstrated when Babu insulted President and his mother.

Awuoro!!

6:00 AM - Mar 25, 2022

528 Retweets 14 Likes
Charity Ngilu, a Kenyan politician and governor of Kitui County has been called a ‘political prostitute’ and insults in reference to her age. Karen Nyamu was called a ‘community bimbo’ for her explanation on the UDA’s political ideology.
Hate Speech

This attack includes discriminatory comments targeting a specific group of people such as the tribe, religion or sexual orientation of a person.
Machakos Governor, Alfred Mutua, made statements regarding Martha Karua's religious beliefs and insinuated that as an "atheist", she could not lead Kenya: “Je mtakubali mtu mwenye haamini kuna Mungu aingie katika uongozi wa inchi yetu? (Will you allow a non-believer to lead our country?)”.

This comment sparked a debate on Martha Karua's religious beliefs, with the Atheists of Kenya denying that she was one of them.
The Kikuyu people are an unapologetically patriarchal society. "Women can be voted in as everything else, but not as a muthamaki. That’s just who we are, maybe things might change in the coming years, but not now."

The current debate and perception online is that major political parties are looking for the Kikuyu vote and to do so, they are looking to get more Kikuyus in various political seats.

Esther Passaris is of mixed race (her mother is Dutch-Kikuyu and her father is Greek), and is therefore not perceived to be a "real Kikuyu". There are mentions that her political party wants to oust her as the Nairobi Women's Representative, for someone who is "fully" Kikuyu.
Appearance-Based Attacks

These form of attacks include body-shaming attacks that have expressed humiliation about an individual's body shape or size among other kinds of attacks within the category of this.
Opinions, that quickly turn into criticism based on the woman’s physical appearance as quite common in the online space.

Body shape/Feature is another area under physical appearance attacks that many women fall prey to in the online social space. During a UDA political gathering, women rep and party member Aisha Jumwa was the subject of a social media discourse on her body feature, as she celebrated in the mix of her fellow male party members, who did not receive similar focus nor scrutiny.

Some of the effects of such scrutiny on women’s physical appearance can be expounded by the comments shared on Elected senator Milicent Omanga’s dancing style during yet another UDA political gathering. The comment implied that the UDA party has made a mistake choosing the senator to be part of their team, and instead would have benefited from a different female candidate, on the basis of lack of ethics and morals, following her dance that was termed ‘uncouth’, with additional sentiments on the senator allegedly ‘sexualizing’ the campaign.

“What’s wrong with women especially the ones at UDA of late they have been sexualizing their campaign (politics) from The Famous Milicent Omanga Twerk in Eldoret to Karen Nyamu saying ‘warembo wanataka chuma imesimama’

Source: Twitter

Photoshopped poster depicting Aisha Jumwa as a man.

The candidate’s actual poster.
Aisha Jumwa, Member of Parliament, Malindi county, has been the subject of sexist remarks and body shaming, comparing her body to various car models. News stories that speculate about a woman’s family life are also an area of attack.
Focussing on appearance:

Kanze Dena is a political figure that has served in the political space in her capacity as the President's spokesperson.

Kanze Dena has also undergone a number of physical attacks on her body shape as a comment implied that her 'increased weight' was the probable cause for her perceived incompetence in the recent update made on the increased fuel prices in the country, that was tied back to the Russia-Ukrainian war.

KeeruH
@Keerulanah

Kanze Dena and Uhuru Kenyatta added Weight Simultaneously. That’s why she’s linking Kenyans Plight to Russia Ukraine War ..It’s Unfortunate!

2:32 PM · Mar 16, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone
144 Retweets 2 Quote Tweets 1,058 Likes
Karen Nyamu, an aspiring politician, has been subject to extreme scrutiny on her family/private life and how she juggles politics and pregnancy. This promotes a sexist trope that puts too much emphasis on female/family roles. The same scrutiny doesn’t appear to be aimed at men.
Following the online uproar and thereafter suspension of radio presenters, Shaffie Weru and Dj Joe Mfalme, over allegations of victim shaming during a radio show where the presenters seemingly mocked and laughed off the violent act of a sexual abuse victim, advertising partners, EABL, Group MD/CEO Jane Karuku and the Communications Authority Director Mercy Wanjau, were quoted to have taken an ‘emotional’ stand on the issue, a claim that discriminates them on their leadership position based on their gender.

Perceived gendered forms of leadership assume female leadership to be emotional led - this bias creates an avenue for disinformation that undermines women in leadership.
Dr Mercy Mwangangi, the Chief Administrative Secretary for the Ministry of health, was called out for her hairstyle during a press briefing, while the content of her press briefing was overlooked. Newspapers and blogs also focused on her hairstyle as a topic of discussion.

The in depth scrutiny of the “appearance” of women in the public space often leads to an oversight of their contribution to their fields. News anchors have also experienced their fare share of appearance-based attacks with scrutiny into what they wear.
Higher Standards to Prove Qualifications
The gender stereotype that women are more emotional than men is pervasive and widespread in many societies. In the Kenyan context, two business heads were accused of being “emotional” when they spoke out against an injustice against a sexual violence victim and a female politician was accused of being “hormonal” for expressing her political views. This “emotional” attachment, that is primarily placed on female leaders, is often done as a way to disqualify their qualifications.

Most studies explain a gendered difference in leadership styles that sees men approach a more ‘command and control’ leadership whilst a woman’s leadership style leans towards a more relational approach. Unfortunately, these perceived differences carry the risk of potential bias in how women choose to lead in their respective roles.

Common understanding of these expectations define ‘communal’ Vs ‘Agentic’ qualities, where communal qualities are more descriptive of a woman’s leadership style and would include affection, gentleness e.t.c while an agentic quality, most synonymous with men, would include traits such as assertion and control.

“The gender stereotype that women are more emotional than men is pervasive and widespread in many societies. In the Kenyan context, two business heads were accused of being “emotional” when they spoke out against an injustice against a sexual violence victim and a female politician was accused of being “hormonal” for expressing her political views. This “emotional” attachment, that is primarily placed on female leaders, is often done as a way to disqualify their qualifications.

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Common understanding of these expectations define ‘communal’ Vs ‘Agentic’ qualities, where communal qualities are more descriptive of a woman’s leadership style and would include affection, gentleness e.t.c while an agentic quality, most synonymous with men, would include traits such as assertion and control.
Despite being a social justice advocate and politics and governance expert with a career spanning over 30 years, Martha Karua was still viewed online to be “unqualified” for the Chief Justice position. Many female politicians find themselves accused of being slay queens as they are deemed to lack qualifications.

“A slay queen is a woman who wants to choke everyone else with how beautiful they feel they are and how they do their “cool stuff”, not forgetting their blond opinions!” Standard Media

“A slay queen is a young gold digger who is active on social media and pretends to afford a lavish partying lifestyle” YourDictionary

Female politicians in Kenya find themselves accused of being slay queens without mention of their qualifications. Their bodies, style of dressing and political stand make them subject to slay queen accusations.
Gender Disinformation Publishers - Blogs and Websites
Media publications hold a significant role in how they shape public perceptions about men and women in leadership positions. Blogs such as Tuko accounts for 16 million page views per month, Ghafla accounts for 6 million page views per month, Standard Digital accounts for 30 million page views and Kenyans accounts for 10 million page views per month.

Some of these sites are quoted to be among the top most visited sites in Kenya, and through our analysis, have in the past and present contributed to the spread of bias and gender disinformation for women in politics, either through misleading headlines or by just engaging in gossip news.

With an estimated 1,500 active bloggers in Kenya bringing in revenue of up to ksh 500,000, this number is expected to increase even further in the coming years.
Top publishers include sites such as The Star, that accounts for 63% of the volume of conversations. Martha Karua has, on a number of times called out The Star for unprofessional reporting in a series of posts that have since been taken down.
Gabriel Oguda and Mutahi Ngunyi are some of the top conversationalists influencing the online mentions on some of the top female politicians. Gabriel and Mutahi are some of the more vocal personalities engaging their online audience in discourse around some of the key political figures mentioned.
Tabloid news outlets, such as Tuko and Ghafla are more likely to create this type of content that misinforms by swaying the public’s attention to areas not specific to the person’s qualification or job achievements.

Karen Nyamu has revealed her intent to vie for the Nairobi Senatorial seat and I have to say that this has completely intrigued me because of who she is. That seat will be one of the best electoral positions to keep an eye on as it will definitely attract fireworks.

“I’ll fight your battles” Karen Nyamu pours out her heart while celebrating son’s 1st birthday

Why? Because she has been one of the most controversial Kenyan celebs for the past year. 2020/21 and she went all out in the manner in which she engaged her audience, choosing to let the entire world know that she was dating such a person. Such personality and then fighting his wife publicly and sharing even more details about their relationship moving forward - that person is Samidoh by the way. I need that to be clear.
Tuko, a popular Kenyan tabloid, is most likely to spread gender disinformation to maximize on clicks and engagement.

Kenyan traffic is an online site that seeks to ease the commuting experience by updating Kenyans on traffic dense areas or any incidents or accidents on the roads. However, it still engages in “udaku” (gossip) even as it disseminates its information on traffic.
The Manosphere has emerged as an informal network of websites, forums and social media influencers aligned by their common interest in masculinity and its alleged crisis. What commenced as “niche” communities of Pick Up Artists (PUAs) and Men's Rights Activists (MRAs) has evolved into more extreme movements of Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW), and Involuntary Celibates (Incels) who embrace and spread ideological misogyny. In both the International and Kenyan contexts, the manosphere is amplified through social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and TikTok. The platforms disseminate targeted information that masculinity is under siege and feminism is hypocritical and oppressive. This has led to a significant increase of extreme anti-feminist views, along with misogyny and violent rhetoric.

In Kenya, is evidenced by the number of posts focusing on anti-feminism, women’s reproductive health choices, women in positions of power and women running for political posts. This is witnessed particularly during this electioneering period when political women aspirants are constantly harassed, attacked and vilified for “pushing the female agenda”.

The Manosphere propagates content that promotes gender stereotypes, sexism and anti-feminism. This contributes to the infringement of Freedom of speech by women in different spheres—Civic Society, Education, Health, Politics and in society generally. The weaponization of social media messages targeting young men is directly contributing to socio-economic issues such as neglect of financial duties in the home by men, Gender Based Violence, normalising bullying and harassment in the workplace, censorship of key female voices to advocate for their rights.

What is of more concern is the role Social media platforms in pushing the manosphere agenda. Platforms such as FaceBook and YouTube’s algorithms have been promoting misogynistic, anti-feminist and other extremist content to young males by recommended content with messages that are antagonistic towards women and feminism.

These platforms focus on individual and collective responsibility to flag harmful content that promotes gender-based violence, and violence against women, girls, trans and gender diverse people. Social media has failed to address the algorithmic amplification of the manosphere content.

The lack of accountability and transparency in addressing regulation of social media platforms by the government is evident as the platforms continue to profit through ad revenues strategically placed with such content.
Reaction to the first woman DP candidate nominated in Kenya
Martha Karua as the first female deputy president to be nominated under the new constitution sparked notable excitement online.
As well as backlash, some questioned whether her nomination was only based on her gender, which will be used to garner ‘female votes’
Conclusions and Recommendations
Attacks and violence against female politicians in Kenya are pervasive, and more needs to be done, especially by the tech platforms to address them, to expand not only the civic space that allows for more democratic participation but also to create a safe online environment that allows women specifically and everyone generally to interact, connect, share and learn across diverse cultures, religions, political persuasions, race, creed or color.
Overall Recommendations to Key Stakeholders
- How to Ensure Greater Tech Accountability

**Big Tech Platform Accountability**
Most of the time, online gendered disinformation flourishes on the major platforms like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Google and TikTok, going against their own established terms of service. These platforms must be more accountable to the public and minimize the harm, hate and disinformation that they allow to thrive on their platforms by investing in more robust and culturally relevant content moderation practices, especially when it comes to languages. The platforms also have to be aware that this content is violative of their very own established terms of services and should work together with Government regulatory agencies to constantly review them to ensure they meet the required online platform safety standards. Focusing on reporting processes for for flagging content rather than dealing with violative behavior is not enough.

**Kenya Regulatory Agencies**
Kenyan regulators of hate speech and platform accountability like The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), a government agency mandated to ensure all forms of discrimination are eliminated in the political and public space and Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK), charged with overseeing the tech and communications space in Kenya, have to effectively discharge those mandates within the regulatory frameworks provided. NCIC should be vocal and take action against individuals who discriminate against and attack female politicians online and offline. This might require upskilling of the Commission to detect and respond to online gendered hate and disinformation by having the platforms scrub this content off their platforms and enforcing laws and regulations around hate speech including levying fines and jail sentences. CAK should focus on platform accountability by effectively ensuring the platforms business models are in line with their terms of service and other established platform content moderation practices.
Civil Society Organizations / NGOs

Kenyan Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have been vocal in clamouring for expansion of the civic space, including the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1990. It is therefore expected that the CSOs should lead efforts aimed at leveling the playing field politically, including championing for the two thirds gender rule. By limiting participation of women political candidates through online bullying, hate speech and gendered disinformation, anti gender and anti-progressive forces are clawing back at gains made since then and CSO's have a moral responsibility to ensure political, advocacy and policy resources are mobilised and brought to bear on these forces. CSOs have the power to mobilise Kenyans and other stakeholders to demand a safe internet where platforms adhere to their own terms of service.

Code of Conduct

CSOs, working together with regulators like NCIC and CAK, should demand a Code of Practice for Kenya/Africa that mirrors the Code of Practice on Disinformation operational in the EU. This code requires big tech companies to make public commitments to take down illegal content and mitigate risks of disinformation and most importantly, make available data to independent researchers to verify that they are doing what they say they are doing. This Code should also apply to media publications, blogs.
Tools & Toolkits

In March 2022, Google partnered with Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) to ensure that female politicians are equipped with online safety tools and skills that will help them mitigate the impact of online trolls and cyberbullying. The female politicians will use a free Google tool, Harassment Manager, that allows them to review tweets based on hashtag, username, keyword or date enabling users to detect toxic and harmful comments and mute or block perpetrators of harassment and hide harassing replies to their own tweets. Even though these tools and toolkits like #ShePersisted’s Digital Resilience Toolkit are available for women in political leadership to utilize to make themselves safe online, the greatest responsibility lies with the platforms, to ensure they are guided by their own terms of service and content moderation practices to ensure a safe online environment for all. Creating various media toolkits that provide gender training specific to media coverage of women politicians, is an essential step that will change the narrative on impartial reporting and instead promote a more effective and fair reporting style.

Policy & Legislation

There is a need to incorporate change through policy acts that address these challenges as a long-term solutions, including putting in place internal parliamentary policies to combat sexism and pyschological and sexual harrassment as well as training people present in Parliament on gender-based discrimination and violence, as some of the practical ways to create meneangful change in women's participation in politics. CSOs and stakeholders, including Government regulatory bodies like CAK and NCIC should work closely with KEWOPA and Parliament committees to domesticate the Digital Services Act (DSA) which establishes an “unprecedented new standard” for online platforms that will see companies such as Google, Meta (Facebook), and Twitter held accountable for illegal and harmful content.
Annexes
## List of Key Figures used in the analysis of Gender disinformation and bias

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Sector</th>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Instagram</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martha Karua</td>
<td>NARC Kenya party leader, former MP and Former Minister of Justice</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>1,233,644</td>
<td>529K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Waiguru</td>
<td>Governor for Kirinyaga County</td>
<td>36,789</td>
<td>685,067</td>
<td>314,408</td>
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<td>Charity Ngilu</td>
<td>Governor for Kitui county, former Minister for Health, former Minister for Water and Irrigation</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>377,370</td>
<td>290,697</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aisha Jumwa</td>
<td>Member of Parliament, Malindi</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>197,276</td>
<td>198K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esther Passaris</td>
<td>Nairobi County Women Representative</td>
<td>78,646</td>
<td>658,777</td>
<td>343K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karen Nyamu</td>
<td>Nairobi Senator Aspirant, Director at the Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company</td>
<td>147,688</td>
<td>29,521</td>
<td>249K</td>
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<td>Alice Wahome</td>
<td>Former Member of Parliament, Kandara Constituency</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>188,795</td>
<td>2K</td>
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<td>Gladys Shollei</td>
<td>Woman Representative Uasin Gishu County</td>
<td>4590</td>
<td>99,832</td>
<td>76K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sabina Chege</td>
<td>Woman Representative, Muranga County</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>224,652</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>Millie Odhiambo</td>
<td>Former Member of Parliament, and party member of ODM</td>
<td>2,245</td>
<td>3,782</td>
<td>4.9K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rachel Shebesh</td>
<td>Former Woman Representative, Nairobi County</td>
<td>9,777</td>
<td>43,698</td>
<td>8.4K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Millicent Omanga</td>
<td>Senator; Member of Parliament</td>
<td>129,923</td>
<td>593,093</td>
<td>858K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. Purity Ngirici</td>
<td>Second Woman Representative of Kirinyaga County</td>
<td>15,221</td>
<td>245,397</td>
<td>337K</td>
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<td>Kanze Dena</td>
<td>spokesperson in the executive office of the president</td>
<td>286,230</td>
<td>236,211</td>
<td>140,225</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Mercy Mwangangi</td>
<td>Chief Administrative Secretary, Ministry of Health in the President’s Cabinet</td>
<td>2,934</td>
<td>60,446</td>
<td>33,565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social Listening Analysis of Online Gender Disinformation