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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND MEDIA STUDIES



NASA ONLINE TV COVERAGE OF THE 2017 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN KENYA: A PUBLIC SPHERE ANALYSIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a degree in Master of Arts in Journalism and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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DEDICATION

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Abstract

This study focuses on the 2017 elections in Kenya, an election that was from very early in the presidential race referred to as the social media election (Nyabola, 2018).

This was not just because of the way the candidates had used the platform, but also the way voters were sufficiently engaged on various platforms, and about various issues (2018: 190).

This study examined how the National Super Alliance (NASA), led by one of the presidential candidates, former Kenyan prime minister, Raila Odinga, used social media in the 2017 presidential elections in Kenya. Specifically, the study examined the content and themes carried by the NASA Online TV, a platform used by the NASA Coalition to broadcast its rallies and host panel discussions on a wide variety of issues. The NASA Online TV packaged itself as "a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people."

While the study gives an outline of the live rallies streamed, its main focus is the opinion panels where the issues being addressed in the study of content, themes, and style and format will come out more vividly, and in a way that can be studied. The study sampled the content produced by NASA online TV using a sequential sampling of every 10th panel discussion video uploaded, with the aim of studying the kind of publics the online TV created, the content and themes it favoured, as well as examine ways in which the NASA Online TV used this platform to steer the debate, and how this engagement played out. The study found that the channel created a situation where discussions by its viewers was not geared towards a rational critical debate, but one that had name calling and passions with no attempt to substantiate arguments with facts. The study also showed a great deal of protectionism where while the formation of NASA Online TV itself was a result of being 'othered' by the mainstream media, it led to a situation where any divergent opinion was locked out. This led to a situation that scholars have called echo-chambers where the discussions and the usage itself makes it incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for any dissenting views to be discussed in such spaces (Pariser, 2011).

Keywords

Public sphere, Kenyan politics, Kenyan elections 2017, Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, political communications

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study is situated in the 2017 elections in Kenya, an election that was from very early in the presidential race referred to as the social media election (Nyabola, 2018). This was not just because of the way the candidates had used the platform, but also the way voters were sufficiently engaged on various platforms, and about various issues (2018: 190). This study seeks to examine how the convergence and appropriation of digital platforms played out for the opposition, the National Super Alliance (NASA) led by one of the presidential candidates, former Kenyan prime minister, Raila Odinga. Specifically, this study seeks to examine how the opposition party used NASA Online TV to relay its campaign agenda by examining the different contents and themes covered by the platform during the election period.

The NASA Online TV packaged itself as "a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people." (NASA Online TV, 2017). The platform was used for two main purposes: to broadcast live NASA rallies during the campaigns, as well as to host panels where different issues were discussed with an interviewer and various guests.

While the study will give an outline of the live rallies streamed, its main focus is the opinion panels where the issues being addressed in the study of content, themes, and style and format will come out more vividly, and in a way that can be studied.

The study will sample the content produced by NASA online TV using a sequential sampling of every 10th panel discussion video uploaded, with the aim of studying the kind of publics the online TV created, the content and themes it favoured, as well as examine ways in which the NASA Online TV used this platform to steer the debate, and how this engagement played out.

1.1: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT: THE MEDIA AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN KENYA

This research seeks to understand the use of social media for electoral campaigns by the National Super Alliance (NASA) in Kenya in the 2017 presidential elections. It is interested in the NASA Online TV coverage of the 2017 elections in relations to its content, themes, as well as examining the kind of audience created by the platform, and how this engagement played out.

But while this study is based on the 2017 election, it is important to put into context the political journeys of the eventual second-term winner President Uhuru Kenyatta and his main challenger Raila Odinga from the lives of their fathers, the founding fathers of the nation.

The 2017 election was the culmination of a political battle between two families that played a crucial role in the independence struggle in Kenya—that of Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first president, and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, the first vice president, before the two fell out in 1966 (Cheeseman et. al, 2019). In the current politcal debate in Kenya, the tag of dynasties has been used to mean the Kenyatta, Odinga and the Moi families (the second president of Kenya, Daniel arap Moi) touted against the hustlers, used to mean politicians from 'unknown families' (Oudia, 2018).

The Kenyatta era

Atieno-Odhiambo (1998) argues that the falling out between Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga in the 1960s was ideological, as they had different understandings as well as dreams based on their convictions, and "both of them understood the link between individual and community, emphasized the potency of hard work and unity, and the force of power behind the developmental roots ethnicity" (1998:28). But as Opondo (2014) writes, while the two no doubt laid the foundation of Kenya's politics today, Kenyatta became the prime example of authoritarian politics, the entrenchment of the monolithic Kenya African National Union

(KANU) dictatorship, while Odinga "was the doyen of opposition politics, a radical believer in peasant mobilization for political ends" (2014:31).

Born around 1890 in Gatundu in the present-day Kiambu County, Jomo Kenyatta began his political career following his ascension to the secretary general post of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) where he also edited the first vernacular publication produced by Africans in colonial Kenya, *Muigwithania* (Berman, 1992: 230). KCA was formed to advocate for better schools, improved health facilities, as well as land rights for the Kikuyu, with Kenyatta using his position in the organization to organize the Kikuyu against domination by the colonialists (Berman, 1992).

He travelled to London in 1949 to extend his Pan-African agenda, pushing for the independence of the continent, and while working closely with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), and Uganda's Milton Obote, Kenyatta assumed the powerful position of "quintessential African" (Ogot and Ochieng, 1995). He came back home, and was in 1952 arrested for leading the freedom fighting wing, Mau Mau, tried and sentenced to seven years in prison in a 1953 trial in Kapenguria, together with Achieng' Oneko, Fred Kubai, Kung'u Karumba, Bildad Kaggia, and Paul Ngei —famously known as the Kapenguria Six (Muoria, 1994). On April 14, 1959, Kenyatta finished his sentence but was still kept in Lodwar, then moved to Maralal in Samburu, before he was finally released in August 1961(Muoria, 1994)

In October 1961, Kenyatta became the president of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), after the then party president James Gichuru stepped down for him, and one month later headed the party to prepare for the Lancaster House Conference in London, which eventually paved the way for independence (Ogot and Ochieng, 1995). Kenyatta was named Kenya's prime minister in June 1, 1963, and on December 12, 1964, Kenya became a republic with Kenyatta as the president (Ogot and Ochieng, 1995).

In terms of the media space during the Jomo Kenyatta 15-year presidency which ended in 1978, the media had become a part of the state, fearing to criticise the ruling class (Ogola, 2011). In fact, during that time, private media had to rely on official government channels to report on the

president and the deputy president, a scenario that by default made them "an informal publicity arm of the state" (2011:82).

Ndegwa (1997) documents that after independence, many regional and local-language newspapers were closed, even though a few still remained in business. During that time, especially in 1966 after President Jomo Kenyatta fell out with his deputy Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, the government ordered a crackdown that saw the ruthless takedown of emerging newspapers written in English, with Kenyatta seeing this alternative media as a threat to his project of building the nation (ibid. 1997: 606). In 1968, the Kenyatta government enacted the Official Secrets' Act as a reaction to what it called leaks within the government at a time when its intolerance towards the media was so much so that it banned its own propaganda paper, Pan African Magazine, because of fear of a growing intra-party criticism (Mbeke, 2008).

Going back to the political state in order to better contextualize the stories of Kenyatta and Odinga, the origins of the conflict and the divergence of views, and subsequently the tensions between Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga in 2017 when this study is situated, it is prudent to first understand who Jaramogi Oginga was in relation to Jomo Kenyatta and how that relationship changed after 1964.

Born in 1917, Jaramogi Ajuma Oginga Odinga began his political career as a fierce critic of the Central Nyanza Local Native Council (LNC) where he was a member in the late 1940s for what he said was a failure by the organisation for serving British colonial interests, instead of being the voice of the oppressed masses (Berman, 1995, cited in Opondo, 2014). Using his membership, he opposed forced land alienation, coming out as the "voice of the African peasants" (Opondo, 2014: 29).

In the 1950s, he joined the nationalist movement calling for the independence of Kenya, his voice being even more critical following the arrest of the Kenyatta and his Kapenguria Six group after the 1952 declaration of the state of emergency (Atieno-Odhiambo (1998).

Mazrui (2013) tells of a story in 1960 where Jaramogi turned down an offer from the British colonialists to become Kenya's prime minister until Kenyatta was released, telling them:

> If I accept your offer, I will be seen as a traitor to my people. The British cannot elect me leader to my people … Kenyatta is around, just here at Lodwar. Release him and allow him to lead us; he is already our choice (Mazrui, 2013: para 6).

Immediately after Kenya gained independence in 1963, and built on their different ideology on what government policies the new African administration should implement, Kenyatta began pushing away Odinga in favour of Tom Mboya from Odinga's ethnic community while vilifying Odinga as a communist not fit for leadership (Ogot, 1995). In 1964, a new succession plan—effectively to block Odinga's automatic succession of his boss in the event of death—was unveiled, detailing that should the president die in office, then parliament would elect a successor instead of being automatically succeeded by the vice president (Ogot, 1995: 188).

Opondo (2014) opines that the differences between the two pioneer leaders, Kenyatta and Odinga, stemmed from their perspectives on how challenges such as the gap between the rich and the poor needed to be bridged. Odinga believed strongly in the peasantry and their plight—a mantle he had taken from his early days of politics in Nyanza—advocating for the compensation of the Mau Mau freedom fighters, as well as the return of land forcefully taken by the British colonialists (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998).

Between 1963 and 1975 under a dictatorial Kenyatta who had wooed the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) to his side by promising partnership, only to wield authority with an iron fist, Kenya witnessed unbridled land grabbing, and oppressive policies (Opondo, 2014). During this same period, Kenyans also witnessed the assassinations of Pio Gama Pinto in 1965, Tom Mboya in 1969, Ronald Ngala in 1973, and J M Kariuki two years later—all of which were blamed on the state (ibid.2014).

Frustrated by this kind of betrayal, Odinga fought back against Kenyatta, and led radical opposition politics, especially in his home base of the Luo community in Nyanza, culminating in the formation of Kenya's first opposition party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU) in 1966 (Ogot, 1996).

Mazrui (1970) further documents Kenyatta's inability to keep the promise he made in his book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, and *The Land of Conflict* where he assured Africans of the return of the

land, cultures and rights whose ownership had been stripped from them by the colonialists, only to change tune and ask whoever wanted their land back to pay.

Kenyatta was angry with Odinga for calling him out on these broken promises, and Kenyatta responded with threats including calling on Kenyans in his 1967 Kenyatta Day speech to "crush the snakes", words taken to mean the KPU members (Muite et.al, 2015: 56). However, scholars including Odera (2010), Ogot (1996); Mbato (1969) and Osolo (1968) documented that the leaders, with Odinga at the front, were in fact advocating for the very same things Kenyatta had promised—"eradication of poverty, equal distribution of resources, and eradication of landlessness" (Muite et.al, 2015: 56).

Even with these threats, Odinga continued to oppose land grabbing that was now on a massive scale, further angering Kenyatta who saw him as a stumbling block to progress (Tarimo, 2008). So bad had the relationship become that in 1969 when the elections were called, the Kikuyu elite coerced or forced members of Kenyatta's ethnic community, the Agikuyu, to take oaths to protect Kenyatta's presidency (Ochieng', 1995).

Just three months after Foreign Affairs Minister Tom Mboya was killed in Nairobi, Kenyatta went to Kisumu in October 1969 to open a hospital and was met by a hostile group of youth that threw chairs at the dais on the strong belief that the former's murder was an action of the state (Loughran, 2010). Seventeen people were killed. In response, Kenyatta detained Odinga and all the KPU members without trial (Ogot, 1996: 56).

The Moi era

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta died in August 1978 and Vice President Daniel arap Moi was sworn in, and vowed to follow in the footsteps of Kenyatta, in what he coined in the Swahili phrase, "Fuata Nyayo" (follow the footsteps) (Ogot, 1996).

Moi released political prisoners after he took power, including Odinga, but then quickly, in following his predecessor's footsteps, went on a dictatorial stint of his own, kicking off Raila's own opposition, just like his father against Kenyatta (Loughran, 2010).

In May 1982 when Raila Odinga was 37, his father Oginga Odinga used a visit to Britain to announce the possibility of a party to rival KANU following the failure of his 1960s opposition vehicle, the KPU (Atieno-Odhiambo, 2002). At the time Oginga made the announcement, his son Raila had joined politicians George Anyona, Atieno-Odhiambo, and Patrick Onyango Sumba, a journalist, and were already working on the constitution of the party (Atieno-Odhiambo, 2002). The plans were thwarted after politician George Anyona was arrested in May 1982, followed by an amendment of the Constitution to make Kenya a de-jure one-party dictatorship (Atieno-Odhiambo, 2010).

Frustrated by this lack of political space and supported by equally invested university students, 2,800 Kenya Air Force members orchestrated a coup against Moi, resulting in devastating consequences—death of 2,000 people, the disbandment of the Air Force and 1,000 people court martialled, and ultimately, the execution of Sergeant Hezekiah Ochuka, Private Pancras Oteyo Okumu and 10 others (Loughran, 2010:164). Similarly, 71 university students were charged in court in relation with the coup, while students' union leader Titus Adungosi was jailed for ten years while Mau Mau-era historian Professor Maina wa Kinyatti was imprisoned for ten years for seditious publications (ibid. 2010:164)

For the Odinga family, Oginga Odinga was put under restriction in his Kisumu hometown while son Raila Odinga was charged with treason, then imprisoned without trial for six years after a seven-month house arrest (Loughran, 2010). Raila has never denied nor confirmed (Badejo 2006) assertion of his participation in the coup by securing a command post for the coup planners.

Raila was released in June 1991 after being released and rearrested twice, fled to Norway and came back before being elected to Parliament in 1992 in his father Jaramogi's Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) Kenya, where he was deputy director of elections (Odinga and Elderkin, 2013).

President Daniel arap Moi took over from Kenyatta when he died in 1978, and ruled Kenya until 2002, when he retired and his handpicked would-be successor, Uhuru Kenyatta, was defeated by Mwai Kibaki. In his 24-year-reign, Moi was known for repressive press regime. As a response to

the coup described in the previous paragraphs in 1982, Moi went short of outlawing dissent, making Kenya a one-party political state, as he ordered a clamp down on the media through sedition trials (Mbeke, 2008).

This kind of scenario where the press, with almost no demarcation between private and those that are government owned, is a threat to fair campaign reporting as exemplified by Imanyara (1992) when he had hoped the situation will be different.

> Generally, the role of the press in democratization has been that of an independent forum and mouthpiece of crusaders of change. The openness of the alternative press to the public and its bold approach to sensitive and critical political issues has had the cumulative effect of inciting the general public to wake up to their democratic rights and demand change (Imanyara, 1992:21)

The Kenya Human Rights Commission report 1997 document that Moi banned publications that were seen as independent and critical of his government including the *Beyond magazine* (1988), the *Financial Review* and *Nairobi Law Monthly* in 1989, and *Development Agenda* in September 1990. Between 1988 and 1990, about 20 publications were banned in Kenya (Mbeke, 2008).

The strategy for Moi was to ban critical press while establishing and running a propaganda machinery. Moi, through a firm grip of the state broadcaster, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), which was until 1989 a department in the Ministry of Information, ensured that he had favourable coverage of the political and elitist development agenda without the risks of these policies or statements questioned (Heath, 1997).This meant that in essence, the editorial staff was required to follow government commands and directions without questioning them (ibid., 1997: 37) following a script laid down in the Mzee Kenyatta era. To guarantee this national outreach and as a conduit of the elitist agenda of ‘development”, *KBC* had the most powerful equipment, enabling it to reach most parts of the country (Heath, 1997: 37).

In 1991, following sustained pressure from his critics, Mzee Moi finally gave in and allowed the return of multipartyism in Kenya leading to the first multiparty elections in 1992—a process that emboldened the opposition and opened gates for more deivergent views in the media (Loughran, 2010).

In 1995 as Raila prepared to run for president in the elections in 1997, Moi bought *The Standard* from the British-based Lonrho Group and while Moi did not publicly say he had ownership, the coverage of his 1997 election campaign did little to hide this connection (Loughran, 2010).

For instance, on the eve of the election, *The Standard* ran a headline story titled 'Poll predicts huge Moi victory', and quoted the Public Universities Research Team, which was later revealed to be a non-existent entity which had sent the poll as a paid advert (Loughran, 2010). Moi won with 40% of the vote, with Raila a distant third after Mwai Kibaki garnered 30% of the vote (Kanyinga, 2014).

The Mwai Kibaki era

Facing a novice Uhuru Kenyatta whom Moi had handpicked as his successor by nominating him to Parliament and naming him minister for local government for the 2002 polls, Raila Odinga joined hands with his 1997 opponent Mwai Kibaki to form the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), as well as opposition leaders Kijana Wamalwa, Moody Awori, George Saitoti, Kalonzo Musyoka, Farah Maalim and Charity Ngilu (Loughran, 2010). Kibaki won emphatically, polling 62.3 per cent against Uhuru Kenyatta's 31.3 per cent, with NARC getting 125 of the 210 seats in Parliament (Loughran, 2010).

In 2005, Raila Odinga led the 'No' campaign joined by Uhuru Kenyatta to oppose a proposed new Constitution that was against their wishes of reducing the powers of the president and establishing the office of an executive prime minister. Raila's team won by 57 per cent, winning in six of the eight provinces in Kenya (Kanyinga, 2014). Kibaki responded by firing his entire Cabinet, and later reconstituting it by kicking out Raila and those that supported his bid (ibid. 2014).

When he took over as president, Mwai Kibaki, riding on a wave of extreme dissent against Moi and a promise to change the Constitution that he said will among other things, guarantee the freedom of expression (Kanyinga, 2014). This, however, changed slowly, with its escalation of a crackdown and harassment of the media coming in the 2007 elections when Mwai Kibaki ran against Raila Odinga.

For instance, in 2005 an angry First Lady Lucy Kibaki stormed the Nation Media Group offices at Nation Centre, Kimathi Street, Nairobi protesting against a story written about her (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013). She stayed at the Daily Nation newsroom for five hours, confiscating notebooks, pens, mobile phones, while angrily protesting against what she said was unfair coverage of her and her husband, President Kibaki (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013:85) In the five hours she was there, she slapped a cameraman who was recording the whole episode (2013: 85).

In 2006, the Kibaki government raided Standard Group offices, shut the operations of its television station, KTN, burnt the next day's newspapers, and vandalised the media house's printing press to stop the publication of a story that the government said was a threat to national security (Simiyu, 2013).

In the 2007 election, the scions of Odinga and Kenyatta were thrown on opposite sides again, with Uhuru supporting Kibaki for a second term against Raila Odinga (Opondo, 2014).

At this point, the animosity between Kenyatta and Odinga, further perpetuated by Moi, then a truce with Kibaki before the fallout in 2005, took a dimension that went national with the rest of the country forced to side with either the Kikuyu (represented by the Kenyatta, with Kibaki as its face in 2007) or with Odinga's Luo (Opondo, 2014). The result of this strenuous relationship and tensions building up blew up after the 2007 election in which Raila disputed the results, leading to spontaneous cases of violence, and the death of 1,133 Kenyans, and the displacement of 650,000 others (ibid., 2014).

In short, the conflict that had been building up since 1966 and which exploded in 2007 can be summarized thus: "There is no doubt that the ideological wars between Kenyatta and Odinga set the ground for the ethnic hatred between the Kikuyu and the Luo that culminated to the animosity and post-election violence in December 2007" (Opondo, 2014:35).

During the 2007/2008 post-election period, many scholars indicted the media for picking sides in the Kibaki-Raila contest in the disputed elections (See for example Ouma, 2018; Ogola, 2011; Cheeseman, 2008). This manifested itself in a media that was as divided as the rest of the population (Cheeseman, 2008). In some cases, the media houses "turned into partisan political

platforms, advocating specific ethnic interests" (Ogola, 2011:89). This led to a scenario best summarised by Ogola as thus:

> The Kenyan news media effectively became an institution in crisis, embedded in the same political and social tensions that had informed the 2007–2008 political conflict, yet expected to stand apart from it. The media thus found themselves serving the two dominant political forces that had emerged following the falling out in NARC: Kibaki's Party of National Unity and Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement. These parties suddenly found surrogate voices in the country's media—a development especially reflected in the local-language media's coverage of the 2007 election and post-election violence. (Ogola, 2011: 88).

The state broadcaster Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), especially, was fingered for failing in its legal mandate as a public service broadcaster to give all parties fair access to the political competition (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013). The European Union Election Monitoring Mission found that the public service broadcaster's English and Kiswahili radio stations had dedicated a combined total of 76 per cent of its electoral campaign coverage to President Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) (2013: 34).

In the aftermath of the disputed 2007 presidential elections and the resultant violence, the regime instituted a 24-hour media blackout at a time of increasing political tension (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013). This move then gave rise to the spread of unverified, often hateful messages through other communication channels, further escalating the situation that was already bad.

As a compromise deal negotiated by Kofi Annan-led mediation team, Raila Odinga was named Kenya's prime minister, with Mwai Kibaki remaining as president (Kanyinga, 2014). Uhuru Kenyatta was named as deputy prime minister, and minister for finance (Kanyinga, 2014). This meant that in an unprecedented development in Kenyan politics, the international community was drawn in, following an impasse that threatened to tear the country apart (Kanyinga, 2014).

As a result of the 2007/2008 post-election violence, Uhuru Kenyatta was alongside Head of Civil Service and Secretary to the Cabinet Francis Muthaura, police commissioner Hussein Ali, Eldoret North MP William Ruto (now deputy president), his Tinderet counterpart Henry Kosgei, and radio journalist Joshua Sang were named as bearing the greatest responsibility for the

violence and were charged with crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Court in The Hague, Netherlands (Kanyinga, 2014). Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Francis Muthaura and Joshua Arap Sang were committed to trial while Henry Kosgei and Hussein Ali were let go at the pre-trial stage. The cases against Muthaura, Kenyatta, Ruto and Sang were later dropped or withdrawn in 2012, 2015, and 2016, respectively.

The Uhuru Kenyatta era

In 2013, Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga went against each other as the front-runners in the country's first election under a new Constitution and the growing emergence of social media.

A significant departure from the 2007 election where the media was accused of subtly leaning towards either President Mwai Kibaki or opposition leader Raila Odinga—the two main leading candidates—in 2013, Kenya saw cases where the media publicly stood for one side of the political divide. Significantly, the endorsement of Raila Odinga by SK Macharia, owner of Royal Media Services, which owns Kenya's leading television station, Citizen TV, created furore from the Kenyatta side, with the party branding the TV station as CORD TV- an acronym of Raila Odinga's Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (Ouma, 2018: 189).

In the 2013 election, Uhuru Kenyatta's Jubilee went in heavy on social media from as early as 2012 when he was one of 10 African politicians that were tweeting the most (Smith, 2012). The Jubilee team projected themselves as the digital team, with Uhuru setting up State House Twitter and Facebook accounts on his first day in office (Odinga 2013: 18). The other presidential candidates too were significantly active on social media with opposition leaders Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth dedicating a time of their day to answer questions from Kenyans online via social media (Bing, 2015). Raila, on the other hand, was the third most followed candidate on Facebook and Twitter after Uhuru Kenyatta and Peter Kenneth (Bing, 2015).

Also significant is how President Kenyatta reached out to the media after being elected. Immediately after being sworn in, President Kenyatta hosted senior editors of various media houses in what he called a familiarisation meeting, but one that many scholars have faulted for the potential conflict of interest (Nyabola, 2018). It is during this function beamed live on major television stations that President Kenyatta announced the unveiling of the Presidential Strategic

Communications Unit with Dennis Itumbi, a famous blogger and an enthusiastic social media user, named the Director of Digital Innovation, a significant pointer to the Jubilee administration's placement of the role of social media (Nyabola, 2018). Summarising his new role, Dennis Itumbi, initially one among a new crop of indefatigable bloggers, said:

> The idea is to create internet and social media institutions across government. We will create institutional brands as opposed to personal channels, so that presidents and officials who come years after our departure will not be required to create new channels. This is the beginning of drastic changes aimed at transforming designs, function and enhancing access to information through government websites. The digital team will relentlessly modernize State House and transform Government services through innovation and new media (Wangui, 2013: para 15-17)

And even though nothing specifically ominous was said at the State House meeting, the "tea" the president had invited senior editors to at State House was seen as a euphemism for a bribe (Nyabola, 2018). Since then, the relationship between the media and the government was close, if not suspect, seen in decisions that seemed to take the state's side.

In 2016, the *Nation Media Group* refused to renew the contract of famous cartoonist Godfrey Mwapemba, going by the name Gado in his cartoons. Gado, who later joined The Standard, attributed his sacking to pressure from the government on the company because of his hard-hitting cartoons (Nyabola, 2018). Similarly, *Saturday Nation* managing editor Dennis Galava was fired after writing a New Year's editorial in 2016 criticising how President Kenyatta was running the country. While Nation insisted that Galava was not fired because of politics, Galava himself says "the editor was taking instructions from State House, and was now hiding behind procedure" (Nyabola, 2018: 58).

And while the banning of magazines as highlighted by Mbeke (2008) in the Moi era was not happening when Uhuru Kenyatta became president, his Jubilee administration found a way of influencing the media either through ownership, or indirect intervention like the cases of journalists being fired for criticising them as noted by Nyabola (2018).

Similarly, in 2015, the government introduced the Government Advertising Agency, designed as a one-stop shop centre for all government entities to process, author and publish public sector advertisements—and how in the end, the agency, was used to "surreptitiously drying up the funding that allows private media to play their oversight role in the Kenyan democracy." (Lang'at, 2019; Wekesa, 2018).

This aspect of advertising is important in considering who controlled, or as in this case, had a substantive control of the media ahead of the 2017 election.

In summary, all these events, as well as the political context ahead of the 2017 election, point to an opposition, and in turn, Raila Odinga's team, which was locked out of the media control, explaining their motivation to want to use social media as a political campaign strategy.

1.2: The Uhuru-Raila duel of 2017

As seen in the previous section, the importance of the traditional and new media in the campaigns in Kenya cannot be overstated (Nyabola, 2018).

Having laid out the historical context and the political relationship between the main challengers President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga, this section gives a brief overview of the scenario as at 2017 in relation to the 2013 elections when the two ran against each other for the first time. The section will locate the role of the media in these dynamics.

In 2017, the stakes were even higher: President Kenyatta was seeking re-election while Odinga was angling to be president in his fourth stab at the top job.

After winning the elections in 2013, and being sworn in after a Supreme Court case filed by Odinga challenging the results of the polls was thrown out, Kenyatta set out to form an even bigger coalition ahead of the 2017 elections. In September 2016, Kenyatta brought together two big political parties and 10 smaller ones to form the Jubilee coalition (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019).

Following this defeat in 2013, Odinga also went back to the drawing board, convincing other parties to join him in his second electoral run against Kenyatta. Odinga added to his team Amani National Congress (ANC) headed by Musalia Mudavadi and Chama Cha Mashinani (CCM)

headed by Isaac Ruto to the team that backed him in 2013—Mr Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Kalonzo Musyoka's Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM) and Moses Wetang'ula's Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-Kenya) (Cheeseman et.al, 2019). This coalition, formed in January 2017, was called the National Super Alliance (NASA), what became a formidable joint opposition bid for the presidency (ibid. 2019).

Kanyinga and Odote (2019) document the journey of the NASA-Jubilee political tussle from the 2013 election when the Supreme Court was criticized for ruling to disallow additional evidence by Mr Odinga's team "on the basis of a technicality, rather than focusing on justice and public interest" as well as focusing more "on the need to prevent violence rather than provide electoral justice" (2019:240). Media headlines after the 2013 petition focused more on asking the opposition to "forget and move on", encouraging them to accept the results, despite their misgivings (Ouma, 2018).

All these, Kanyinga and Odote (2019) argue, led to more contestation than closure ahead of the 2017 election as the "forget and move on" mantra did not gain uniform purchase across the political spectrum. Of the challenges facing Mr Odinga ahead of the 2017 elections, Cheeseman et.al (2019) summarizes thus:

> Kenyatta, and many lower-level Jubilee candidates, benefited from the powers of incumbency in multiple ways. This included the use of state resources and officials and interference with media freedoms. Odinga and his supporters also accused Kenyatta and Jubilee of manipulating the polls in multiple other ways, both during the campaigns and after. These accusations were informed by bitter memories of the 2007 and 2013 elections, which many opposition supporters believed that Odinga had won; by a longer history of malpractice that stretches back to the single-party era; and by ongoing developments (Cheeseman et.al, 2019: 218).

And the battle started even before the elections, this time in courts, with 540 election disputes before the election compared to only 30 in the 2013 election (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019). In the 2017 election, there were 388 election petitions filed in different courts after the election

compared to 188 five years before, making the 2017 election the "most judicialised in Kenya's history" (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019:236).

A breakdown of these cases by the two scholars show that some of the cases the opposition prosecuted in courts before the elections, or supported those already filed by the civil society, including those targeting the voter register, the printing of ballot papers, the transmission of election results and elections technology, as well as the role of the head of the electoral commission, and the commission's officials at the polling station as well as county and constituency tallying centres (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019). The cases relating to the transmission of the election results is of particular interest to the current research as it tightly links politics and the media.

Some of these election cases were heard and different aspects ruled on them more than six times, with the court repeatedly caught in the middle of the opposition and the ruling party because of its decisions that cut both ways (ibid. 2019). It is imperative to note that these areas of litigation were some of the issues Odinga had complained as having gone wrong in the 2013 election (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019).

Of particular significance in the 2017 case is the opposition's demand, which they later successfully achieved in the form of electoral laws nine months to the election, that the electoral results be relayed to the media in real time as and when the results come in from the polling stations. But as observed by Ouma (2018), while this was made possible, none of the media houses made use of these results to make their own independent tallies as against those made by the electoral commission.

In fact, Nyabola (2018) notes, this role was largely left to social media in cases where users of social media sites used the platforms to point out irregularities in results forms posted by the electoral commission, by taking pictures of the results at their various polling stations and comparing them with those made public by the electoral agency.

Besides the formal cases in court, another significant score for the opposition in the fight for electoral reforms, or what they called "having an even playing ground" was the removal of the electoral commissioners that presided over the 2013 election in 2016 following a protracted demonstration against them led by Odinga (Cheeseman et al., 2019).

In what amounted to digital activism, under the hashtag #IEBCMustGo (IEBC being the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission), the Odinga team, through demonstrations

in the capital Nairobi and other major cities successfully pushed for the removal of the electoral commissioners, and the formation of a new team as well as new laws to govern the election (Cheeseman et al, 2019). In this case, social media played a huge role in marshalling supporters to join the protests, as well as organising the routes for them (Ouma, 2018).

In terms of the media environment, Odinga was running against a government that not only owned the media (President Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto jointly own the fourth largest media house, *Mediamax Network Limited*, with two television stations, five radio stations, and the free daily newspaper, *The People Daily*), but also the government that had a stranglehold on the independence of the other private media (Cheeseman et.al, 2019).

These aspects of the private media ownership in Kenya is important and relevant because the state broadcaster which is supposed to even the playing field as a legal obligation is underfunded and cannot compete with the private media houses (Nyabola, 2018).

Kenyatta, at this time, also gained advantage of using the media to advertise government achievements and promote his campaign long after the court ordered a stop to the running of the advertisements, thereby offering the ruling party an undue advantage (Cheeseman et al, 2019).

As previously mentioned, some of the ways in which Kenyatta attempted to influence the media was through hosting editors at State House a few months after being elected, an event cited by Nyabola (2018) as having potential to brew a conflict of interest.

In an eerie reminder of practices from the Kenyatta and Moi eras, in 2016, the *Nation Media Group* sacked *Saturday Nation* editor Dennis Galava as well as renowned cartoonist Godfrey Mwapemba (famously known as Gado) for what the two journalists say was due to pressure from the Kenyatta government over a New Year's editorial that hit at Kenyatta for failures in the country, and a series of cartoons that depicted the government as inept, respectively (Nyabola, 2018).

The European Union Election Observer Mission Report of the 2017 elections cites cases where journalists were harassed by the state pushing for positive coverage. At one point during the campaigns, the NASA team asked its readers not to consume media products from the *Nation Media Group*, the largest media house in the country, for what they said was bias in their reporting (Ouma, 2018).

This kind of media and political environment close to the 2017 election could have been the reason the NASA team saw the use of social media, which would have allowed them unfettered

access to its audiences, free from the shackles of the mainstream media that they saw as being beholden to the ruling party, their competitor, might suggest why NASA online TV was started. The online TV's running tag in these broadcasts was: "NASA TV is a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people."

At the time, a survey done in February 2017, just five months to the elections, showed that 60 per cent of the respondents considered social media as their primary source of information, compared to 30 per cent for television with the rest relying on newspapers and radio (Geopoll, 2017).

This kind of social media utilisation further cements this study's aim to explore and understand how then these audiences used social media with a view to understanding the kind of audience that was then created.

1.2.1: Conclusion

This background section has given a political and media environment context to the 2017 elections when this study of the NASA Online TV is situated.

Having inherited a feud that started with their fathers in the 1960s, Uhuru and Raila were the main competitors in the 2013 and 2017 elections.

In both cases, both Odingas were fighting at a time when the media ownership was heavily tilted towards their opponents—Jaramogi at the time when the state broadcaster favoured the president and Raila against a president that was not only a media owner, but one that had demonstrable sway in the other private media.

But their being on different sides of the political divide for Raila and Uhuru did not start in 2013. It started in 2002 when a Raila-backed candidate, Mwai Kibaki, won against Uhuru Kenyatta, a political novice whom President Daniel Moi had named as his successor (Loughran, 2010).

The two briefly came together in 2005 to oppose a proposed referendum when Uhuru Kenyatta was the official opposition leader (Kanyinga, 2014). They parted ways again in 2007 when Uhuru Kenyatta supported the incumbent Mwai Kibaki for a second term while Raila Odinga brought together politicians disgruntled with Kibaki following the 2005 referendum that Raila's side had won to run for Kenya's president for the second time after coming third in 1997 (Loughran, 2010).

During this heavily disputed election, the Kenyan society was so divided that the media was sucked in, polarising Kenyans even more (Ouma, 2018). The political coverage was so skewed in favour of Mwai Kibaki that a study by the European Union Election Monitoring Mission found that the public service broadcaster's English and Kiswahili radio stations had dedicated a combined total of 76 per cent of its electoral campaign coverage to President Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013: 34).

Raila was later named Kenya's prime minister as a compromise following the post-election clashes that led to the deaths of 1,133 Kenyans, and the displacement of 650,000 (Kanyinga, 2014).

In this period, a major development indicative of the role of the media was the attack on the *Standard Media Group* as discussed above.

When Raila and Uhuru ran against each other in 2013, it was against the backdrop of charges of crimes against humanity being levelled against Uhuru Kenyatta and three others including William Ruto, who eventually became his deputy (Kanyinga, 2014). As noted, this was considered a social media election reflecting the changing media ecology.

In the campaigns, Uhuru's Jubilee Party deployed significant resources on social media and mainstream media to paint Odinga as a stooge of the West, with political propaganda tales of him having been the one that orchestrated their trials at the International Criminal Court (Ndavula and Mueni, 2013).

In 2017 when the stakes were even higher, Kenyatta's Jubilee Party went a notch higher, hiring Cambridge Analytica to manage its communication, a campaign that Raila Odinga later described as having depicted him as the "devil incarnate" (Lang'at, 2018). The Kenyatta also used American firm Harris Media which was associated with the "Real Raila" videos which painted Raila Odinga as a violent man who should not be elected president of Kenya (Nyabola, 2018).

As conclusion to a discussion of the media and political environment prior to the 2017 election when this study is situated, I will now address two events that had a huge impact on Raila Odinga's political career in 2018.

On January 31, 2018, Raila Odinga 'swore' himself in as Kenya's 'people's president' in an escalation of disagreements with the Uhuru Kenyatta government after NASA boycotted a repeat

election on October 26, 2017, following an order by the Supreme Court nullifying the August 8 presidential election results (Oruko and Lang'at, 2018).

This led to a crackdown on the opposition, the charging of Ruaraka MP Tom Kajwang' with treason, the deportation of lawyer Miguna Miguna, and sustained harassment of those that supported Raila and his ideals (Obonyo, 2018).

Another important period of the Raila-Uhuru feud happened on March 9, 2018 when Raila Odinga emerged out of a meeting at Harambee House, the president's office, to announce that he and President Uhuru Kenyatta had agreed to bury the hatchet and will instead join hands to address, among others, electoral injustice, corruption, and inequality (Obonyo, 2018).

The milestone was later called the handshake in the media and political circles in Kenya, and in this research, will appear in the periods after the March 2018 election in which NASA Online TV continued covering the post-election phase in Kenya.

The inclusion of this post-election period will help the researcher track the change of tones or topics, if any, following this waving of the white flag.

1.3: Brief description of the social media trends and patterns in Kenya 2013-2017

The main aim of this study is to understand and explore how NASA used the NASA Online TV as a strategic political communication tool in the 2017 elections, what kind of audience it created, as well as what kind of interactions it had with them.

In order to understand this, a brief description of the social media context comes is necessary.

From the bulk short text message campaigns employed the Mwai Kibaki campaign in 2002 to the pre-recorded campaign messages sent through mobile phones in 2007, the growth of social media and individual subscriptions over the past few years in Kenya has been phenomenal (Nyabola, 2018).

From 2013, when Kenya held its first internet election (Nyabola, 2018), social and digital media has grown to become important platforms for political communication in Kenya (Mutahi and Kimari, 2017).

Nyabola (2018) traces internet in Kenya to its first use in 1993 in form of dial-up connections that only picked up two years later. This grew to 200,000 internet connections in 2000, which kept improving with the introduction of fibre-optic technology in later years, before the boom "between 2008 and 2011 where Kenya had one of the highest rates of increase of internet access on the continent, at 10.5 % compared to Ethiopia's 0.4%, Rwanda's 0.7%, but lower than South Africa's 14.9%, and Namibia's 8.5%" (2018:36).

The growth of digital media use, however, and subsequent discussions about its potential damaging effects, a discussion that has now moved to social media, started in 2007 (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013). Following the disputed elections in 2007, perpetrators and instigators of violence used mobile phones, especially short messaging services, to coordinate and spread violence (2013:42). The mobile phones, therefore, "were a catalyst to both predatory behaviour such as ethnic-based mob violence and to civic behaviour such as citizen journalism and human rights campaigns" (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:2).

Ndavula and Mueni (2014) note that in the 2013 elections, political communication became more interactive, and politicians set up Facebook and Twitter presence where users could comment almost instantly and from across Kenya.

In order to better contextualise the social media penetration, it is important to also look at the figures of mobile phone ownership as mobile phones are by far the principles devices for access to internet in Kenya. According to Communications Authority of Kenya, the country surpassed the 100% mark in mobile penetration by September 2017 with a 46.6 million active sim card subscriptions, meaning SIM cards registered recorded to have generated revenue within 90 days (CA, 2019). While it is difficult to extrapolate this to individuals (as one person can have more than one SIM card), these figures are the closest to understanding the mobile phone ownership which many Kenyans use to access the internet (Nyabola, 2018). With these figures, it is therefore not surprising that social media increasingly becoming an indispensable part of election campaigns in Kenya, especially in 2017 (Mutahi & Kimari, 2017).

By 2017, 13 million Kenyans were on WhatsApp, seven million on Facebook and over a million on Twitter (Nendo, 2017, cited in DW, 2017). For this study, this 2017 statistics is significant in the context of NASA Online TV which employed the use of Facebook as a primary social media target.

With these kinds of social media appeal, the two main parties in the election went out of their way in the 2017 elections to damage the other party's reputation online, and woo voters to their side (Nyabola, 2018).

President Kenyatta's Jubilee Party hired disgraced Cambridge Analytica to work on their campaigns, writing their speeches and organising their social media messaging (Nyabola, 2018). Odinga, following an investigation by the United Kingdom's Channel 4 News, said that the Cambridge Analytica campaign online had depicted him as the "devil incarnate" (Lang'at, 2018). In an interview with Channel 4 News in March 2018, Odinga said of the social media campaign against him:

> The "Real Raila Odinga" in those videos was a very evil man. . . The devil incarnate. The net result of the work by Cambridge Analytica and Harris Media, which worked for the same client, is that this was a very negative campaign" (Lang'at, 2018).

Harris Media, an American company, was said to have run the "Real Raila" videos that depicted Odinga as a violent man incapable of leading and which were shared widely online (Nyabola, 2018).

With this political, media and especially social media environment, I will now address, briefly, the workings of the NASA Online TV, a tool that NASA then introduced to take advantage, of social media.

1.4: NASA ONLINE TV

Given the political and media context described above, the National Super Alliance (NASA), it seems, was at an apparent disadvantage, with no media outlet of their own, running against a state that not only owned the media (President Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto jointly own the fourth largest media house, Mediamax Network Limited), but also one that had managed to get the other private media on their side through intimidation or coercion (Cheeseman et.al, 2019).

Partly as a response to this, NASA online TV was started as an online television network that broadcast for and on behalf of NASA. It is the first of its kind in Kenya where a political party

takes the position of a media house to engage with an audience through covering its rallies live on Facebook, as well as hosting opinion debates where the audience is engaged.

On Facebook, NASA streamed live on NASA Coalition TV verified Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/CoalitionNASAKe/.

The Facebook page used by the NASA team was made public, and users were encouraged to "like" and "follow" the political party on Facebook. By August 13, 2019, the Facebook page had 439,067 likes, and 457,312 people following the page.

The page would stream live rallies, press conferences, as well as demonstrations that the NASA coalition associated with or supported.

The videos, those which were streamed live or those that were recorded and broadcasted later, are available on https://www.facebook.com/pg/CoalitionNASAKe/videos/?ref=page_internal.

In formats like mainstream media houses, NASA Online TV also hosted opinion leaders as well as politicians in the National Super Alliance Coalition to discuss issues ranging from corruption, police brutality, elections, and the question of land in Kenya as its main topics.

The debates were organised in the format of a media house television where guests are hosted, and the NASA Online TV interviewer asked questions, relayed feedback streaming in on social media, as generally a TV debate would go.

Users watching the live streams were allowed to comment on the livestream of the video, with the interviewer intermittently stopping to ask the questions posed by the users to the guest on set.

This study is particularly interested in these opinion pieces where the issues being investigated in this study come alive.

The online TV's running tag in these broadcasts was: "NASA TV is a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people."

This phrase was repeated regularly in the broadcasts.

Funded by the political party, the online TV also used its various livestreams to appeal for funding from the viewers and their supporters through a mobile money payment platform. "We will like to appeal for your help to NASA TV to boost and improve our standards. You can support us by donating via Airtel Paybill number 55155."

Like the political party, the NASA Online TV catch line was "*NASA TV, Mambo Yabadilika"* (Loosely translated to mean 'Change is Coming").

Its lead reporter was media personality Maurice Otieno (alias Mdomo Baggy), with two other reporters, and two cameramen.

The NASA Online TV was part of a bigger NASA communication strategy. The communication team was headed by former Raila Odinga aide and one-time director of the news and media division of the United Nations, Salim Lone, aided by veteran media personality Kathleen Openda, Raila's spokesperson Dennis Onyango, and political communications consultant, Kibisu Kabatesi (Wanga, 2017). The team led by Lone was to "make the communication more responsive and immediate" (Wanga, 2017: para 4).

1.5: Aims and justification

The press is an important instrument in democracy. The platform that the media provides for the discussion of various critical issues in an election, therefore, plays an important role in the realisation of an informed decision at the ballot.

While other political parties used social media in the 2017 election campaigns, this study is interested in NASA online TV as it was the first of a kind where a political party stood out to use social media not only to pass and promote their campaign messages, but also setting panels to interview guests as well as ask questions posed by their social media users to their studio guests. Throw in the following here: while NASA TV promised to be a novel campaign platform, the question is whether it achieved its aims or not.

The potential contribution this study seeks to make to knowledge is to understand the workings of political party electoral campaign platforms on social media as this has been predicted by scholars such as Nyabuga and Booker (2013), Kamau (2017) and Nyabola (2018) will keep growing going into the next elections in Kenya, and indeed, the continent and the globe.

By studying the workings of NASA Online TV in the 2017 presidential election, therefore, this study hopes to build into a body of knowledge of the social media and electoral political campaigns nexus.

Using content analysis, this study will explore how and in what ways NASA used NASA Online TV as a strategic political communication tool in the 2017 elections, and by analysing its content and themes, as well as style, describe and analyse the kind of audience NASA Online TV created and what kinds of interactions it had with them.

The study period will be between May 1, 2017 and April 23, 2018 which will cover the campaign period, the election itself, and the post-election period.

This study proposes to add to the body of knowledge not only on the use of social media in elections in Kenya, but also on the public sphere discussions in the context of the role of the media in a democracy.

Situated in the broader political communication studies, this study stems from the historical growth of use of the internet for political communication in Kenya. As I have argued in the background to this study, this growth starts from the use of SMSs in the 2002 elections, to personalised campaign messages sent through phones by the Mwai Kibaki campaign in 2007, to the 2013 election that Nyabola (2018) calls Kenya's first internet election.

Given this context, this study therefore seeks to meet the following objectives:

I. Analyse what content and themes were favoured by NASA Online TV in its coverage of the 2017 election in Kenya.

II. Understand the kind of audience the TV created over time, as well as the kind of interaction this audience had with the NASA Online TV.

1.6: Rationale and significance

Using content analysis, this study seeks to analyse, understand and describe the themes in the content of NASA Online TV, as well as explore what kind of audience the TV created during the presidential election campaigns in Kenya in 2017.

By labelling itself as "a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people", the NASA Online TV mimicked the operations of the newsroom in the way it organised its opinion analysis and coverage of events during the election.

This study will use public sphere theory to understand the kind of audience created by NASA Online TV; agenda setting theory so as to tease out and explain their choice of content and themes; while the diffusion of innovation theory will track how the NASA Online TV used cases of use of social media in electoral campaigns in other parts of the world to fit its case, or not.

The scope of the study is that it will be based form the period from May 1, 2017 to April 23, 2018. This period covers the campaign period leading up to the August 8, 2017 election, the election itself that included a Supreme Court ruling overturning the presidential election results on September 1, 2017, as well as a repeat election boycotted by NASA on October 26, 2017, and finally, the post-election period, which includes the March 9, 2018 "handshake" between Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta, described early in this paper.

The choice of this period give a proper understanding of the growth as well as track changes in the online TV content, as well as its audiences' behaviour.

Given the prediction by Nyabola (2018) that the growth and use of social media in Kenyan politics will be significantly higher in the coming elections, this study therefore helps set the ground for what is bound to be such new ways of appropriating the use of social media for electoral campaigns.

This is important and critical in a relatively new area of study.

1.7: Research Questions

Main question

What content and themes did NASA Online TV carry in its coverage of the 2017 presidential election in Kenya and in what format and style was that done? What are the implications of the appropriation of digital media for political processes in Kenya?

Supplementary research question

What kind of audience NASA Online TV created and engaged with in the coverage of the 2017 election? What is the implication for the media dimensions of electioneering?

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study seeks to analyse, understand and describe the themes in the content of NASA Online TV in the 2017 election in Kenya and what kind of audience this created and the subsequent interactions with them.

This chapter, therefore, will review relevant literature in use of media in electoral politics, strategic political communication, as well as agenda setting studies.

Since the field of media and electoral politics, as well as political communication is a broad one, this review will narrow down to issues relevant to strategic political communication in digital media era while fleshing out debates from the mainstream news media on these topics.

2.1: The nexus between media and electoral politics

Fuchs (2008) defines politics as a system in which humans in public arrive at collectively binding decisions of how to organize society and its resources. This type of system involves a scenario where one group or more hold a monopolistic or hierarchical sway on decisions and decision making (Fuchs and Trottier, 2014).

Using this definition, therefore, politics can be seen as a mode of social organisation through conflict or "the potential antagonisms inherent in human relations," which "indicates the ensemble of discourses, institutions and practices which aim at establishing an order; at organising human coexistence, in a context that is always conflictual" (Mouffe, 1993:8).

Fuchs and Trottier (2014) extend this definition to include the battles between the mass media, lobbyists and pressure groups, multinational corporations, churches and other religious organizations, all of which have stakes in politics, albeit in varied proportions.

The media, as players in this battle, is the primary focus of this study.

The relationship between the media and politics, especially in political campaigns, has been studied and debated from the point of view of just how much influence and advantage the news media might convey to one side or the other in their coverage as we shall see below.

These studies started in the 1940s with the first large scale studies on this media-politics intersection that concluded that the print media and radio had no major direct impact on the intentions of people on voting (see for example Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, 1944; Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954). In essence, these first studies found that the main thing the media did was just to reinforce dispositions voters already had, and not really change their intentions on who or what they would vote for (Stromberg, 2015).

This is in line with the "limited effects theory" defined after the American presidential elections in 1940 in which it was found that some people are generally influenced by interpersonal contacts rather than directly by the mass media (See for example Katz& Lazarsfeld, 1955; Klapper, 1960).

In summary, Klapper said of the limited effects theory that "Mass media ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences" (Klapper, 1960:8).

But this kind of conclusion, it has later been argued, misses the point on the actual role the media plays in society, especially in political campaigns. Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee (1954) argues that, in fact, such media exposure in the political campaigns gave voters a higher chance of getting access to the right information about candidates, parties, and their policies. In the end, "media exposure also increased the interest in politics, the strength of political preference, and voter turnout (controlling for the level of interest in the election)" (Stromberg, 2015: 3). The focus on change of voter intentions is what led to negative findings in the media influence studies (Stromberg, 2015).

Critics of the limited effects theory including Gitlin (1978) question the conclusion of the theory, arguing that it wrongly assumed of society as where "mass society, mass communications 'inject' ideas, attitudes, and dispositions toward behaviour into passive atomized, extremely vulnerable individuals" (1978: 210).

In summary, Gitlin (1978) "critiqued its 'administrative' mentality attuned to the needs of marketers and political campaigners and directing its narrow, positivist attention to influences on individual decisions to buy soap or vote for a candidate" (Simonson, 2012: 636). Gitlin argued that the conclusions by the theorists backing the limited effects theory were unsupported by the facts put forth for it (2012:636).

A significant contribution relevant to this study was made by Lynda Lee Kaid. She argues that partisan bias in earlier studies has been proven not to be widespread in modern day coverage of campaigns by the news media (Kaid, 2004:237). However, the media is still guilty of structural bias stemming from journalistic norms in their political coverage (cited in Kaid, 2004, see for example Hofstetter, 1976 on horse-race bias; Gans, 1979 for celebrity bias; Patterson, 1980 for the game bias; Hallin 1992 for sound bite news; Lippmann, 1922 for events bias; Mann & Orren, 1992 horse-race/strategy bias; and Ansolabehere, Behr & Iyengar, 1993 for episodic bias).

Besides the structural biases discussed above, the way the media constructs news has also been studied. These issues include agenda setting, where the media, through their coverage, tells the audience what the most important news in the campaigns are; priming, where news media lead audiences to certain interpretations of political events and candidate; framing on how media packages and presents information to the media; gate keeping on how the media decides on which stories to use and how; as well as image building as far as candidates are concerned (see for example McCombs & Shaw, 1972, Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990 and Bennett, 2001).

Kaid (2004) offers an insightful summary of the American presidential campaign coverage dating back to the 1940s. She concludes that "campaign news is overly focused on strategies, tactics, poll results, and candidates' prospects for winning rather than on the substantive issues of the campaign" (ibid. 2004: 238). This is in tandem with what had been studied in 1980, with the conclusion by Patterson (1980) that the news media, generally, loved to present the campaigns as a competition typically seen in horse racing or any other sports.

The practice of journalism, especially in political campaign reporting, therefore, is one that constantly paints electoral contests as one that is between horses, with one on the lead. In the case of Kenya and NASA as demonstrated in the background to this study, the Raila Odinga

campaign was competing against a ruling party that had direct shares in the media through ownership, as well as indirect influence through advertising, coercion, and sometimes, intimidation (Nyabola, 2018).

With the advent of social media, and given this context of the media coverage that Kaid (2004) insightfully summarises, parties like Odinga's, at a disadvantage from these various perspectives find an avenue to shape or attempt to shape their own agenda by using social media, a largely uninhibited avenue.

2.2: The new frontier: Social media and electoral politics

Social media can be defined as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010:61). The terms Web 2.0, on the other hand, first used in 2004, describes a platform where content as well as applications are now being continuously modified by all users in the web collaboratively, as opposed to previously where they were only created and published by a few individuals (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010: 60).

For this study, I will adopt the definition that takes a less technical approach and defines "social network sites as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (Boyd & Ellison, 2008: 211)

This definition captures the idea of the NASA Online TV as working towards creating its own audience, and that it, in the end, by sharing issues that relate to the connections they have made, will be constructing a public or semi-public profile within the bound system of their Facebook page where the NASA Online TV was used.

Since its advent, social media tools have unravelled a new world of possibilities, opening up new ways of civic engagement in politics and enabling politicians to engage with citizens more directly (see for example McKinney & Rill, 2009; Xenos and Moy, 2007). It allows politicians

"to disseminate political messages, learn about the interests and needs of constituents and the broader public, raise funds and build networks of support." (Clarke, 2010:1).

From the second phase of media effects theory of how the media sets the agenda and to which McCombs & Shaw (1972) made significant contribution lie the question of how much influence social media has on voters.

Previous research has drawn conclusions that traditional media in the form of television, radio and newspapers has shown a positive relationship between the exposure to the traditional news media and turning out to vote (Cited in Curry 2018; Prior 2007; Gainous and Wagner, 2014; Popkin 1994; Smets and Van Ham 2013, and Jung and Valenzuela 2012) suggests a strong effects role).

But as Curry (2018) argues, this kind of relationship on social media is still not clear thus the potential contribution of this study. In addition to this is the fast-paced fluidity of digital developments.

Scholars studying social media and its influence on politics often cite the 2008 and 2012 political campaigns of former United States president Barack Obama, in which they argue that it resulted in "the open and unfettered public involvement allowed in campaign communication" (Lilleker and Jackson, 2011: 246). Hwang (2016) observed that Obama was active in almost twice as many social media platforms as his Republican opponent Mitt Romney, and had generated more than twice Romney's responses in 2012.

For Obama, the use of social media was not only a campaign tool and key to his success in 2008 and 2012, but also a campaign donation strategy, raising over 80 per cent of his donations through social media (Zhang et al. 2010). In all, the Obama campaign in 2008 received USD 750 million in donations, with USD 500 million raised online in contrast to the USD 17 million it spent on advertising online, out of its humongous USD 407 million-dollar advertising spend (Chadwick and Smith, 2016)Kamau (2017) cites cases in which the Obama social media model was appropriated in the Kenyan elections in 2013 and 2017.

In the 2013 elections, however, this appropriation is discussed in relation to the co-relation between social media popularity and number of votes has been studied. Kamau (2017) points to the fact that despite having a substantial social media following as well as engagement, Peter

Kenneth and Martha Karua performed dismally in the elections. During that time, Peter Kenneth of the Eagle Alliance had 193, 675 followers on Twitter as well as 335,000 likes on Facebook, platforms he used very regularly and interactively to engage with voters (Bing, 2015). In the election, however, Kenneth only managed 72,786 votes (Bing, 2015).

Martha Karua, another active politician on social media in the 2013 elections, had 255,653 followers on Twitter, and 361,419 likes on Facebook, but only managed to get 43,881 votes (Bing, 2015).

But while she agrees that social media plays a huge part in getting conversations out, as well as involving people that would otherwise not be involved, Nyabola (2018) says that even then, offline engagement is still a vital part of electoral campaigns even in the era of social media.

Pointedly, however, even with the dismal performance of Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua in the 2013 elections, there is the positive note that while the two of them were most active on social media during the campaigns, the eventual winner, Uhuru Kenyatta still had "the most "liked" (followed) page on Facebook and the largest following on Twitter giving rise to suggestions that SNSs might have aided his voter mobilisation strategy" (Kamau, 2017: 130).

Using these social media platforms, Kenneth and Karua, even with the dismal performance in the final vote, reached out to a community of voters summarised thus:

> Social media facilitated communication between the voters and the candidates while opening the space for instant updates on current activities. Social media were one of the political arenas where new and sometimes unknown voices were able to enter the debate by avoiding classical gatekeepers such as traditional media. While social media could not replace face-to face interaction, it was useful as an additional tool to deliberately target young people as the group most likely to use social media (Bing, 2015:175).

Like the NASA campaign in 2017, the Karua and Kenneth strategy showed that politicians could use social media to "enter the debate by avoiding classical gatekeepers such as traditional media" (Bing, 2015:175). This is also true because given its 'publicness', social media helps "bring to

the fore aspects of social and political lives and ideas that would otherwise have remained hidden from public discourse" (Ligaga, 2012: 1).

In essence, the internet in general and social media in particular has given Kenyans "space for a vast majority of people to articulate their opinions and desires, perform their identities, present the unsaid, circulate informal information, and to generally negotiate the meanings of political and cultural issues in their lives" (Ligaga, 2012:4).

It is also in the 2008 Barack Obama campaign that scholars first made one other observation about use of social media in political campaigns and which will make significant contributions to the study of NASA Online TV. Hendricks and Denton (2010) noted that this was the first time in which new media, social media playing an integral part of it, overshadowed traditional mass media, creating a significant political environment change for both candidates, voters, and would-be voters (See for example Al Deen and Hendricks, 2012; Muntean, 2015).

This is especially interesting considering the NASA Online TV promise to be a television station whose content "comes directly from the people" in an attempt to bypass the mainstream media.

Using the United States example to discuss the not-so-recent but steady increase of the use of social media, Bimber and Davis (2003) noted the use of the internet from as early as the Bill Clinton's presidential campaign in 1992 when communication about the campaign was put on the internet in different forms (Jamil, 2018). The 2000 campaign in the United States was then labelled as the "first Internet election" where online campaign was very common (Foot & Schneider, 2006). In 2004, US presidential candidates changed their perceptions of the web as being a brochure carried electronically, but as their "electronic headquarters." (Foot and Schneider, 2006: 10). As noted by Hendricks & Denton (2010) as well as the discussion in the first few paragraphs of this section, by 2008, new tools including social networking as well as blogging were thrust to the scene, with Obama becoming the biggest beneficiary.

As a platform, the use of social media in politics is ever on the increase (Chadwick and Smith, 2016). A study of the two campaigns of 2008 and 2012 in the US showed that the uptake increased sharply from 40 per cent to 71 per cent, respectively (Smith 2013).

Another noted impact of the use of social media in political campaigns is the Arab Springs of 2011, where scholars have cited the fact that social media provided a structure that enabled

people to create awareness about their course, and thereby mobilise and call for group and collective actions (Storck 2011). Other protests recorded to have used social media to mobilise protesters include the 2011 youth demonstrations in London protesting against unemployment, protests in Iran in 2009 after the re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejab, and protests against President Hosni Mubarak following the shutdown of the internet for five days in 2011 (See for example Muntean, 2015; Carlisle and Patton, 2013; and Yang, 2013).

Comparatively, a study of the use of Twitter by US President Barack Obama, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and British Prime Minister David Cameron between August and October of 2010 found that Obama tweeted more, followed by Netanyahu, then lastly, Cameron (Aharony, 2012). The study concluded that the leaders "used Twitter for transparency and outreach" (ibid. 2012: 600). Significantly, the study opined that "as the political leaders use Twitter, they use a channel that is not filtered by local or national media, thus they are able to convey their own unique agendas without being censored or filtered" (Aharony, 2012:600).

What emerges from this study as well as those by other scholars like Caplan, 2013; Budak, 2012; and Smith & Brenner, 2012, is that social media, compared to the traditional media, has now fundamentally altered the way audiences relate with politicians. Indeed, "today, tens of thousands of political discussions currently populated on these sites allow members from around the corner and across the globe to discuss and debate the issues, trends and topics they find most interesting and immediate." (Ingenito, 2010: 2).

Another way in which the way people communicate through social media has been altered is the rise of the use of humour in politics or to discuss politics, a relevant area of study that the NASA Online TV could lend itself to.

Ogola (2019), in a description of the workings of the Twitter hashtag in the Kenyan context, documents how the use of humour has allowed social media users to navigate complex political situations by use of satire.

In the Kenyan context, humour has been part of the political deliberations even before the advent of social media given the situation that this research has described in its background; repressive regimes that hammered too heavily on dissent (See for example Ogola, 2019; Ogola, 2010; Ligaga, 2012; Musila, 2010).

So what is the influence of social media on the voter, if any?

Scholars interested in the use of social media are debating whether its use by political parties and how candidates engage will influence the voting result, but there is general agreement that even then "participating in the available technology will expand the candidates' reach while maximizing control of their campaign message" (Hwang 2016:117).

Evidence collected by scholars over the years have generally tended to agree that "for those who have access and the political motivation, and who are living within open, democratic societies, the internet offers very viable possibilities for civic interaction but clearly cannot promise a quick fix for democracy" (Dahlgren, 2005: 151).

The idea posited by Dahlgren (2005) was put to test in the 2013 election in Kenya where studies observed that candidates like Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua were popular on social media, and interacted with their audiences and followers frequently (Ndavula and Mueni, 2014; Kamau, 2017). But although they promoted their messages and engaged with the audiences, as discussed earlier in this section, Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth's engagement on social media did not translate to votes (Ndavula and Mueni, 2014).

Some studies have supported assertions that social media has helped remove the barriers that existed in the traditional media by offering a low cost medium for ordinary citizens to engage in politics, as well as the possibility of that engagement being used to predict the poll's outcome (Tedesco 2007, Strandberg 2013; Gray et.al., 2013).

In the 2018 election in Pakistan, for example, Sadia Jamil makes the same conclusions in the study that focused on public participation in Karachi. The study concludes that "Twitter, Blogs, Facebook and internet have altogether facilitated the public's ability to gain political knowledge and to participate in political debates" (Jamil, 2018: 7).

These conclusions are an important piece of literature to understand the landscape, and theoretically, later in the study, make sense of the findings.

Williams and Gulati (2008) contend that social media has shown great potential to promote political participation as well as enhance efforts to mobilise grassroots population. From the early 1990s, political campaigns only took consideration of the mass appeal of television and the

ability for it to provide the most number of people at one time for political messaging (Gibson, 2015).

With social media, this has changed drastically. Political campaigns now need to adapt to the nature of social media accepting multiple channels of message delivery, most of all due to the consequences of social media of segmenting audiences (Gibson, 2015).

Another significant contribution to the influence of social media in politics was made by Julia Caplan who studied how candidates in the 2nd Congressional District of Virginia, Republican Congressman Scott Rigell and Democratic candidate Paul Hirschbiel used Twitter in their 2012 campaign. In the study, Caplan concludes that both candidates' use of Twitter to post information about their campaigns and recent activities were used in a way that "the candidates hoped to motivate citizens, activate voters and differentiate themselves from their competitors" (Caplan, 2013: abstract).

In her conclusion, Caplan (2013) rightly points out that the fact that she did not look at the 'reply" side of the tweets by the two candidates offers chance for future research.

This, in this study, seeks to be addressed with the fact that the content analysis will look at both the content by NASA online TV as well as the interactions of the audiences each time the political party went live.

This brings to fore the idea of a public sphere defined by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas as the space between society and the state where private individuals discuss public matters; a realm of a people's social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed (Habermas, 1984: 49).

There is, however, general agreement among scholars that the ideal public sphere conceptualized by Habermas does not exist, nor is there any government or public sphere that pays attention to all the voices (See for example Fraser, 1992; Schudson 1997; Garnham 1992).

In her famed critique of the public sphere as theorized by Habermas, Nancy Fraser opined that the public sphere as conceptualized by Habermas was only as a space for only men to engage on their governance skills, because as such it excluded women and the working class, those not from the privileged lot of men (Fraser, 1992).

Due to this kind of exclusion from the dominant debate, Fraser contends, there exists multiple public spheres, which are not equal in terms of power, articulation, or privilege, and which represents and gives voice to different collective interests as well as identities in response to their exclusion from the dominant public sphere (Fraser, 1992). The space to allow these kinds of different groups coalescing on their own to work around being excluded from the dominant group can be seen in the latter day's social media (Dahlgren, 2005).

Like was discussed in the previous sections of this study, the formation of the NASA Online TV was, in essence, a protest of or against the dominant public sphere that NASA felt did not represent or articulate their political and media interests.

However, while the fact that social media has demonstrably given politicians an opportunity to discuss things that matter to them that might not be possible on mainstream news media, studies have shown that there is still a strong correlation between the news media and social media. Andreas Jungherr studied this correlation using the 2009 German federal election campaign where he studied tweets after televised television debates. He concludes that "Twitter emerges as a space for political discourse that integrates thematically with the broadcast event" (Jungherr 2014: 253).

Andrew Chadwick also talks about this correlation, concluding that "the hybrid media system exhibits a balance between the older logics of transmission and reception and the newer logics of circulation, recirculation, and negotiation" (2003: 208). This balance, he argues, still is skewed towards the older logics (2003: 209).

Schroeder (2016) disputes this line of argument, pointing out the fact that it overlooks the reality that the elites in politics and media are able to use new media to interact with the public by monitoring as well as giving feedback to their conversations; and also increase the space to not only include those who are somewhat not interested in politics, but also provide a bigger visibility for those active and interested in politics.

Back to the United States, in 2016, when the current US President Donald Trump faced it off with former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton of the Democratic Party, the use of social media increased even more (Hwang, 2016). Before he lost to Clinton in the Democratic primaries, Bernie Sanders also ran a successful fundraising and political campaign on social media. This

campaign was hugely significant because of the fact that it was supporter-driven and the campaign jumped on to it to push for the support of his policies, and ask for votes (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017).

In the case of NASA Online TV, which presented itself as a media house in the 2017 elections, the role of competing media organisations defining for each other which news should be treated as important, defined as "intermedia agenda-setting" (Danielian & Reese, 1989) comes to fore. This triangulation of agenda setting and public sphere in the digital age will be addressed further in the theoretical framework section.

In all, through social media, citizens, voters and would-be voters have been given a chance not traditionally available on mainstream media to participate widely in democratic processes to express themselves (Dahlgren, 2005; Schroeder, 2016; Aalberg and Curran, 2012; Segerberg, 2011; and Mercea, 2011).

This was exemplified in three recent elections in India in 2014, Nigeria in 2015, and Ghana in 2016, which I will discuss for the benefit of shedding light on the Kenyan scenario in 2017.

In the 2014 election in India, the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party and Prime Minister Narendra Modi engaged citizens on social media to promote their candidates and to achieve what was the country's highest voter turnout ever recorded (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017; Biswas et al. 2014; Price, 2015). The BJP became the first party since 1984 to win an absolute majority in India (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017).

For Prime Minister Modi, his campaign engaged his followers on social media multiple times in one day, and by the time the campaign was done, he had "16 million 'likes'" on his Facebook page, the second most 'likes' for any politician in the world, and he was the sixth most-followed world leader on Twitter." (Ali, 2014, cited in Kasenally and Awatar, 2017: 57).

The most significant use of social media for the Modi campaign, however, was the "Chai Pe Charcha" (Hindi phrase for discussion over tea). (Awatar, 2017).

These sessions were organised at tea stalls where the prime minister will interact with people, with the programme then shown simultaneously in over 1,000 tea stalls in over 300 cities in India (Ali, 2014; Price, 2015; Kasenally and Awatar, 2017). This link between online and offline

communication was a cirtical component in the Modi campaign, as well as the study of the use of social media in elections, a primary focus of this thesis.

Like in the case of Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua having an active social media engagement but with not as much offline engagement in the Kenyan election in 2013 (Nyabola, 2018), this case in India proves just how vital offline engagement is in boosting the activities on social media to achieve optimum results.

Also significant was Modi's use of social media to address virtual rallies, by streaming it live through the internet, using 3D hologram technology, giving him the unprecedented reach to places he might not even have been known (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017; Price, 2015).

For both the tea stalls meeting and the streaming of rallies live through the internet, the NASA Online TV stands as an appropriation of what is possible on the internet especially in strategic political communication.

In Nigeria, another issue which has been canvassed in the background of the NASA online TV emergence, was the suppression of circulation of traditional media newspapers by incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan (Olowojolu, 2016). Frustrated by this lack of space to market his ideas on the mainstream media in the 2015 election in Nigeria, Jonathan's main competitor and eventual winner Muhammadu Buhari moved his campaign messaging to social media (Olowojolu, 2016). According to Bartlett et al. (2015), Twitter was an average 10 times more active during that election period between March 18 and April 22, 2015 than 'normal times' with over 12.4 million tweets produced during that period (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017: 57).

The effect of social media on the 2015 elections was best summarised by Sunny Dare, who became Buhari's chief of staff after his election.

> I think this election was decided, dominated and directed by social media. The power of social media came out for this country. Social media played a central role as a watchdog in keeping the integrity of the process. Within minutes of votes being counted at a polling unit, the results were all over social media. Ordinary people with Excel sheets were doing tallies. At the end of the day when it was announced officially, the results matched. So

> social media were central because of the immediacy, because it was in the hands of so many citizens who were involved, who were interested. In a way, social media seized the day from the legacy media. You had almost everyone depending on social media for the breaking news. Social media came alive for us this time. (Kasenally and Awatar, 2017: 58).

Impressed by the use of social media by opposition candidate Muhammadu Buhari in neighbouring Nigeria, Nana Akufo-Addo hired professionals that had worked in the campaign to join his in his own bid to beat President John Mahama in the Ghanaian presidential elections in 2016 (Opara, 2017).Akufo-Addo beat Mahama, making history by being the first candidate to deny a sitting president a second term 9ibid. 2017).

As a strategy, the Akufo-Addo campaign used hashtags #KnowYourPresident and #ChangeIsComing, the team he hired from the Buhari campaign as well as those in his own team packaged him as a man that appealed to all sets of voters (ibid. 2017).

President John Mahama used social media, too, regularly uploading to social media sites videos filmed using drones to showcase what the campaign packaged as marvellous infrastructural changes (Opara, 2017).

In conclusion, what these three cases showed as Kenya prepared for its elections, is that there was massive opportunity in social media campaigning.

This section has reviewed relevant literature in the media and politics debate, as well as teased out concepts and debates in the scholarly work relevant to this study. In relations to the objectives of this study to understand how and in what ways NASA used NASA Online TV for its strategic political communication; the kind of public sphere created by the Online TV, as well as its engagements with them, this section has also addressed relevant literature concerning these issues so as to put the study in perspective.

2.3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The main aim of this research is to investigate the use of NASA Online TV for strategic political communication by the National Super Alliance (NASA) in Kenya in the 2017 presidential elections.

Specifically, using content analysis, this study will explore how and in what ways NASA used NASA Online TV as a strategic political communication tool in the 2017 elections, and by analysing its content and themes, as well as style, describe and analyse the kind of audience NASA Online TV created and what kinds of interactions it had with them. It also seeks to tease out the question of the implication of these events on the appropriation of digital media for political processes in Kenya as well as implication for the media dimensions of electioneering.
Primed on its self-advertised aspiration to become "a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people", this study also seeks to understand and analyse the kind of audience or publics the NASA Online TV created, and the kind of interactions it had.
This section seeks to discuss, arising from the literature review, the relevant theories for this study.

2.3.1: From public sphere to virtual sphere

One of the primary goals of this study is to understand the kind of audience NASA Online TV created and their subsequent interactions with them.

This kind of approach falls in the public sphere is defined as the space between society and the state where private individuals discuss public matters; a realm of a people's social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed (Habermas, 1984: 49).

The public sphere that Jürgen Habermas talks about, however, has been cited, including by Habermas himself, as an ideal of what should be. Indeed, as conceptualised by Habermas, the ideal public sphere does not exist (see for example Fraser, 1992; Schudson 1997; Garnham 1992).

Nancy Fraser opined that the public sphere as theorised by Habermas was exclusionary, as even then it locked out women and the working class from discussions about governance and the approach of something that approaches public opinion (Fraser, 1992).

Fraser argues that this kind of exclusion from debate and formation of public opinion, multiple or opposing public spheres—though not equal in power or privilege or their articulation of issues—have come to give voice as well as represent interests excluded from the dominant public sphere (Fraser, 1992).

Like in the European context that Fraser wrote about, Mustapha (2012) argues that the same idea of exclusion has also led to oppositional publics in Africa, only with a different result. In the end, he argues, their results a reduction or almost closure of the gap Habermas postulated should exist between public and private spheres, as well as those between the personal and social (check grammar) (Mustapha, 2012: 5).

This has later been studied and theorised in the context of today's internet and social media, with Peter Dahlgren summarising it thus:

> The internet is at the forefront of the evolving public sphere, and if the dispersion of public spheres generally is contributing to the already destabilized political communication system, specific counter public spheres on the Internet are also allowing engaged citizens to play a role in the development of new democratic politics (Dahlgren, 2005: 160).

In the case of NASA Online TV and its use in the Kenyan election in 2017, the idea of them launching an opposing public sphere as theorised by Fraser (1992) and later Dahlgren (2005) comes to the fore in their exclusion from the dominant political, and by extension the debates.

There is, however, another critical contribution that this theory will make to the study and that is the creation of an audience and how the NASA Online TV interacted with it, an important research question in this study.

Social media and the internet, as indeed discussions in the society, allow for discussions in a manner not similar to that conceptualised by Habermas, and where people are free to pour out

their passions and emotions, sometimes even in the absence of supporting arguments (Dahlgren, 2005). According to Habermas, what he calls the political public sphere is only possible in "the concept of deliberative democracy" (1992:451) that he says will form a sphere not necessarily formed to allow decision making, but one that will lead to discovery, and eventually, solving problems.

In the African perspective, Mak'Ochieng (1996) agrees with Habermas, saying that the role of the media should be to "be a political sphere or public forum accessible to all contending political players, groups and interests whose objective is the deliberation of common public issues or affairs, and the framing and influencing of public policy." (1996:31).

While it is fraught with challenges, Mouffe (1999) says allowing passions and emotions in deliberations on politics instead of only sticking with the Habermasian rational discussions will actually help in the building of democracy.

Scholars that came after Habermas have been keen to apply this concept to the internet and social media with key questions being whether the internet will either extend a people's political capacities or limit them, or both (Papacharissi, 2002). Other scholars have also been interested in measuring this extent of the internet, and by extension, social media on just how much it will change the public sphere in politics, especially now when studies have shown a public that is becoming dormant in political activities or where cynicism is growing towards political participation (See for example, Fallows, 1996; Cappella and Jamieson, 1996, 1997; Patterson, 1996).

In this respect, and as demonstrated in the previous sections, for the opposition NASA, the formation of NASA Online TV was an attempt to create a new publics that does not inhibit passions (See Dahlgren, 2005) as well as allow them to create a new kind of publics challenging the dominant one (Fraser, 1992).

Like Fraser's critique of the public sphere in the era of the mainstream media, on social media, the same principle applies (Papacharissi, 2002). While the internet indeed offers the same access to various forms of information to users, as well as ability to meaningfully interact with the

information, information generators, as well as other users, the truth is that like the Habermasian public sphere, this discussion is still very much dominated only by a few (2002:14).

Similarly, the internet, which leads to what Todd Gitlin calls “public sphericules” has been said to have what “enriches the possibilities for a plurality of publics – for the development of distinct groups organized around affinity and interests” (Gitlin, 1998:73).

This has subsequently led to questions on whether and how then this relates to, and to what extent, this might harm the possibility of this plurality of publics making it difficult to then bridge the gap between communities (Cowling and Hamilton, 2020).

This, in media research, has been documented in publics that operate in their own spaces or enclaves which the internet then enables them to be ‘echo chambers’ or ‘filter bubbles”, spaces where users and the usage itself makes it incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for any dissenting views to be discussed in such spaces (Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et.al, 2016; Cowling and Hamilton, 2020: 31).

In some cases, this leads to what has been described as “context collapse”, the fact that at any one point there could be an infinite number of participants online, making conversations far more difficult as compared to the number of people one could possibly interact with at any one point in time face-to-face (Marwick and Boyd, 2011)

As far as political participation and public debate in democracy is concerned, the internet is being integrated into other forms of political communication, and it "offers very viable possibilities for civic interaction but clearly cannot promise a quick fix for democracy." (Dahlgren, 2005:151).

Using the case of Kenyans on Twitter (KOT), Ogola (2019) explores the other question about digitial media; whether or not they are popluar. He argues that the material requirments for access to the digital space prevents it from being the popular per se (Ogola, 2019, cited in Srinivasan et. al (2018). This, Ogola (2019) argues, also happens when even humour and other forms of communciaiton online are popular or meant to be, “through hidden hierarchies and forms of exclusion.” (Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 9).

Though informed by the past, this digital space is "constantly new and active." (Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 9). They are, in essence, "informed by the past, but are also continually re-configuring shared identities and socialities, with their own hierarchies and exclusions." (Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 9-10).

However, in analysing this public sphere, recently generally referred to as the virtual sphere (Papacharissi, 2002), Zizi Papacharissi offers the following guidelines in terms of questions to ask:

> Can it (virtual sphere) promote rational discourse, thus producing the romanticized ideal of a public sphere envisioned by Habermas and others? Does it reflect several public spheres co-existing online, representing the collectives of diverse groups, as Fraser argued? Are online discussions dominated by elements of anarchy or accord, and do they foster democracy? Will the revolutionary potential of the internet be ultimately absorbed by a mass commercial culture? (Papacharissi, 2002:12).

As pointed out in the research objectives, this study seeks to answer these questions especially on several public spheres existing online, whether or not online discussions are dominated by anarchy, or accord, and how, in these different ways, do they foster democracy.

The virtual sphere, Papacharissi argues, might be a powerful tool in the form of what it could be in the ideal as "people from different cultural backgrounds, states, or countries involve themselves in virtual political discussions in a matter of minutes, often expanding each other's horizons with culturally diverse viewpoints, captures the essence of this technology." (Papacharissi, 2002:23).

These questions, particularly on the making of an African public sphere, can be summarised as thus:

> Will the internet, therefore, not affect the values and identities of those drawn into its networks? Or can it contribute to the emergence of a 'new pan-Africanism' based on people-to-people contact at the individual level, as distinct from the current pan-Africanism of states? Will this 'new pan-Africanism' be sufficiently robust to undermine the ethnic,

national, gender, and racial intolerance that have plagued many African societies? Will this 'new pan Africanism' advance the communitarian and humanitarian ethos of Ubuntu? Or will it promote the 'networked individualism' (Mustapha, 2012:7).

In his study of the 'fluidity' of publics, using the case of the students protests calling for fees reduction in university education in South Africa, Indra De Lanerolle, reading from the works of Sunstein (1992, 2007, 1999), argues that the internet does in fact make it relatively more difficult to have a public forum, let alone one envisaged by Habermas (De Lanerolle, 2011: 58).

Although his study was based on the Twitter hashtag—a tool that allows users, independent of whether they have a connection as 'friends' online to follow and contribute to a conversation—his findings on the fluidity of the publics and therefore their engagements on these protests will help shed a great deal of light to NASA Online TV's own way of audience engagement.

This is especially so given what he describes as the motivation for the students to use the Twitter hashtag to not only drive their narrative, but also fight what they saw as untrue narratives on their campaign on the mainstream media, a similar problem that NASA had when the online TV was started (De Lanerolle, 2020).

This also mirrors the kind of engagement highlighted by Omanga (2019) which, like NASA Online TV, was a group that was both "both exclusive and dynamic, and both includes members of government and self-defines as opposition." (Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 9; Omanga, 2019).

This theoretical approach is relevant to this study as it helps unpack the kind of audience created by the NASA Online TV, as well as their interactions with them.

2.3.2: Agenda-setting

The agenda setting theory explains how the media can influence public opinion (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). In essence, the media, in this regard, forms "pictures in our heads" (Lippmann, 1922:28) about the world around us and what they report about it.

This theory, therefore, concerns itself with what issues the media chooses to give prominence, as well as how those issues are then reported (Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004: 275).

In terms of who sets the agenda, scholars have generally agreed that during elections, like where this study is situated, politicians and public practitioners have, and indeed still continue, to set the news media agenda (See for example McCombs and Shaw, 1993; Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Walgrave, Soroka &Nuytemans, 2008; and Rogers and Dearing, 1988).

During campaigns, candidates and campaign managers, in what is known as the fist-level agenda setting, "seek to build the salience, the prominence, of their candidates among voters" (McCombs and Valenzuela, 2007:47).

The second level agenda setting occurs when it is beyond just getting salience, but when it is about "an image of the candidates in which specific attributes become particularly salient" (2007:47).

The way an issue is covered, which aspects of it are on the news media, and the relative emphasis given to the issue makes a proven difference in how people perceive of the issue (Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004). This has been studied as the second level agenda setting (McCombs and Valenzuela, 2007). This aspect of media agenda influencing the public agenda was studied and proven in the Chilean election in 2006 where the description voters gave of the candidates in the presidential election tallied very closely with how the media, specifically, the metropolitan newspapers had described them (2007:47).

In their study, McCombs and Valenzuela (2007) suggest a possible difference with agenda setting in the internet age. Arguing from the basis that the internet could wane the ability of the traditional media to set the public agenda, the posit that "the availability of many channels and the opportunity for users to seek their own personal agendas challenges a basic tenet of agenda-setting that the media tend to share the same set of news priorities" (2007:49).

However, they argue, more evidence is still needed as far as the above theory goes as "the evidence to date shows that attention to news on the web tends to be even more highly concentrated than in the print world" (McCombs and Valenzuela, 2007:49).

In a paper discussing the inter-media agenda setting between old media and new media, Zain (2014) argues that the internet, also known as new media, has the advantages of faster deliver

and easy accessibility. He concludes that the "new media have a huge influence on the old media and able to contribute in setting the agenda for the public's view or media audiences in short time" (Zain, 2004: 7)

This theory, therefore, is important in analysing how NASA Online TV and assessing its messages, content, themes, and style in regards to what the theory says of the media as one that "not only tell us what to think about, but also how to think about it, and, consequently what to think" (McCombs & Shaw, 1993:65).

Accordingly, this theory will help the study analyse the content and themes that NASA Online TV engaged with during the 2017 election.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present the research methods that I propose to use in this study.

Seeing that the study seeks to looks at content and themes of the coverage of NASA Online TV of the 2017 election, as well as its style of presentation, this study seeks to use a qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

3.1: Content analysis

Content analysis in research allows for the exploration of topics and themes (Berg, 2001). As noted by Merrigan and Huston (2004), content analysis enables description of communication messages in a stated context. The use of content analysis has now been extended to computer mediated communication (Merrigan and Huston, 2004).

Broadly, content analysis concerns itself with the "the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the content of communication" (Baran, 2002:410).

Even more succinctly, content analysis can be defined as “a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purposes of measuring variables [answering research questions]” (Kerlinger, 1986, cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2000:135).

Given this definition, content analysis, therefore has to be systematic with all content being considered treated in the same manner, as well as employing a sampling process that gives all content an equal chance of being part of the analysis (2000:135).

This type of analysis will help the researcher make sense of the content produced by the NASA Online TV.

3.1.1: Quantitative content analysis

Aliaga and Gunderson (2002) define quantitative research methods as those that help the researcher gather data by use of statistics. Therefore, quantitative research involves “the utilization and analysis of numerical data using specific statistical techniques to answer questions like who, how much, what, where, when, how many, and how” (Apuke, 2017: 41).

In the case of the NASA Online TV, this type of analysis will help the researcher quantify, for example, the number of times a certain topic was discussed, and the times allocated for each, among others.

Although this is not the main aim of the study, this kind of overview of what kind of content was available in NASA Online TV will help have a summarised idea over and above the sampled videos that will then be analysed in-depth.

3.1.2: Qualitative content analysis

In qualitative content analysis, on the other hand, "there is an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge out of data and on recognizing the significance for understanding the meaning of the context in which an item being analysed (and the categories derived from it)" (Bryman 2004, 542).

Unlike quantitative content analysis, qualitative research is "objective data to be quantified, but meaningful relations to be interpreted" (Kvale, 1996: 11).

This type of analysis, fundamentally, is one where "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (Patton, 2002: 453).

Bonnie Brennen theorises:

> Qualitative researchers do not identify variables, operationalize research terms, and construct hypotheses, conduct experiments, measure data or replicate findings. Instead, they ask research questions, search for meaning, look for useful ways to talk about experiences within a specific historical, cultural, economic and/or political context, and consider the research process within the relevant social practices (Brennen, 2013: 15).

In this endeavour, the study will rely on transcriptions of sampled videos on the NASA Online TV which will include interviews done by the TV during the 2017 election coverage in Kenya.

The theory of public sphere, as explained in the theoretical framework section, will be used to explain, understand and analyse the behaviour and characteristics of the NASA Online TV audience.

3.2: Media content analysis

Media content analysis gained popularity in the 1920s and 1930s as a research method used to investigate what was then a fast-growing movie industry (Macnamara, 2005).

This kind of analysis grew into the 1950s in social sciences as well as well as mass communication research especially with the advent of television (Macnamara, 2005: 1). Since then, "media content analysis has been a primary research method for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in television programming as well as in films" (2005:1).

In the new era of computer-mediated communication, Jensen (2002) argues that the computer "tends to blur the distinction between medium and context" (2002:162).

Unlike in television where interaction occurs around and in reference to the medium, with computers, this interaction is in such a way that when it ends, "the medium simply becomes inoperative" (Jensen, 2002: 162). He argues:

> In this regard, interactivity is not merely an offer, but a requirement and a condition of computer-mediated communication. This condition entails a different conceptualization and operationalization of 'media' and 'contexts,' and may lead research to explore, in more concrete terms, the performative aspects of media use (Jensen, 2002: 162)

In this study of computer-mediated communication, the researcher will use observation approach as it helps identify themes in the NASA Online TV content.

3.3: Research design

This is a study of NASA online TV covering the period between May 1, 2017 and April 23, 2018. This study period will cover the pre-election, election, and post-election periods for a better understanding of the television.

The study will use a combination of a qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

In order to properly analyse the workings of the NASA Online TV, this study proposes to use a sequential sampling method.

The study will pick every 10th video uploaded during the study period between January 24, 2017 and April 13, 2018.

In the audience reaction analysis, this study proposes to also use sequential sampling, taking in every 10th comment for analysis.

The study will sample videos published on the NASA Online TV Facebook page on https://www.facebook.com/CoalitionNASAKe/.

The videos, where the TV was used, are available on https://www.facebook.com/pg/CoalitionNASAKe/videos/?ref=page_internal

The comments under the sampled video will then be analysed for study.

3.4: Methods of analysing data

As discussed in the previous sections, this study will do a qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will discuss and analyse the findings of the study.

This study sought to analyse, understand and describe the themes in the content of NASA Online TV in the 2017 election in Kenya and what kind of audience this created and the subsequent interactions with them.

Labelled as "a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people", this chapter will tease out the organisation and presentation of the content and themes in the NASA online TV as well as the different kinds of engagements with the audiences in these different topics.

4.1: The manifestation of the NASA manifesto

By a large extent, the content that NASA online TV carried during and after the 2017 presidential election in Kenya mirrored the election manifesto that the coalition had presented to Kenyans before the elections.

Using the classification of issues in the NASA Coalition manifesto, the table below takes the form of a preliminary analysis of the proportional focus on the different topics that the programme focused on.

NASA manifesto category	Times covered in NASA Online TV
Nation building (Values, identity, addressing historical injustices and extra-judicial killing)	**15**
Governance	**40**
Realising social and economic rights (Dignity to everyone)	**10**
Social injustice (Employment and eradication of poverty)	**8**
State building (Devolution)	**8**
Regional and international cooperation	**2**

Table 1: What NASA Online TV covered classified according to the NASA manifesto

Of the six things NASA promised to deliver if elected, the NASA Online TV gave immense airtime and space to the issue of governance. Discussed in 40 of the 83 panel discussions, governance, as identified in the NASA manifesto, was by far the most prevalent subject. Here, the NASA Online TV focused on the rule of law, the workings of the Judiciary, the electoral commission, the electoral laws, Parliament and executive decisions.

The topics on social injustices addressing employment and eradication of poverty often overlapped with those talking about dignity to everyone which discussed realisation of social and economic rights.

The numbering of the population of the different topics during the NASA Online TV topic discussions may overlap due to such occurrences.

In all, the population of how these different ideas listed in the NASA manifesto was, to the best of the researcher's classification, a proper representation of the topics covered by NASA Online TV.

It is important to note that NASA Online TV often covered more than one topic, spanning more than one manifesto classification, during the panel discussions.

In order to further address this, I will divide the NASA Online TV panel discussions in three: the pre-election period, during the election, and after the election.

I. Pre-election period

This is the period between May 1, 2017 and Election Day on August 8, 2017. This is the nascent stages of the NASA Online TV.

No panel discussion was done at this point. The platform was, at this stage, only used to stream live rallies attended by the NASA Coalition.

It was also used to run adverts made by the NASA Coalition team calling on Kenyans to vote in Raila Odinga whom they painted as the man to take Kenyans to Canaan, the biblical reference to Joshua and the children of Israel crossing River Jordan following the death of Moses.

At this point, comments on the NASA Online TV page were in general agreement, with most of those who switched on to watch the live rallies commenting on what was being said. Others demanded to see more. Others were just happy to announce that they were watching, and sometimes where they were watching from.

II. Post-election period

This is the period between the Election Day on August 8, 2017 and March 9, 2018. March 9, 2018 is significant because it is the time that Raila Odinga announced a working arrangement with President Uhuru Kenyatta, famously referred to as the handshake (Khadiagala, 2019).

In the handshake, the leaders agreed to work together to solve what they said were running problems Kenya has had since independence when their fathers, Raila Odinga and Jomo Kenyatta respectively, were at the helm of the country's leadership (Obonyo, 2018).

The period between the election and this new arrangement between the two leaders was the most active period for the NASA Online TV. Out of the 86 panel discussions the platform carried during the period of study, 73 were during this period. This accounted for 85 per cent.

The first panel discussion was on August 23, 2017. The platform went on to hold nine more panel discussions before the month of August ended. At this period of August, NASA Online TV took a confrontational tone, even in their framing of topics. These included some topics like:

In light of the massive fraud that characterised the 2017 election, are you likely to vote again? (August 25, 2017).

Secession: Is it time to split Kenya into two distinct States? (August 28, 2017).

We will no longer "accept and move on" (August 23, 2017).

Does the police treat Raila Odinga unfairly? (August 30, 2017)

Why would NASA want to share government with Jubilee? (August 31, 2017)

Have MPs become mere voting machines? (August 31, 2017)

Contextually, it was during the month of August that the NASA Coalition filed a case challenging the declaration of President Uhuru Kenyatta as the winner of the August 8, 2017 election. During this period, from the topics that NASA Online TV chose to cover, the platform's campaign agenda was one of disapproval of the election results following the declaration of the results and the filing of the court case.

In September, the Supreme Court made its judgment and the coverage of the NASA Online TV changed with it. From concerns about what was happening in court and what submissions the ruling coalition were making in court, the tone and topic changed to those defending the Supreme Court while questioning the president's conduct following the ruling. In September, some of the main topics covered included:

The president's unpresidential conduct (September 1, 2017)

The electoral commission: What exactly went wrong? (September 1, 2017)

How to support the NASA campaign (September 7, 2017)

NASA Position paper on irreducible minimums before the fresh presidential election (September 18, 2017)

As has been explained in the previous section, at this point NASA Online TV had taken the role of communicating the NASA position by having topics that concerned relevant issues the coalition was dealing with or was interested in politically following a historic annulment of the August 8, 2017 presidential election in Kenya.

In this position, NASA Online TV did not just see itself as communicating the current events, but ultimately, taking and popularising the NASA positions on the matters. But perhaps the most telling was the topic of discussion on September 21, 2017. It read:

Uhuru directs government arms to provide relief to woo Justice Lenaola (Maasai) and by extension the Maa community? Coax Justice Lenaola into forgetting about the Jubilee anti-Mwilu/ Lenaola petitions? Brushing aside the hideous and quite recent incident of Laikipia pastoralists' herds being decimated by the Kenya Defence Forces? (September 21, 2017)

This topic heading referred to above is important to note. The topic heading, referring to what would go on in the discussion, already takes a position. Though put in terms of a question mark, NASA Online TV does little to hide its position in the discussion, especially with the use of the words "to woo", "into forgetting about", and "brushing aside the hideous and quite recent", all meant to not only tell the reader what will be talked about, but also inform me what direction and position, if any, to take in the discussion.

Other topics that already took positions in its topic headings included:

*Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka's security detail is provided by the State under the Constitution and must not be withdrawn on a whim by President Uhuru Kenyatta/ Security minister Fred Matiang'i (*September 28, 2017*)*

In October, NASA Online TV dedicated its panel discussions to police brutality and extra-judicial killings. This month featured panel discussions on demonstrations by the NASA team against the electoral commission and subsequent complaints of police brutality, when students of the University of Nairobi were beaten up by the police following a demonstration, safety of women in politics, and what the NASA Online TV called ethnic profiling of the Luhyia community following clashes in Kawangware Slums in Nairobi.

In November, NASA Online TV shifted its gears to post the repeat presidential election that took place on October 26, 2017 and which was boycotted by Raila Odinga (Oruko and Lang'at, 2018). In this month, the panel discussions were dedicated to the National Resistance Movement, the new outfit led by lawyer Miguna Miguna unveiled by Mr Odinga a day to the repeat presidential elections he boycotted (Obonyo, 2018). This was also the same month that economist Dr David Ndii, who was serving as a NASA Coalition strategist appeared to talk about the state of the economy and corruption. NASA Online TV also discussed, in one session, *"the media's perpetually non-reporting/ misreporting NASA" (*November 29, 2017).

At this point, it appears, the NASA Online TV, as did NASA in their public pronouncements at the time, felt misrepresented in the media, especially the activities of the National Resistance Movement. This also involved speculations that were in the media and which NASA Online TV covered in the November 29, 2017 panel discussion on Raila Odinga's next step after he boycotted the October 26, 2017 elections.

In December, NASA then concentrated its efforts on talking about a planned taking of the oath by Raila Odinga on December 12, the same day the country celebrates the day of it attained self-rule. A day after the planned taking of the oath, which did not happen, NASA Online TV hosted a panel to discuss and mock the appearance that President Uhuru Kenyatta's national celebrations of the day it attained self-rule in a function held at Uhuru Park. The panel discussions also discussed *"The United Nations is abrogating its role in promoting human rights, strengthening civil society and democracy in Kenya, Rwandan and Bosnian genocides." (*December 14, 2017).

From talking about ethnic profiling to police brutality and extra judicial killings in October, to the formation and role of the resistance movement, which came about as a reaction to these

actions by the police, the NASA Online TV, in December, had escalated the language of what was going on to a 'genocide'. As I have demonstrated in the background section, this kind of movement and escalation of not just the wording of the topic headings but the discussions themselves followed hand in hand with the political message of the party.

Like before, the NASA Online TV appears to have taken on a role of communicating the attacks against its supporters and Kenyans, but also a visible attempt to tell its viewers what to think about and how to think about them in the manner described as agenda-setting (See for example McCombs and Shaw: 1993; Roberts & McCombs: 1994; Walgrave, Soroka &Nuytemans: 2008; and Rogers and Dearing: 1988).

On January 30, 2018, Mr Odinga took an oath of office, declaring himself as the 'people's president' (Oruko and Lang'at, 2018). This marked a difference, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, on the content and direction of the NASA Online TV.

In January 2018, NASA Online TV focused on the activities of the National Resistance Movement, the new outfit announced by Mr Odinga on October 25, 2017 (Obonyo, 2018) as well as the preparations of the taking of the oath by Mr Odinga as the people's president (Oruko and Lang'at, 2018). In February, however, the direction changed again, this time focusing on the "State of the dictatorship (NASA Online TV, February 19; February 20; and February 28). The platform also discussed the state of the NASA Coalition following the disagreement after NASA Principals Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi, Moses Wetang'ula skipped Mr Odinga's oath-taking ceremony (Oruko and Lang'at, 2018).

The first week of March, before the handshake, the platform showed signs of slowing down the strong language that was seen in the period between October and January. It moved its discussions to those about NASA Coalition's way forward, the state of the economy, and the role of women in politics.

III. Post-handshake period

For the purposes of this study, this is the period between March 9, 2018 when the handshake happened (Obonyo, 2018), and April 17, 2018, the last panel discussion sampled by this study.

This period saw a marked difference in NASA Online TV coverage of the post-election period. It moved from the antagonistic Jubilee versus NASA discussions to those about parliamentary privileges, subjects most ordinary Kenyans find common ground.

There were also discussions about the state of the nation as well as those on polygamy. On April 13, 2018, NASA Online TV hosted a discussion with Rarieda Member of Parliament Otiende Amollo about his new initiative of building houses for the poor. They called the show on '*Alleviating the plight of the poor'* (April 13, 2018). The last panel discussion this study sampled was on April 17, 2018 which discussed the state of the handshake

4.2. The conduct of the debate: Maurice 'Mdomo Baggy' Ochieng

*T*he NASA Online TV involved, mainly, the livestreaming of NASA rallies as well as hosting of panel discussions where moderator Maurice 'Mdomo Baggy' Ochieng hosted panel discussions in studio. Social media users watching live on Facebook were allowed to comment on topics that were being discussed in the 'comments' section of the NASA Online TV Facebook page.

This study was based on the panel discussions in order to achieve its objective of describing and analysing the contents and themes that NASA Online TV favoured as well as the type of audience it had and their interactions with the TV as well as among themselves in the platform.

As a moderator, Maurice worked on pre-determined topics with guests ranging from politicians, analysts allied to the NASA Coalition, people who had been affected by police violence, students who were caught up in protests, NASA Coalition strategists, advisors, employees, and policy makers, as well as activists.

The TV hosted panel discussions averaging 45 minutes each. In his role as a moderator, sometimes Maurice would become part of the story, alluding to his own experiences to either buttress a point made by a panelist or a user in the comment section as well as to steer the discussion in the direction he wants. One such instance is when the discussion was about police brutality in the slums of Mathare in the capital Nairobi when he showed spent bullet cartridges that he told his audience he had collected from outside the electoral commission offices where NASA had organised a protest.

*While I was there, they were firing teargas into the classrooms and hostels, and I was just looking at this cop, and I was like: what is wrong with you? I mean, this is live bullet. All those are cartridges of live bullets. (*September 29, 2017).

This particular comment is significant as it not only made a statement about police brutality and how they deal with organised demonstrations, he had evidence to show for it. The presence of cartridges of live bullets which he showed to the camera and then linked it to the goings-on in politics on the debate that the police were using too much force was as a style, powerful. Powerful in this sense meaning that the presenter managed to capture not just the idea of what the police were doing, but production of 'evidence' of the events. It is instructive to note that the production of the spent cartridges, which he said were collected at the offices of the electoral commission at the city centre, Nairobi, following a demonstration, was made during a discussion on the workings of the police in Mathare, a slum in Nairobi, a few kilometers from the city centre.

Another example of this was when he used a comment on what it means to have 'learned people' serving in government. In this instance, for Maurice, the social media user comment 'triggered' a discussion, to no one in particular, where as a moderator he got to put his voice on issues out there.

Viewer comment: All learned people should stand strong and vote Jubilee government out.

*MAURICE: Surprising thing about learned people. I will tell you something: We have very learned people in Parliament. They equally seem to have disengaged their brains. We had very unfortunate goings-on in Bunge yesterday and even last year when we had very bad media laws passed by very learned people, and sometimes I just wonder where we decided to use what we learnt in school and where we decide what not to use. (*September 29, 2017).

In other instances, Maurice was the go-between from the audience, which he said he was speaking for, and the panelists in the studio. Most of the time this interventions on their behalf was about language or the breaking down of sometimes complex ideas and debates. One such instance was when Dr David Ndii, a leading economist in Kenya, was drawing the history of state in Kenya and how then that affected the development or lack of it in various regions in Kenya.

NDII: *It then said its theory of economic growth is if you want to grow very fast, you must put your investment resources, you must put your investment resources in the places which have got high potential. And in fact, it said not just places, it said places with the high potential and the people with the discipline for planned development.*

I am quoting the paper.

MAURICE: You may just want to quote again for our viewers. I think that is very, very important. That second bit of your definition.

*NDII: It said that. You can go to the section. I do not remember the paragraph it is but it is titled Provincial Balance and Social inertia. You can hear the language, heh? (*November 24, 2017).

Probably as part of its campaign to be "a people's driven channel", Maurice used the panel discussions to advertise NASA Online TV and call on the support of the audience to donate their money to keep the channel going. When a user suggested that the channel should be made a 24 hour broadcast, Maurice responded:

Well, you can support NASA TV to make sure that dream is possible by sending your contributions to Airtel Money Paybill number 555155. You can put any number or name in the account number. If you feel like you want to buy me coffee, you can write Baggy. (November 24, 2017).

That the contribution to the channel also included a possibility to contribute directly to Maurice is significant since it is a comment he repeated as often as he reminded his audience to donate to keep the channel going. I would argue that though it was not the aim of this study, Maurice's personalisation of both the contributions to the TV, by giving the option of donating directly to him as an appreciaiton to the work he was doing, and the conduct of the show was, in the end, playing in the making of the profile of him as a moderator.

The presenter prodded for explanations by asking questions to help the audience keep with the conversation. Maurice placed himself between his panelists in studio discussing pre-planned topics from the state of the economy to electoral laws and the audience, who were streaming the discussions live on Facebook. In that space, Maurice presented himself as the student eager to understand the topic, and sometimes voicing what "some people are saying" to encourage

explanations and or seek clarifications. Though some of them were prompted by the comments coming in from the audience, a majority of it, it appears, were constructions of what he assumed the audience would want to know.

With questions like: *So let me ask, if IEBC (the electoral commission) up to now has not replied, what can be done to compel them? Or is that now fait accompli?*

And: *Mheshimiwa Kajwang', some people are saying that NASA is becoming too much. You guys, the NASA lawyers, and its good you are here, you have been to court against IEBC a record number of times. Uhuru is on record saying IEBC announces a date and even before 24 hours elapse . . . I mean, some people are saying that NASA is now beginning to look like they really do not want elections.* (September 6, 2017).

In terms of extra judicial killing and the manifesto promise to address those kinds of injustices, NASA online TV's Maurice became part of the story and more like an activist in his questions in panels that had issues of police brutality and extra judicial killing. An example of this was a discussion about politicians who were being arrested on Fridays to be kept in police cells over the weekend for their court appearance the following Monday.

Joseph Simekha: Yes, this is deliberate. It is meant to punish people politically. This is political thuggery really. Police are just being used to harass people. And it is not like we are making this up. Boinnett, the Inspector General of Police, said this himself, he called them rogue leaders that they will continue to go for and against rogue leaders. What does he use to define and determine rogue leaders? Do the police have something, some manual that they look at and say and say, 'Mbaggy, you are a rogue leader, we will come for you.' (Both laugh)

Maurice: Well, we are hearing terms like orders from above so maybe it is above that determines so and so is rogue. So unfortunate. (February 19, 2018).

Here, Maurice of the NASA online TV, as part of the discussion on police brutality and abuse of their powers, borrows from his guest, Joseph Simekha, to bring a fresh perspective to the discussion on the table then: on where the orders police were executing were coming from. NASA online TV, and Maurice in particular here, used those hints to either strongly agree with the guest or start a different direction he wanted the discussion to go altogether. To introduce a

segment on police brutality on university students, NASA Online TV described it as such:

*I can't even start to imagine the trauma that the students had to endure. The trauma for you as a parent knowing that celebrated Kenyan students, our A students, that our parents take to these institutions that our government pays so much for to be in these institutions can be brutalised in such a fashion. I mean I cannot believe that in the 21st century, Kenya can criminalise intellectualism in this fashion. (*September 29, 2017).

During the broadcasts of the panel discussions, Maurice, the moderator of the NASA Online TV, picked comments from the audience as he hosted guests. An analysis of the data showed that most of the usage of these comments were transitional in nature. In this I mean the comments were used to advance a conversation, but more regularly to help ask another question or change the course of discussion to another topic. This would manifest itself as follows:

Patrick Namakhutu: Push the date till December.

*MAURICE: Vickery (*a guest on the show at that time), *is there a possibility of pushing this date if all the reforms are not done in good time and what are the implications? (*September 6, 2017).

Or

Mary: Reduce the presidential powers further; increase the powers of governors. That way, we will have our votes count.

MAURICE: Do we devolve powers to the lower tiers perhaps to remove the competition at the top. Mheshimiwa? (August 24, 2017

Or

Outa: We were not counted as diaspora voters, only considered the ones within East Africa. I am from Qatar. It is our right to vote as Kenyans. Please, Hon Kajwang, can you raise that issue in Bunge.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa, how was the voting in Tanzania. I want to believe you voted in Tanzania?

ABISAI: People voted in Tanzania, yes. (September 6, 2017)

In other instances, Maurice used these comments not so much to move the discussion forward but to contextualise it based on a shared history he shares with the people commenting. For instance, when a user mentions the postponement of the secondary school examinations in 2012, Maurice uses that to remind himself and the users, that that was the year Kenyan teachers had gone on strike for a year.

NASA Online TV called itself a “a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people." And while the analysis of the panel discussions alone cannot speak to where the content came from and who was driving out, the way social media user comments in the NASA Online TV Facebook page were used points to their contribution and how the platform used it during the panel discussions. For Maurice, the moderator, these user comments were randomly picked out in the 'comments' section of the NASA Online TV and read out to the panelists. As has been shown, these were then either structured as a question to the panelists to answer, or to buttress a point already made by the panelists or the moderator himself. In majority of the time, however, the viewer comments were just read out with no context or its usefulness to the debate explained.

What Maurice did as has been described above is what Cowling and Hamilton (2010) called orchestration. The concept describes how journalists conduct debate by their choice of topics and guests, providing proper context in the discussion as well as stating the various available positions in the discussion (Cowling and Hamilton, 2010).

Maurice also insisted, though not always, for guests to substantiate their claims as well as follow a coherent line of reasoning in making rational points (Cowling and Hamilton, 2010: 89) as will be discussed more in the next section.

In this section, I have demonstrated the general outlook of the NASA Online TV from the point of view of how the show was organised, how the presenter behaved and moderated debate, as well as how the audience were involved. While the issue of how the audience were involved and how the debates went about will be discussed in detail a little later in the chapter, one significant thing about Maurice is his attempt at defining and achieving what he called objectivity.

4.3: Maurice's objectivity mantra

As the NASA Online TV talk show host, Maurice adopted a facilitative approach, one where he would majorly ask the questions, rephrase them, and generally help the conversation move along with occasional interjections to either clarify a point or re-direct the discussion to a different tangent.

In his moderation of the panels, Maurice maintained or attempted to maintain what he called objectivity. Though he used many different forms, at one point, after a user commented on the platform saying leaders were greedy for aspiring to gain power, Maurice interjected saying "*We must remain as objective as possible." (August 24, 2017).*

It is a statement he repeated in different other sessions, with other words such as 'civil', 'civility', 'rules of natural justice', 'decorum', 'We cannot go there' often used in its place.

Maurice did not define this 'objectivity', but he went about his job interviewing guests in the studio and when picking on the comments coming in on the show by maintaining, in different ways, to construct what he configured to be objectivity.

In one of such instances, Maurice stopped a panelist from discussing the 2017 presidential election petition, saying the case was still live in court and it would be prejudicial to discuss it.

When another panelist equates the chairperson of the electoral commission's vetting and approval by the National Assembly to one that could as well have been of a dog, Maurice cuts him short as reproduced in the following excerpt.

BABU: I have said if a dog was chosen, the dog would have been our chairman because they have the numbers to pass that dog. And you saw what the dog did.

MAURICE: We cannot. We cannot equate the electoral commission chair to anything less than human.

BABU: My friend . . .

MAURICE: Babu, that person has a name

BABU: He has demeaned our inalienable right enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution

MAURICE: But we have to agree that we need to maintain some level of decorum and civility as well as we engage. We cannot begin calling people names. (August 24, 2017).

In the same breath, Maurice in several instances insisted on rules of natural justice, citing the need not to accuse someone who was not present in the panel, and therefore could not defend themselves.

Maurice's idea of a good debate, it further appears, was one devoid of incitement to violence.

When a panelist suggested that it was okay for protesters, in the name of civil disobedience, to "take what you want" from a supermarket, Maurice cut him short, saying "*No, no, Muroko. Now that is incitement."* (November 2, 2017)

The same panelist was also stopped on his tracks after he implored viewers to ignore churches "where the pastor is Jubilee." Jubilee is the ruling party which Mr Odinga's NASA Coalition was running against in the 2017 presidential election. During this debate, Maurice was categorical that he will not allow the idea to pass unchallenged.

MUROKO: Let us not get into these churches until we have churches standing with the people like Father Kaiser, Alexander Mugo, Gitari

MAURICE: No wait. Listen to me first. If indeed we are saying that we will go to church because of our leaders, we are breaching the faith. The church is there to use a constitution called the Bible. The Bible has not been written by a NASA or Jubilee supporter. I mean, let us have that clear. We cannot say that we. . We cannot say that we will go to a church because there is a NASA pastor. Because do we now have a NASA church and a Jubilee church?

MUROKO: I am not saying we go to church because of the Bible . . .

MAURICE: If you are saying that one leader is pro-Jubilee or whichever that people should not go to that church is saying that we will start demanding a Jubilee Bible and a NASA Bible. The Bible is the Bible. And God is God. Let us leave it at that, please. (November 2, 2017).

Even though he let the panelists have their say on issues, Maurice's idea of objectivity also involved defining what he said was the party position.

During a discussion on the next step following a ruling by the Supreme Court annulling the presidential elections in Kenya, a panelist opined that when the 60-day deadline given in the law within which a fresh presidential election must be held, the president would cease being president and would necessitate the formation of a transitional government. Without saying what the party position on the matter was, Maurice said: "*That should not be read to mean like that is the NASA position*." (September 6, 2017)

Other ways in which this idea of an existence of an attempt to maintain objectivity, decorum, civility as defined by how Maurice viewed it as he went about hosting the NASA Online TV panel discussions manifested itself in the 'comments' section of the TV's Facebook page. During the reading of the comments that Maurice had selected from those that had been made as the show went on, he would read through some, stop and make a comment about them being either inappropriate or outside the scope of that day's discussion.

For instance, during a discussion on whether or not Kenyans thought their vote counts and if they would vote again, Maurice picked one user comment that was calling for secession, something he said was not part of the discussion, with a comment on "*I will not read this. We are not talking about secession." (*August 24, 2017). It was during the same thread of comments that Maurice remarked "*I am looking for somebody who said we need to vote again"* in an attempt to steer back the discussion to where it was, in the studio.

Similarly, during a discussion on the General Election that Kenya had just had, one user used the platform to implore a panelist, a member of Parliament, not to be sworn in, a comment that made Maurice remark: "*Well, this is another thing altogether."* In some instances, Maurice read out a comment from a user whom he said *"A name here I won't read, let me just go to the comment."* (August 24, 2017).

What is significant about this curation of the comments section is that at no point in the sampled panel discussions does Maurice define what the social media users following their conversation online can comment about. While there was a clear marker in every video uploaded on what the discussion was about, as well as who the guest(s) were, not once did Maurice remind or direct the audience on what to talk about. He nonetheless encouraged the comments to be made as the users followed the discussions.

In the end, Maurice Ochieng, who moderated the panel discussions that NASA Online TV conducted, became not so much an arbiter or one seeking for balance—as the norm is expected of journalism regardless of whether or not that is often achieved, especially in political discussions—but one whose singular just seemed to be to let the debate run its course, with calls to violence, religious comments, incitement, and comments

4.4: Watching from . . . Location tagging

Being a big, diverse community, the NASA Online TV comments section sometimes took a different tangent deviating from the dominant discussion to other things.

It is important to note that the topics discussed and analyzed by the moderator and panelists were set out early in the discussion, with the Facebook live update carrying the description of that day's discussion and the guests in the panel.

The dominant form that this then showed itself in users establishing their presence and participation in the debate, not by commenting on what was going on or was being talked about, but on the physical location from where they were watching NASA Online TV live on Facebook.

The locations were as diverse as the United States of America, Israel, the United Kingdom, Qatar, Australia, Germany, Spain, Somalia, Canada, among others.

In one instance in a discussion about the state of the economy in Kenya with economist Dr David Ndii being a panelist, the first forty-four (44) comments on the post were about users saying they were watching, occasionally saying where from.

Even among Kenyans who were watching the Facebook broadcasts from within, this same kind of location tagging was apparent, with people generally mentioning their home counties or towns. In some instances, user comments would be where they were watching it from, as well as with whom.

Occasionally, users in this forum tagged other Facebook users, either explicitly alerting them of the episode or by tagging them and allowing the Facebook notification to then direct them to the NASA Online TV Facebook page. Facebook allows users to 'tag' other users by writing their

names on the comments section, then allowing the tagged user to join in the conversation.

Most of these kinds of comments, the majority, ended after the user tagged themselves as watching from a certain location. In essence, there was no movement in terms of engaging with the topic in question beyond talking about where the user was watching from.

4.5: Protectionism and the othering of others: 'Why are you here?'

This study sought to describe and analyse the kind of audience NASA Online TV created and what kinds of interactions it had with them.

As demonstrated in the background section as well as the literature review, the formation of the NASA Online TV was one borne out of a feeling of being left out of the mainstream media as well as a want to have a space not mediated in the form that the mainstream media was.

In terms of how this manifested itself in the audience, the data shows that in the NASA Online TV comments section showed a strong feeling of protection for it. This kind of protection took the form of warding off, rather aggressively, those who then launched into their 'private space' as well as proposals to nationalise the media in a way that would then broaden its reach.

In this manner, the viewers of NASA Online TV, in their interaction online, saw themselves as belonging to a special public sphere that only they could draw on the rules, and anyone that seemed to deviate from their often not so singular message was one that needed to be removed or tamed. One user said: *Jubilee goons fuck off our platform. We need crap mind no more. (*November 24, 2017).

In the same breath, viewers of the NASA Online TV, having been invested in it, and feeling the need to protect it as their own, even called for it to be made into a mainstream national television station. One user said the online TV should have been on for 24 hours every day to *"avoid githeri media." (*November 24, 2017).

Githeri media was a term coined to besmirch the Kenyan media after they gave what media critics felt were unwarranted media coverage of a Mr Martin Kamotho who was pictured eating a meal of maize mixed with beans (popularly known as githeri in Kenya) as he queued to cast his

vote in the 2017 presidential election (Nyabola, 2018). Yet another said*: "Big up NASA TV. Keep moving to main stream news outlet." (*November 24, 2017).

For the viewers of NASA Online TV, the space was theirs to dominate, and any person that said anything different from what they imagine their role to be was quickly repulsed. An example of this is when a user in a discussion about the state of the economy asked the viewers to "move on", an expression in the Kenyan context to mean accept defeat and or move over and support the winning team. Within seconds, other viewers following the programme launched at the user, with a constant reminder that he or she was in the wrong place.

Questions like "Why are you here?" were used in the thread, with one user telling the user asking them to move on to instead "move on your own with your despotic leaders. The rest of us have serious issues to attend to." Others deemed the user as a desperate Facebook user "looking for fame on NASA TV" while yet another reminded the user "not to tell me anything because I can make my own informed, educated choices." Some equated the user's call for users on the NASA Online TV to accept defeat following a disputed election to "encouraging us to accept kleptocracy."

If left to them, viewers of the NASA Online TV felt, they had the best ideas on how to take the coalition television forward, with comments like:

*"I think long-term objective is to make this a National and international T.V. we will support you and you have vast following. Remember communication is power we need such as well as radio stations controlled solely by the affiliates. Good work so far." (*November 24, 2017).

Another significant interaction which showed a shift in the use of language and style and how this then manifested itself in the NASA Online TV 'comments' section. It is an interaction that, in the same thread of the 'othering of others', showed the extent to which that can go and what it takes to be 'othered'."

Comment: Our NASA leaders have failed us,wait for 2022!!!what is the effective swearing in of our president Raila???

Response: Go peddle your ignorance elsewhere... You sound like a Jubilee bot send here to peddle lies... H.E President Raila Odinga clearly stated in order to be within the constitution the

NASA principals have to do things within the law... He was legitimately sworn in because he won the August 8th 2017 elections, if anyone in Kenya deems his swearing in unconstitutional then all they have to do is to OPEN THE DAMN SERVERS for the people of Kenya to see for themselves who won the 8th August elections... NASA is working carefully to avoid more unnecessary bloodshed... All Nasalites understand what is being worked on by the Principals... Only Jubilee bots are confused about this process... Either you follow what our leaders are advising in regards to the way forward to Cannan or you are a Jubilee bot... Peddling falsehood on here... (February 19, 2017).

In the above referenced comment, not only is there an assumption that by making the statement "NASA leaders have failed us" the user was supporting Jubilee, the ruling party that Mr Odinga's NASA was running against, but therein lies another presupposition: "All Nasalites understand what is going on with the principals."

Here, it is clear that the second user is convinced that the other user is a "Jubilee bot' based only on the assessment that his "NASA leaders have failed us" comment to mean he or she was a rival party supporter. It is also significant that the second user felt the need to protect the platform from even those that had identified themselves as supporters or sympathetic to the NASA course with the use of "us" in the statement of 'NASA leaders have failed us." Despite this seemingly obvious identification with the group, the comment was still considered injurious, and therefore prompting the protectionism discussed here.

For the NASA Online TV users, as demonstrated in this example, "*either you follow what our leaders are advising in regards to the way forward to Cannan or you are a Jubilee bot"* (February 19, 2017). Canaan was the Biblical reference that NASA Coalition used to rally their supporters by referencing to what they said would be the prosperity they will bring. In this instance, the choices were in such a way that a pointing out of a failure or deviation or a divergent view, even while identifying as a NASA supporter or sympathizer, could only mean that one was a 'Jubilee bot."

Another important thing to note in this exchange is the style of online communication that manifested itself. Consider for example the choice of the phrase 'Jubilee bot' in reference to the ruling Jubilee Party led by President Uhuru Kenyatta with whom NASA Coalition leader Raila

Odinga was running against as well as ‘bot’ in reference to an internet bot, a software application that performs automated functions or tasks on the internet, often so repetitively and so fast in ways that are otherwise impossible for the normal human to do.

In this interaction, the equation of a comment that paints the first user who commented after "NASA leaders have failed us" to a Jubilee bot goes further than just disagree or correct an impression. It, in fact, creates a different impression that the only place the comment comes from is one from an unthinking person placed there to just repeat what has already been programmed. This style of language goes a step further in its protectionism to then characterise the group it supposedly wants to keep out of NASA Online TV.

It is also apparent that, from this interaction, more and more of this is a marked difference, not just from the conceptualised rational critical debate that Habermas conceptualised, but is also less and less like the traditional media or public debate. It makes it clear that, at this point, there is no attempt to make it a rational debate.

Even the moderator caught on in this protectionist behaviour, in ways that would have the same features of re-stating what he communicates as the 'NASA position' as was discussed in an earlier section of this research report. An example of this is when 'protects' the NASA and the online TV from language expressions or slogans he perceives as being from the 'other', the 'other' here being the ruling Jubilee Party that NASA was competing against in the 2017 presidential election.

T-Shirt KE watching from Egerton University: Tuko pamoja.

MAURICE: I don't know which tuko pamoja you're referring but I hope that he means that he empathises and shares in this. (September 29, 2017).

While it could have been said tongue-in-cheek, the allusion to the 'Tuko Pamoja' (We are one), the ruling Jubilee Party slogan, is relevant given the second part of his comment '*but I hope that he means that he empathises and shares in this.'* While a reading of the text in its form as is does not mention Jubilee nor their use of the slogan 'Tuko Pamoja', it is in the presence of the context within which Maurice speaks that he alludes to in the "*but I hope that he means that he empathises and shares in this"* statement, as well as how the audience then interpret it. This is as

a product of cultures, interactions, and norms in society.

In conclusion, this data has shown that the audience of the NASA Online TV not only felt a sense of ownership of the platform, they became repulsive, sometimes abusive, towards any form of aggression or disagreement they encountered.

4.6: Discussions within a discussion

Almost related to the idea of users of NASA Online TV wanting to update their physical location from where they were watching, is the cropping up of different discussions and debates outside the topic being discussed by the panel on any specific day.

As discussed in the presentation of the findings under protectionism, *ad hominem* attacks, and location tagging, these kinds of discussions often arose because of the same reasons: Users feeling protective of the public space they had created in the NASA Online TV Facebook page, protection that often led to name calling and attacks based on a user's surname, as well as users constantly feeling the need to broadcast to the rest of the community where they were watching from.

These discussions within a discussion manifested itself in three different ways which I would briefly discuss below.

(i). Attacks on the mainstream media

Users would often, during discussions that were not about the media or coverage, attack the mainstream media chiefly for what they said was being biased.

These attacks would also occur in instances when users are praising the start of the NASA Online TV, which they said was giving them options that were not available to them in the mainstream media.

As I showed in my presentation of my findings on the protectionism, these attacks often had a similar thread: *githeri* media.

This is a term--*githeri* meaning a meal of maize and beans, a common delicacy in Kenya--that

came about to mock the mainstream media for their publicisation of a voter who was pictured having githeri out of a polythene bag as he queued in a polling station during election day. The man in question, who was pictured having his meal of *githeri*, went on to be awarded the Head of State Commendation in the 2017 Presidential Awards scheme.

In the NASA Online TV space, viewers often compared the making of the panel discussions on the platform by equating it to what they said they had lacked in the mainstream media. In this scenario, therefore, the viewer's approval of what was happening in NASA Online TV was by commenting on the absence or the curation of such discussions in the mainstream media, occasioning a case where the panel discussion takes a backseat at the altar of mainstream media bashing.

This case where the digital sphere meets with the traditional media goes further to show the existence of a concept called "intermedia agenda setting" (Danielian and Reese, 1989).

It is also a case where agenda setting, meaning the issues the mainstream media covers, not only then spills over to the agenda of the digital space media, but also translates to the behaviour of the persons in the digital sphere.

(ii). The diversionary

These are the kinds of a discussion within a discussion that took the tangent of a user either disagreeing with NASA and how it was being run, or campaigning for another political party in the platform.

I cannot see any problem with jubilee government. It is known that NASA is always pessimistic. Stop (the) complaints. (September 29, 2017).

Or *Acheni porojo....achani gava ifanye kazi,nyinyi someni acheni .....· (Stop these complaints. Let the government do its job. Go back to school and learn).* (September 29, 2017).

More often than not, these kinds of comments would attract a flurry of replies. One substantive example on this was a case of a user who suggested that Raila Odinga would betray his colleagues.

Precious Aggy Njogu · Raila ataondokea hii mchezo last minute and set trap to his juniors who

will later be ICC candidates...Raila will sacrifice orengo and others

Replies:

Ngaywa Masawa Ondula MoussaMoses · That's yours, keep on dreaming

Shamilla Favour Mwenje Precious Aggy you think like an idiot

Precious Aggy Njogu · Shamilla Favour Mwenje you follow idiots so RESIST IDIOTS

Yahya Zedy · Uhuruto belong to ICC

*Lily Fiki ·Wewe ndiwe wajuwa sheria kushinda Raila mmmh haya ota ndoto (*You think you know the law better than Raila? Mmmh, keep dreaming).

Faith Hakala · Precious Aggy Eustus you are fool

Precious Aggy Njogu Faith Hakala ehhhh fools follow fools ...welcome to this fooriiiiiish world😂😂..RESIST me ohh

Faith Hakala · Precious Aggy Eustus when did I follow you?

Precious Aggy Njogu · Right now you are on my comment...even you dont know yourself..just resist me and pay attention to the main post...wacha kiherehere ya Kilimani Mums..follow clever posts abegiii..I did not invite you oo...

Ooko Charles ·You think if your mother sacrificed every other person will think the same? Go look for getheri media you comment yo nonsense.

Bernard Owambo · I expect this from a whore

Precious Aggy Njogu · Yahya Zedy baba has refused to be sworn in and instead of mourning you are here displaying your ignorance

Precious Aggy Njogu Haiya where are you guys???Faith hakala hope you doing well😂😂😂mnaapichia wapi? (Where are you?) (November 24, 2017).

This exchange was triggered during a discussion on university students' demonstration and how the police deal with it. After the first user made the comment suggesting Raila Odinga would betray his colleagues, other users replied to the comment, generating another discussion within a discussion within the discussion on university student demonstrations.

The replies included a diversion in that while the comment by the first user was on Raila Odinga betraying his colleagues and 'okaying' their being taken to the International Criminal Court (ICC), one of the replies was *"Uhuruto belong to ICC."* UhuRuto was a political term coined by President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto for their political campaigns.

Another interesting thing from the above referenced exchange is the fight back from the first user. When the comment attracted replies, the user replied to them, dishing out individual responses to those who replied to the comment.

Particularly interesting is that while the user was open to the idea that NASA Online TV was a 'public space', she was protective of her 'comment', lashing out at one of the users who replied to the comment, saying "Y*ou are on my comment"* (November 24, 2017).

Equally intriguing is the comment after the sentence where the user encourages the one replying to the comment to "Resist me and pay attention to the main post." This shows an appreciation of the 'publicness' of the NASA Online TV post, but somehow, at the same time, the 'privateness' of the user's comment on the same 'public' post. This is kind of 'privatisation' of the public space that is the NASA Online TV evidently comes from the same place as the "*You are on my comment*" comment.

The replies to this particular thread that had the replies within replies also included abusive attacks like the use of the words fool, idiot, and whore to dismiss the user's comments. These kinds of attacks lends itself to the *ad hominem* attacks that will be described in the next section.

(iii). The chanting slogans 'Tibim, Tialala'

Tibim and Tialala were campaign slogans adopted by NASA Coalition during their campaigns.

Users of the NASA Online TV, same like they would in a political rally, often used these slogans as comments in their interactions with NASA Online TV. This would often be made

The slogans were used to either celebrate a point made by the panelist, or like in the case of location tagging discussed above, confirm their solidarity with the NASA Online TV community.

4.7: *Ad hominem* attacks: 'You are as silly as your name suggests.'

As discussed extensively in the background section of this research report, Kenya is a heavily polarised country. In the 2017 presidential election, this was witnessed in the political competition between Raila Odinga of the NASA Coalition and sitting president, Uhuru Kenyatta—themselves scions of the founding fathers of Kenya, first Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and first president, Jomo Kenyatta.

As demonstrated in the works of Ogot and Ochieng, 1995; Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998; Loughran, 2010; Kanyinga, 2014; Mazrui, 2013, these divisions have then been carried forward in the form of conflict between the ethnic Kikuyu (from where President Kenyatta comes from) and the Luo (from where Mr Odinga comes from).

An analysis of the NASA online TV audience engagement presents this same kind of polarisation where, as evidenced in Khadiagala (2019), one's name is what is then used to judge their comments on a debate in the 'publicness' of that space.

Users who were not toeing the line the users imagined their presence there to be were repulsed with comments like:

You are as silly as your name suggests (November 24, 2017).

At other instances, such a threat to their shared ideals in that space—through making statements seen to antagonise them—was treated as being a threat to an attempt at national building, one the users of the NASA Online TV felt such users were blind to, based entirely on their name first, and their comments second.

Whatever it is you call yourself, move out of that tribal cocoon and you will know how the rest of Kenyans feel. (November 24, 2017).

As suggested in the previous section, the attacks based on names of the people that commented on the NASA Online TV stemmed majorly from the idea that they belonged to the rival Jubilee Party.

In these kind of attacks as demonstrated in the discussion of protectionsim and how it manifested itself, the users made no effort to have a rational critical debate, let alone one that gets somehwat close to a public opinion (See Habermas, 1984).

4.8: Politics as entertainment

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the NASA Online TV comments section was one of vivid protectionism and calling of names. However, the users also found time to be happy or to laugh at politicians and or politics.

In one of the episodes, the panelists took a third of their time discussing and laughing at the fact that the son of the president of Kenya had gone to a rally in Nandi County and had read out his speech, given in Kiswahili, from his phone. Both the moderator and the panelists used this to laugh at the fact that the son, despite being born in Kenya where Kiswahili is a national language examinable in primary and secondary schools, he had to go through a written speech to just say 'hello', words they felt he needed not read out of his phone. In the comments section, users caught on, and used the platform to ridicule him.

The moderator, the panelists, and NASA Online TV viewers, in this instance, united in ridiculing and finding comic relief in the apparent inability of the president's son to express himself in Kiswahili. The entertainment manifested itself in users, the moderator, and the panelists comparing their life experiences with the president's son. The moderator at one point talks about his six-year old daughter whom she said could speak fluent Swahili.

During the course of the discussion, the comic relief morphed into one of a discussion about political dynasties with the panelists taking time to use the episode of the president's son to discuss, and discourage, the passing on of power along family lines. The panelists equated the speech as the first of what could turn into a start of the grooming of the president's son to take over from the father in the future.

This movement from 'soft' entertainment and comic relief to a discussion of power and politics and other 'hard' issues changed the debate from one of laughter to thoughtful discussions on politics.

One other instance where politicians were mocked and ridiculed and or laughed at was a discussion on Tharaka Nithi senator Kithure Kindiki. Prof Kindiki was pictured helping out to build a mud classroom after landing in an expensive helicopter. The moderator and the panelists mocked him for what they said was inconsideration by landing in a chopper to the 'shame' of a mud school, which they argued should not still be in existence. The moderator described it as *"It is a stark contrast of exuberance of affluence on one end and extreme poverty on the other end by the same people and celebrations at the same time." (February 19, 2017).*

Joseph Simekha, a political analyst who was a panelist in the discussion said:

That is what Jubilee represents. One couldn't have put it better. That was a beautiful representation of what Jubilee represents. That you have a small elite that have captured the state, that is making the state to do their advantage and they'll even operate and then they fly in, jet in like Superman to bring some 'maendeleo'. So they fly in like superman to bring development and this development is crap, it is mud. Is that mud, those mud-walled that you saw, that is the development they are telling us? And that we should accept, let us not talk about politics. Let us talk about development. (February 19, 2017).

Similarly, as discussed in the case of the president's son, the ridiculing and finding entertainment in a picture of a politician covered in mud quickly morphed into a thoughtful discussion on leader's priorities, their use of funds, and the broad discussion of the relationship between leaders and their voters in the context of the rich and the poor.

But perhaps one of the biggest use of humour and funny videos or clips of politicians making jokes was when the NASA Online TV did a four-part series of '2017, the year that was.' Here, the moderator extensively used humour and entertainment to recap the best bits of the year, according to NASA Online TV.

In one instance, the Online TV played a clip of former Bomet governor Isaac Ruto, who was then one of the five party leaders that came together to form NASA Coalition, joked about the

maize shortage in Kenya by coining the word 'Maize Iko' saying it was told to him when he enquired about the veracity of the maize having been brought in from Mexico.

During the same episode, Maurice, the moderator, made reference to two people in Bungoma and in Meru who clutched on to the helicopter of Mr Odinga as it prepared to fly out of the two towns after finishing his rallies there.

For NASA Online TV, the use of humour and laughter was so important that when they recapped the best moments of 2017, they chose to focus on the 'fun moments' of the 90-minute presidential debate that Mr Odinga did and which President Uhuru Kenyatta boycotted. In the 'fun moments' clip, NASA Online TV chose seven such instances when Mr Odinga made the audience laugh.

To complete another recap of the year, NASA Online TV ran a compilation of the best dance moves during the campaign, including clips of some of the leaders either dancing or singing in rallies, all of them funny, if not hilarious.

Even users in the comments section found most of the things hilarious and captivating. For example, when a panelist corrupted the full meaning of the independence party KANU (Kenya African National Union) to say that it meant *'Kamata Angusha Nyanyasa Ua'* (Catch, Fell, Snath, Kill).

The moderator made his own jokes too.

Sokomo: NASA this time most transmit live results as they come in. Last time it was a let-down. Please transmit live results.

MAURICE: Well, maybe the personnel in this studio need to connect to the server then we can transmit live. (September 26, 2017).

In the context of the Kenyan political debate, the discussion on the server and the transmission of elections results came at a point when, as described in the background section, the Supreme Court had annulled the presidential election. It was at this point that NASA Coalition ran a campaign demanding the electoral commission to open the elections server for vote verification. For the moderator, the 'joke' was, it appears, both to convey the inability of the NASA Coalition

to transmit live results, as well as remind audiences of the 'NASA position' on it. Here, use of jokes or sarcasm in this case enabled the broaching of subjects that the moderator would have otherwise not allowed to pass as was done when he stopped the discussion of the presidential election petition, which birthed the demand for the opening of the election server, saying discussing it would be prejudicial.

At the same time, the moderator would often joke about the use of ‘tough’ language by the speakers. Sample this:

MAURICE: Not all of us have had the benefit of being in the Faculty. So your views, I think our viewers are requesting that you probably explain. You used the word called stoics and nondescript.

Could you perhaps, for the benefit of our viewers, not all of us were in the Faculty. (Laughing)

KAJWANG: Well, stoics refers to people who are impervious to change. They will never change. They want the same systems, what he was calling the status quo. Because they enjoy it.

MAURICE: It favours them

KAJWANG: It favours them and they are in their comfort zone. Nondescript are miscreant characters

MAURICE: Now you are using a term. You are making it worse, Mheshimiwa. (Laughing)

(September 26, 2017).

4.9: Conclusion

This chapter has fleshed out the main findings of the study including a description of the way the NASA Online TV worked and the conduct of the debates themselves.

The chapter also discussed, in greater detail, the different ways in which the audiences interacted with each other on the NASA Online TV 'comments' section. These led to discussions on the publicness of the NASA Online TV space, the presence of *ad hominem* attacks, the arising of discussions within discussions, as well as the idea of politics being used for entertainment or ridicule.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study examined, analysed, and described the themes in the content of NASA Online TV in the 2017 election in Kenya and what kind of audience this created and the subsequent interactions with them.

As discussed in the previous chapter, an analysis of the audience interaction on NASA Online TV showed aspects of polarisation and name calling (*ad hominem* attacks), the emergence of the 'public' that was buried and protective of its space, as well as the use of politics as entertainment.

In this chapter, these broad ideas and how they then sieve into the discussions on the public sphere and social media will be addressed.

5.1: Fluidity of publics: How public is a public?

In his theorisation of publics, German philosopher Jürgen Habermas conceptualised public sphere as private individuals meet and discuss public issues in a rational-critical manner ending up with public opinion (Habermas, 1984).

In her famed critique, Nancy Fraser argued that Habermas' idea of a public sphere was exclusive because it had locked out a huge part of the population including women and workers (Fraser, 1992). Since then, as documented in the literature review, the debate on public sphere, public space, and publics has been unceasing.

This study sought to understand, describe and analyse the type of publics that NASA Online TV created during its coverage of the 2017 presidential election in Kenya.

Significant was the findings that showed a collapse of the idea of public versus private space. Users of the NASA Online TV, though public, treated it as private, one that they were out to protect and preserve. Even more significantly is that in their understanding of the publicness of the platform, users were keen on still maintaining a 'private space' even within that public space. As argued by Cowling and Hamilton (2020) and contextualising from the works of Fraser (1992) and Dahlgren (2005), the kind of publics created by the NASA Online TV then became multi-faceted manifesting itself as different kinds of publics. For example, in the space where NASA

Online TV users interacted, they treated the space public with calls to make it national to avoid the mainstream media that they felt was limiting them in their need to express themselves in a way they fancied. At the same time, however, they were keen to maintain some 'privateness' in that interaction with comments such as "you are in my comment" being used to ward off unwanted replies to a public comment on the public post by the NASA Online TV.

This confirms the growth of the privatisation of public spaces, not just in the sense of counter publics as conceptualised by Fraser (1992), but also the understanding by social media users in a public space like the NASA Online TV that they deserve some privacy, while equally ceding to the 'publicness' of the forum.

The same way there were deep, serious discussions about police brutality, governance, and election laws, among others, users found their own ways to express themselves, often in jest and leading to entertainment, in spaces that they fiercely protected irrespective of what was being discussed by the panel at that time. This research further extends on the findings by De Lanerolle (2020) in his study of the Twitter hashtag during the #FeesMustFall university student protests in South Africa. Like NASA Online TV, though the lead organisers made an attempt to curate the messages, the content of what was put out, the users took a different tangent on their own and developed their own idea of what they imagined the purpose of it should be. NASA Online TV showed documented signs of there being discussions in other discussions.

Placing this idea of publicness and its place in the re-imagined public sphere yields interesting perspectives. For example, even at the very base of it: Just how public was the NASA Online TV?

In the grand scheme of things, the NASA Online TV was 'public' in the sense that it was 'publically' available to social media users. But considering the Facebook model that gives options for users to 'like' or 'follow' a 'page', this meant that only those users who had 'liked' or 'followed' the 'page' were alerted each time the platform went live--or started broadcasting--a new panel discussion. This then meant that, given this limitations that Facebook, the platform that NASA Coalition used to broadcast these panel discussions, makes on its users, only those who had 'liked' or 'followed' the 'page' would have been alerted of the fact of the start of the broadcast and therefore had a chance to comment and join in the discussion.

Equally, and has been described in the previous chapter, the comments section was largely just the viewers talking to each other. Even when Maurice, the moderator of the show, picked comments from the 'comments' section it was mainly for transitional use to move to the next question, help buttress a point, or just to confirm that he was looking at the comments.

In essence, what then this became is a group of people that participated in the panel discussions by the NASA Online TV when they tuned on.

Even viewing this data from the lens of the oppositional publics as described by Fraser (1992) proves difficult. Fraser (1992) said this kind of publics, locked out of the main public sphere, form different other kinds of public spheres in opposition of the main sphere and more often to consolidate their positions before making an attempt at the main sphere. Ogola (2019) explores how a similar kind of exclusion occurs in the Kenyans on Twitter (KOT) space, arguing that even when humour and other means of communciation online are meant to be a popular kind, they “take place through hidden hierarchies and forms of exclusion.” (Ogola, 2019, cited in Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 9).

Working from the basis that by NASA Online TV forming its own panel discussions outside the mainstream media whom they saw as oppositional to their course, NASA Coalition created a space within which their ideas and passions often with no rational critical debate (Dahlgren, 2005). In all, there was little or not effort for a rational critical discussions as conceptualised by Habermas (1984) on the ideal public sphere.

This is also buttressed by the existence of location tagging where users preferred to list where they were watching from rather than engage on the discussion that was going on.

In their own ways, however not as vast, the NASA Online TV gave birth to a public that got a space for people “to articulate their opinions and desires, perform their identities, present the unsaid, circulate informal information, and to generally negotiate the meanings of political and cultural issues in their lives” (Ligaga, 2012:4).

5.2: Polarisation and the emergence of an 'echo-chamber'

This section of the research addresses what scholars have referred to ‘echo chambers’ or filter bubbles’ (See for example Cowling and Hamilton (2020); Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et.al, 2016).

Having been formed primarily to protest their exclusion from or misrepresentation in the mainstream media, NASA Online TV was touted, by its founders, to be as “a people-driven channel whose content direction and style comes directly from the people." As such, as the data has shown, this made the users feel compelled to not only own it, and comment freely about what it should be and how it should be used, it emboldened them to then want to protect it.

Drawing from the works of Fraser, 1992; Papacharissi, 2002; Dahlgren, 2005, this kind of protectionism is one that can be said to be of building a public sphere different from the main public sphere. It is a public sphere that allows opinions with passions, largely without the need or the requirement to back it with facts as Dahlgren (2005) observed in his study. This manifested itself in the chanting of party slogans in place of rational critical debate in the NASA Online TV.

In a situation that Fraser (1992) describes of a public sphere that forms outside the dominant sphere in order to either plan their return to the dominant sphere or because they have been excluded from it, data from the NASA Online TV shows that this was mostly the latter.

Users of the platform saw it as a space outside the main public sphere where they could ventilate on their issues with passion and emotions, mostly not with the need to follow them with evidence as was envisaged by Habermas (1984) in his ideal public sphere.

As demonstrated in the works of Cowling and Hamilton (2020); Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et.al, 2016; these kinds of discussions and protections of space in the NASA Online TV comments section then led to echo chambers and filter bubbles where divergent views were furiously opposed, leaving only those that lent credence to their already shared beliefs.

In essence, the space offered by the NASA Online TV, borne out of the need to break from the dominant public sphere dominated by the mainstream media, led to a situation where the users became so protective they created their own filter bubble where only ideas that lent credence to

their beliefs were allowed. Anything outside their realm of ideas and persuasions was attacked and labelled ‘the other.’

Simiarly, while Omanga (2019) found a correlation between the presence of government figures within publics ostensibly formed to check on government, the resultant publics then, like has been demonstarted here even though it was from an oppostion angle, “react to and are entangled with” the government structures (Omanga, 2019, cited in in Srinivasan et. al, 2018: 10-11).

Equally, it is important to note the continuation, not so much the emergence, of a public sphere protective of their imagined shared beliefs and opinions, often followed by fierce protectionism of that space.

Drawing from the works of Dahlgren, 2005; De Lanerolle, 2011, data from the NASA Online TV audience engagement shows that on social media, and even moreso in a partisan setting as this one was, the opportunity and the motivation to form a “public forum” where issues are deliberated rationally as Habermas conceptualised in his idea of a public sphere are reduced considerably.

Related to this kind of protectionism is the polarisation, discussed extensively in the background section of this research report. The background traces the raging conflict between the Kenyatta and the Odinga families and how that has then seethed into politics and the relations between the Luo and Kikuyu ethnic communities.

This led to a situaiton where comments on the NASA Online TV platform were then screened through the lens of the tribe before looking at the contents of it, or the rationale behind it. Comments such as ‘you are as silly as your name suggests” were then used to make the point that the only reason such a user was making the said comment was because of their name—a construct of the polarisaiton in Kenya (Khadiagala, 2019).

5.3: Humourisation of politics

This study shows how humour was used in the NASA Online TV to advance debate in the platform. It took the form of ridiculing of politicians for doing what the panelists, or the

moderator considered either out of touch with the reality or sometimes just to laugh at their failings and or challenges.

This was recently studied in terms of the Twitter hashtag in Kenya and how humour is used as a narrative strategy and as subversive texts. But perhaps more importantly is how humour creates a space that then "allows for a less vertical but more horizontal participation in the discussion, one which is certainly not possible with mainstream media where careful gatekeeping processes routinely inhibit popular participation particularly in such controversial stories involving powerful individuals" (Ogola, 2019: 128).

Even before the advent of social media, Kenyans found ways to use memes to use humour to go around repressive laws by regimes that were hard on dissent (ibid, 2019).

This study furthers these observations in two ways; as a way to entertain audiences, and as a way to tell and explain political situations in a different format. Like in Ogola (2019), humour was used by NASA Online TV audience to satirise and make fun of politicians and leaders.

Given the political situation in Kenya at the time when NASA Online TV was being used to broadcast, situations where humour was used to satirise and humourise situations that are otherwise complex political discussions helped move the discussion forward. For example, when Maurice, the moderator of the NASA Online TV discussions, was asked by a viewer to ensure that NASA Coalition ensured the live streaming of the presidential election results during the repeat presidential election following the Supreme Court annulment of the August 8, 2017 presidential poll, he joked that "*maybe the personnel in this studio need to connect to the server then we can transmit live."* This was read to mean a diffusion of the situation as well as the breaking down of the complex political situation that had led the NASA Coalition to such a situation.

Though used as political chants, the chanting of slogans ‘Tibim’ and ‘Tialala’ were used for entertainment and to excite the NASA Online TV community especially among themselves.

What comes out here is that unlike in the previous cases discussed, the use of humour provided a channel where the discussants approached a form of a rational debate that was critical of issues.

5.4: CONCLUSION

The use of social media to "bypass" the mainstream media in Kenyan elections in 2013, with an even bigger escalation in 2017 where this study is situated was best summarised as thus during the 2013 elections:

> Social media facilitated communication between the voters and the candidates while opening the space for instant updates on current activities. Social media were one of the political arenas where new and sometimes unknown voices were able to enter the debate by avoiding classical gatekeepers such as traditional media. While social media could not replace face-to face interaction, it was useful as an additional tool to deliberately target young people as the group most likely to use social media (Bing, 2015:175).

In the 2017 election in Kenya, as this study has shown, the NASA Online TV provided an avenue oppositional to the main public sphere.

Like mainstream media, however, NASA Online TV fell victim to the one-directional agenda setting idea where media platforms talk "at" their audience and not "with" them. This can be deduced from the way the platform interacted with the audience. The main use of the audience and their comments, it seem, was transitional to move from one point to the next and not the rational critical debate that such a platform, very specific and attracting a specific audience, would have allowed.

This is so especially given the research evidence that while the mainstream media has achieved the agenda-setting success of voters able to tie the description of candidates the media gave of them, there was a huge challenge on social media. In fact, scholars have argued that "the availability of many channels and the opportunity for users to seek their own personal agendas challenges a basic tenet of agenda-setting that the media tend to share the same set of news priorities" (McCombs and Valenzuela,2007:49).

In the end, the audience of NASA Online TV were left to make their own rules, discern what is expected of them and interact with each other based on what each of them imagines to be expected of them. This led to the chaotic scenes described in this study in the 'comments'

section.

It is true, therefore, that NASA online TV did not turn out to be as inclusive as it had initially claimed. Yet this should not be entirely surprising. The TV platform was specifically created for NASA's political campaigns and mobilisation. Its partisanship was therefore, it can be argued, to be expected.

Equally, the online debates that attended the opinion panel discussions were largely predictable thus the fact that this platform acted primarily as an echo chamber and filter bubble for the converted is also not entirely surprising.

This process, in conclusion, revealed the difficulty in such platforms' capacity to attract broader differentiated publics thus undermining their claims to being alternatives to the mainstream.

The data demonstrated a great deal of protectionism where while the formation of NASA Online TV itself was a result of being 'othered' by the mainstream media, it led to a situation where any divergent opinion was locked out. This led to a situation that scholars have called echo-chambers where the discussions and the usage itself makes it incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for any dissenting views to be discussed in such spaces (Pariser, 2011).
Interestingly, where the facilitator steered away from vulgar language and hostile invective, the audience interacting through comments did not, when they were interacting with perceived outsiders or dissenting voices. The norms of discussion on the broadcast panels were different – observing more protocols and social niceties – than disputes among the commenting audience members. However, it was also clear that the facilitator steered the discussions to concerns and issues important to the NASA political coalition, and did not go beyond certain boundaries.

It is my conclusion that NASA Online TV stood a better chance at maximising the use of the platform had they defined the terms of reference for the audience, and did a better job at using them and their interactions therein for the discussion and the advancement of debate.

This lack of direction on what the audiences can do led to situations where there was name calling and discussions happening within other discussions.

Implications on journalism

Besides describing, analysing and explaining the workings of the NASA Online TV as well as the behaviour of the audience it built, it is important for this study to paint a picture of what, based on the findings, the implication might be for the media dimensions of electioneering as well as on the appropriation of digital media for political processes in Kenya.

The first is its possible implications of journalism.

If political parties increasingly appropriate digital media and leverage professional journalistic approaches or practices the way NASA Online TV did with the attempt to set panels in the manner mainstream TV stations do, there is a demonstrable ability for these kinds of media to chip at the audience the mainstream media controls. NASA Online TV managed to create and garner its own "digital public sphere" and that this is a trend that might grow in future if the media space described in the background is anything to go by.

As demonstrated in the data, users of the NASA Online TV used the platform to call out the media for not giving them the kind of content they were now enjoying in the NASA platform. Though not an outright possibility or even one that might happen fast, this possibility then raises the question of what, if any, changes the mainstream media can and should make to retain and speak to this constituency.

Fundamentally, however, this issue also sits at the heart of a key problem facing African journalism. In an age of audience fragmentation, we perhaps need to ask ourselves how non-mainstream media platforms can conceivably become alternative ‘public spheres’ without turning into the kind of provincial political apparatus that became of NASA online TV.

On the flipside, the emergence of these kinds of platforms might force the media to be more impartial especially in political reporting. By setting up their own platforms, they create alternative "public spheres" while eroding the share of audiences that mainstream media might have taken for granted. Thus, these kinds of media might play an intended role of bringing mainstream media into line with regards to impartiality.

It is, however, important to note that while there are positive developments, there are also negative, potentially dangerous scenarios.

The first one is the emergence of the echo-chambers as described in the findings section of this thesis. These kinds of interactions where people do not want to let in other opinions contrary to theirs is dangerous not just to them, but to society in general, especially given the proven ability for media such as NASA Online TV, even in a small way, to build and sustain an audience over time.

Another point to consider is the dangers of manipulation that may arise from political parties playing journalistic roles. Related to the point of the formation of echo-chambers, the existence of a media house kind of platform operated exclusively by the political parties, with audiences that subscribe to them and often demand its exclusive use, is dangerous. It offers a chance, unlike in the media with various attempts at gate keeping, for possible manipulation of information and people—a lurking danger in social media communication.

As demonstrated, this lead to cases where the audience of NASA Online TV were left to make their own rules, discern what is expected of them and interact with each other based on what each of them imagines to be expected of them. This led to the chaotic scenes described in this study in the 'comments' section.

Recommendations for further research

This research looked at the kind of audience the NASA Online TV created and what kind of engagements it then presided over in its platform.

There is, therefore, a possibility of further study especially in the ongoing discussion in scholarly fields of the effects of social media on people getting out to vote.

It would be interesting to know what role, if any, NASA Online TV played in the actual movement of people from their homes to the polling station.

Another area that could be studied around this is a qualitative approach where, based on the findings of this study, the pioneers of the NASA Online TV would talk about their thinking, the packaging, as well as its success or failures.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: **OPINION 2017: AUGUST 24, 2017**

MAURICE: very well.thank you for joining us this is opinion 2017.
On the 8th of August Kenyans of all walks of Life lined up and voted for their choice of candidate.
Now events prior to the tallying of votes give a picture of a peaceful election with massive turnout.
However events after the 14th have led to stupid discussion a lot of people are saying they will never before 8 so when they're just let's have a conversation what do you think will you vote again?
Joining me in studio is Wilkista Cartex welcome this is our lady from Mathare 4A.
Also with us is Jen welcome.
Another lady is Letricia Achieno from Mathare 4A area.
Now letricia tell us what happened after the voting because I saw you on TV being interviewed and I'm happy that you're ok now. What happened and would you vote again?

LETRICIA: ok it was on a Saturday morning around 10 a.m. I was in house working on my hair. I heard a commotion outside people banging their doors closing and coming in. I was in the house with my cousin and my mum. My mum told me to close the door immediately. I did as instructed and kept on working on my hair. Soon after I had a very loud knock on our door they tried once they tried twice.

They were unsuccessful and they left. But very soon after they came back again and then they knocked 4 times and the fourth time they came in.
They asked where my dad was and because I was at the door I told them my dad had gone to work and he had not come back.
The accused us of hiding him and they just started beating all of us.

MAURICE: so you were taken to the hospital?

LETRICIA: Yes, I was. Advice that was taken to doctors without borders MSF. They are they did was sit on me and the second day I was sent to Nairobi women's hospital. I was admitted for a week I was discharged on Monday.

MAURICE: Would you vote again?

LETRICIA: voting? I really don't know now. To be sincere because we voted in peace we waited for the results very patiently.
But when the results came out it was nothing we expected.
And to make it worse when people come to your house and beat you up.

MAURICE: Very well before we get to you, I just want to make a disclaimer that we have express instructions so we are not discussing anything to do with the Supreme Court. The petition.
Wilkista, what happened?

WILKISTA: It was on the 12th on a Saturday at 10 a.m. I was leaving my house. There was a lot of commotion People moving out of house is locking them and running away.
I was with my daughter immediately said mum let's close the door as well.
So I do not even go out I just went back and close the house.
A few seconds later they were knocking at my door they kicked it twice and then the second attempt, they were in.
They did not even say much. They just started shouting that they were the ones that voted.

They then kept asking: Where is your husband? Where is he?
They beat all of us, even after I told them that I had no husband.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Eunice Gichana: Well, let's pray for Kenya.

MAURICE: We are only getting started. We haven't gotten there yet.
Madam, you voted like a Kenyan empowered as such by the Constitution.
If not for the elections, you would not have gone through what you went through.
Would you go back to vote again?

WILKISTA: No, I will not vote again because voting is what made us get beaten in our own houses.

MAURICE: Jane, will you vote again?

JANE: The truth of the matter is I must vote again

MAURICE: Because when I look at it from what they are saying it true you can lose hope. but I'm a very positive person and I know always at the end of the tunnel there is light. Will look at different scenarios like in Nigeria buhari was in the opposition. I tried for so long and I don't know whether they were stealing or whatever but now he is president.
People could have lost hope but they still went in the last election and voted.

MAURICE: but look there's a feeling a friend of mine was telling me in the morning that election is beginning to become a disruption to normal life.
If you go to social media mean it's like a third world war. Friends who are in different political conditions are no longer friends. Families who have crossed marriages and her family from different tribes are facing serious issues.
So really asking is it worth it?

JANE: I believe it was because I say the truth the truth is something so powerful and it can even make friends enemies. It can tear apart anything because sometimes the truth is fragile but we must become a nation that stands for the truth.
No matter how painful it is because if the truth can make friends not talk to each other that friendship was no longer there.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS
David Otieno: I will vote again and again and again
Beatrice Johannes: election is a fraud

MAURICE: Madam, you have heard people say that this elections are just a fraud. Do you agree with them? Before what happened happened to you tell me did you think that you had a good chance involving a good leader or you just thought the elections were a fraud?
in other words were you looking for an election that will give you a good leader?

LETRICIA: When I went to what I had the hope that I had a chance to vote to the best leader will bring me change.
But following the voting and then they vote water late then I started losing hope.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS
Churchill from Garissa: we were surprised and we are not sure we're going to do it again.
John Nyamwaya: there is no justice in elections
Ombuyi Ombuyi: we want our right to vote protected

MAURICE: you voted, do you feel that your rights have been violated?

JEDDEY: Yes, I voted. Here is the mark.

MAURICE: Were they doing that, putting it there, for all ladies?
JEDDEY: Some of us, because of the nail polish, they were putting it here. (The side of the index finger)

The question is do I feel violated, and yes I feel violated.

I voted and my word should count. But even with what has happened, my vote should count.

That's why I have to stand up for what I believe in. if I believe that the system made me my vote not count or the system was manipulated it is my right to demand my vote counts.

MAURICE: Wilkista, there are some people who went to vote because some people told them to go and vote for their tribe mates. There are some who played to go and vote. There are some who just voted because they were told there is a vote. You why did you go and vote?

WILKISTA: we vote because we are looking for leaders who will lead us all over Kenya. so I went out to vote because we were looking for a good leader. The one we go out and forth like that and then they come to our house and beat us as women should we go and vote again?

MAURICE: but on an individual level why did you go and vote? How many people from your tribe did you vote for?

WILKISTA: I do not vote only for candidate from my tribe.

MAURICE: I voted for leaders who I thought deserved the seat.

WILKISTA: I have no tribe.

MAURICE: Jeddey, what do you think about this whole thing of voting? Should we go there look for college?

JEDDEY: No

MAURICE: There are countries where I'm a council of eminent people seated make decisions on behalf of the people. Should we go to that route or should the electoral process just remain the same?

JEDDEY: I believe the truth of the matter is we cannot have a few people deciding who our leaders are because her vote matters, her vote counts, who she decides to be her leader matters.

What's happening now is there beating people they are loading their home so that we can lose hope and give our right to vote away.

And we must know it is our right it is our right to decide our leaders are and whatever tactics they use, people must still have hope in the electoral system.

Maybe they should just be a few changes in the electoral system to protect the voters vote but people should still vote.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Hilary Ikatwa: no need of voting.
David: Wilkista should not say that she won't vote because she was assaulted. That should give her even more purpose to vote.

MAURICE: David is basically saying of you give up on your right to vote, you're saying yes to oppression.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Musa Siakai: Future elections will be determined on depending on how we'll deal with the current situation.
Otherwise there will be total voter apathy.
As we finish, what do you predict will happen in future in Kenya in terms of elections? Or are you saying you completely done and do not care how Kenya elects a leader?

WILKISTA: I really don't want to hear about elections again. I was beaten so badly.

MAURICE: My sister here, the action is something that you will just wake up and forgive these people going forward. Or how do you propose leaders get elected? Cause leaders have to be elected oh we have a different way to lift them? The truth is there other countries have different ways of electing their leaders. A country like China has not electrons but it has lead us. What's your take?
LETRICIA: unless something is done, unless justice is served, unless our leaders change, maybe, just maybe, I might change my mind.
But as it stands right now I'm really not sure.

MAURICE: Jeddey, your closing remarks

JEDDEY: I want to tell Kenyans that they should not lose hope. They should not give up on voting. They should know their vote counts. Even if there is a corrupt government or corrupt people who are using intimidation tactics to make people stop voting they should not give up.

Because it is their right and there's nothing worse than that you're right being taken away from you. Because once is taken away from you might come you might come to regret it. Things may not be the way we won't know right now but we must continue fighting and hope that they'll get better.

MAURICE: So we fight on and hope on?

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Richard S: The presidency must be devolved where 47 counties determine a president through Electoral College system.

Beatrice Johannes: Well, I am not gonna read this. This is a . . . We're not having the secession debate.

Sten Arap Belat: unless something drastic happens voting is a waste of time.

MAURICE: I am looking for somebody who said we need to vote again.

Before we wrap up.

Musa Chakai: elections have become a cause of problems in African States.

MAURICE: Very well. Stay on. We're taking a short break. When we come back, we will be joined by Embakasi East MP Babu Owino.

[00:16:17.07]

MAURICE: Thank you and welcome back. This is Opinion 2017.

We are joined by firebrand politician, Embakasi East MP Babu Owino. Welcome. And his is sandwiched between two beautiful ladies.

Of course, Jeddey was here earlier. We are joined by Lucky Okudo. Welcome Lucky.

Let's pick up from where we left at. And just before that, I have a few comments

John from Helsinki, Finland. Thank you for watching.

Please do share your opinions on our pages, and of course let us have these conversations.

Let's have you roped in as well.

Mheshimiwa, first things first. Congratulations.

BABU: Thank you, thank you.

MAURICE: Somebody was telling me when you were walking in when I told them that Babu Owino is gonna be here, and he said 'His Tibimness.'
Kenyans are expressing themselves-- there is a sense of apathy going on. That there is no point of voting. Is there need? Do we need to continue to persuade people to vote given that you also had an experience in this immediate elections?

BABU: As a nation, we are so disappointed. Talking not from a political point of view or not as a politician, but also as a voter who went and voted for his president, the Rt Hon Raila Odinga, and also voted for my MCA.

MAURICE: Babu, are you . . . (Laughs)

BABU: I am talking from a point of a voter. Now, as a voter I felt disappointed because of the computer generated results, which further generated the leaders.
If we are going for another election in 2022 with the kind of set up we have, Kenyans are not going to vote and I predict and foresee that there will be serious voter apathy. People will not turn out because at the end of the day, the people's choices are not what is on the ground. The people's choices are what is on the computer.

MAURICE: I do not want us to get into the nitty gritty since we have a petition before court. We must give them space and room to ventilate these issues.
But you said that if all remains the same, and there is no clarification of what happened, then Kenyans will not turn out to vote.
Is this case different between the presidential and parliamentary?

BABU: When I talk on behalf of Embakasi East as a member of parliament-elect, when it comes to parliamentary elections, there were some discrepancies, not only parliamentary, but also presidential.

By the end of the day, people, voters, do not even know the MCA, the MP they are voting for, but they know the president they are going to vote for.
We, down here, sometimes are voted in by the fact that somebody came to vvote for a specific presidential candidate.
And this thing affects all the other positions.
In my view, 2022, casting your vote will not be worth it even for an MP because you are choosing a member of parliament of your choice, and the president is denied his right to occupy his presidency

MAURICE: That is still being pursued as I said

BABU: I have not touched the court issue. I am still talking about what happened during the elections.

MAURICE: Well, but the subject of the petition is really around the presidential elections.

Lucky, will you vote again? Did you vote first of all.

LUCKY: Thanks for having me on the show. I did vote.
This was my second time voting. I am not a first time voter. I did not vote in 2007, but if you look at the last three elections meaning 2007, 2013, and 2017 where we are, there have been irregularities.
2007 was a stolen election. It was a rigged election. 2013 the same. And now here in 2017, the same result? And you are asking, will I vote? I will not vote. And I do not see the reason to. Because what is the point of us if we vote for our leaders, but the leaders we vote for are not the ones who are displayed? So everything is being manipulated.

MAURICE: Well, I am not too sure if the scenarios are exactly rigged elections as you say. Perhaps we need to look at each case individually.

LUCKY: But the denominator is the same. Irregular elections. And that is the trend that has been seen from 2007 to where we are now.

MAURICE: It begs another question, which I am trying to avoid not to get into. If then you will not vote, you will not vote, you will not vote, all these people commenting also saying they will not vote, how will Kenya get its leaders?
Because we've got to have a system.

LUCKY: Let's try mlolongo.

MAURICE: At some point, we were at mlolongo, and mlolongo gave birth to the reforms movement in the 1990s led by the likes Orengo, Gitobu Imanyara and the rest.
Mlolonngo, somebody will line up, you have the longest line, and they pick someone will clearly the shortest line and they become the winner.
So, are we progressing?

BABU: You need not shy away from the fact that we have to exercise our constitutional right whcih is voting. Now, we need not to run away from the fact that by the time you are telling not to discuss an issue because it is before a court of law. Personally, my own opinion not the party's opinion, I am allowed to discuss anything because this is what I feel. I voted for my president and nobody can gag me not to talk about that just because it is before a court of law.
When it comes to this issue, the system has to be clean now. Kenyans must come out and clean up this system because it is not about Raila's presidency. It is not about any other person's presidency.
It is about the future of this nation.
By the time we are not casting our vote, we are destroying our future and the future of our kids.

MAURICE: Electoral reforms. How else can we push for it because we know reform is a continuous process? It is not a finality. It is not a one-off event. Some people were suggesting, and I was just listening to people in town 'why can't i be identified by the biometric system and I just go and click on any of it?'

People are sayign Sportpesa transacts billions in a day. There is no day your match was Manchester and then in the evening you are told 'sorry, your bet went to Arsenal.' And these are Kenyans doing it.
Why is it that when it comes to the electoral process, that even systems we have spent time building, just can't work?
So where do you take the reforms moving forward?

JEDDEY: Personally, I believe in the transparency in the sense that we are now having an electronic system transparency in the sense of agents from all the parties should have access to that particular electoral system. In that instance, we would not have issues of who hacked into what because we would know because the agents who are involved in it will be known.
But we cannot have an election system where the only people who have access to it is the electoral commission.
I believe transparency is the first step.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:27:55.13]
Collins: 2022, I will be busy sleeping. After that, probably watch a Manchester United game. It is not worth wasting my time voting.

Mary: Reduce the presidential powers further; increase the powers of governors. That way, we will have our votes count.

MAURICE: Do we devolve powers to the lower tiers perhaps to remove the competition at the top. Mheshimiwa?

BABU: I do not think it is about devolution of power. Even in the Nyumba Kumi Initiatives, the chairman feels powerful. So it is not about devolution of power because at the end of the day even if a person wanted to rig being a village elder, they will do it.
I think it is about coming up with proper electoral reforms. My first idea is that the presidential election is separate from all the other five presidential elections.

MAURICE: Done on a separate day?

BABU: Done on a separate day. The second reform is that the IEBC commissioners, the people who should constitute it, should come from the United Nations. That way, there can be some transparency.

MAURICE: None Kenyans or should they be Kenyans working in the UN?

BABU: They should come from an independent body because this is not an independent body. This is a body that is controlled from State House by the presidency. During the selection of these commission, we know what happened, for example, the chairman.
Names are taken to the president to select one person.
He has control at the Parliament. So even if a do was chosen to be a chairman, Parliament would still have passed it

MAURICE: Babu, Babu. No, no, no.

LUCKY: He makes a very, very valid point

MAURICE: Okay, we need to be careful that we are not talking about people who are not here to defend themselves.

BABU: I have said if a dog was chosen, the dog would have been our chairman because they have the numbers to pass that dog. And you saw what the dog did.

MAURICE: We cannot. We cannot equate the IEBC chair to anything less than human.

BABU: My friend . . .

MAURICE: Babu, that person has a name

BABU: He has demeaned our inalienable right enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution

MAURICE: But we have to agree that we need to maintain some level of decorum and civility as well as we engage.
We cannot begin calling people names. Lucky, you had something to say.

LUCKY: First of all, I do not believe he called him a name. All he did was refer to the situation as it is. Where is the independence in the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission? That is what we need to be asking ourselves.
And yes, I agree with him when he says the first thing we need to do is separate our elections. Let us have a specific day for the presidential ballot, whether it is a month prior or a week. We can look at an array of countries around the world and what they have done with this.
And when it comes to the selection of commissioners, one thing as Kenyans we must come to the point and understand, and painfully, regretfully say it is true, is that the rot in our society and our moral values is part of what has led to where we are.

MAURICE: So if the analogy Babu is saying is that perhaps Parliament messed through particular person's without properly vetting them, are we not questioning the moral standing of parliamentarians themselves.

Just hold that thought as I get on to our viewer's comments

VIEWER'S COMMENTS:
Fahima Gabu: Babu, don't accept to be sworn in until . . .

MAURICE: Well, this is another thing altogether

Caroline Naman: This is Kenya. Even if somebody came from the UN, they will still rig.

MAURICE: We had international observers. And I do not want to go into that because I think it is also part of the case. They are not Kenyans, but their verdict was a bit . . . I mean, are we gonna get people from Mars? People we take to Parliament; you are saying Parliament did not do its job because of tyranny of numbers. We had the Senate, we had these people grilled by EACC. It is a long rigorous process. So I don't know?

BABU: EACC, the director or the chairman is appointed by the president.

MAURICE: Well, eventually the appointing authority is one but there are all these levels

BABU: We know the political games that go in. So there is nothing that it's God who appoints these people.
It is the president who appoints these people. So whatever the president wants shall be given a way and how we wants it.

MAURICE: You are going to Parliament. You will be sworn in soon. Next week, I guess. But you will be in that House. Are you then saying you being in that House, and perhaps if numbers remain the so-called tyranny, then it does mean that it is parliamentary dictatorship?

BABU: Of course that is what is going to happen there. I mean, look at the big decisions in the previous parliament.
You see MPs fighting each other. People did not agree with what was being passed. And how were they passing it?
They were boasting around saying 'we have the numbers. We are going to pass it.'
In this nation, if they want to pass that we want a specific community or tribe or people to be non-Kenyans, they will pass it in Parliament.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:34:12.10]
MAURICE: There is a quick comment here before we get to Lucky.
We should adopt the electoral system of South Africa.
I am not too sure how it is different from ours.

Babu, this not be your voter. He i saying Babu for president 2022.

MAURICE: Lucky

LUCKY: What I wanted to mention and talk about was a message to the parliamentarians.
You are put there and elected to play the role of oversight. Play that role.
Oversight does not mean connect to your party ideology or what your leaders say, but follow what is right by the people who elected you to those positions.
Those people want you to be accountable.
It has nothing to do, at the end of the day, with the numbers.
You as a person elected by the people, for the people, work.
And work diligently.
Actually, you have read a comment now on Babu for President 2022.
That is something we need to be discussing because all parliamentarians have the opportunity to come up very strongly. But from the very few. Hon Babu Owino is one of the very few who have come up to stand for this.
And that is why people need to realise that this is bigger than 2017 or Uhuru Kenyatta or Raila Odinga.
This is about the future of the Kenyan people.
In 2027, someone is going to run for president. They would want to know that the ballot is free, fair and credible.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Babu, there was an experience you were complaining about.
Your certificate after being declared winner, what was the story and how frustrating was it?

BABU: Actually, this is a case of I think they had specific people in mind even before they prepared the ballot papers.
What happened in Embakasi East, the returning officer, a member of the IEBC, decided to butcher, defile, and rape the supreme will of the people.

MAURICE: Babu, we can't use

BABU: They raped indeed

MAURICE: I agree with you, but really? It doesn't have to be more graphic than that

BABU: It's okay. Now this returning officer after already tallying my results and I had already won, what he did was quite funny.
He gave them the MCAs their certificates, and signed them.
But when it came to mine, he said we have to go to town.

MAURICE: To the headquarters?

BABU: Yeah, to go and get the certificate.

MAURICE: Is your certificate that big or what? What is the difference between any other?

BABU: There was something that was being planned, but I think they wanted also to slaughter me. You know, they were fattening us so that they can slaughter us.
By trying to tell us that . . .

MAURICE: So did you eventually go to town?

BABU: No, I did not. I said I will not leave that place until I get my certificate.
It was ridiculous. The certificate appeared out of nowhere.
After that again, there was a problem with the stamp. That we had to come to town again to look for IEBC stamp.
But those were just games they were playing because my opponent was closely to the deputy president.

MAURICE: No, no, no. Babu, I will not allow you to go into that

BABU: I am telling you what was happening

MAURICE: You also have to agree with me. The rules of natural justice. We cannot be discussing. If he was here, then well and good.
He will be able to respond or his representative.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:38:34.29]
Ali Dande: If I can wake up very early in the morning just to go and vote, then somebody else decides who is the president, no need of voting in 2022. I will be sleeping and waiting for the computer to announce.

MAURICE: That is your opinion Ali.
Imagine Kenya . . . No, I cannot go there.

Kepha: We embark on Mlolongo style. You look with your naked eyes, and you will know who has won.
Let everyone remember that God is watching for the greedy kind of Kenya to gain power.

MAURICE: Now, I am not saying anybody is greedy to gain power.

We must remain as objective as possible.
You had something pressing Lucky, before I get to Jeddey.

LUCKY: Actually, when you talk about the objectivity and you talk about the elections, you ask yourself, are Kenyans aware that it costs up to 25 US dollars per person for this election to take place.
Let's compare this regionally, and around the world.
Rwanda just conducted their election. How much is it costing per person per head?
About 1 dollar.

So we are talking about an independent electoral body that beyond only not overseeing and carrying out their work correctly from inception, they are also corrupt.
So you're eating the Kenyan people's money and you are also not serving the purpose for which you are supposed to be doing.
It is ridiculous.

MAURICE: Well, I cannot say too much about whether they are corrupt or not, and if so, to what levels, but I do agree with you that elections are a costly affair.
Jeddey, then I come back to you Mheshimiwa.
Costs. You know, sometimes, I also empathise with the elected leaders or aspiring leaders.
Any person you meet want money from you. Perhpas elections in Kenya is ridiculously expesnive on both ends.
Jeddey, you ahd something pressing before I come back to Babu.
The cost of elections; is it prohibitive?
Does it mean only a few people who can have a certain threshold of money can run for seats?

JEDDEY: I believe that on that aspect, it is two-way.
I was an aspirant and I saw what was happening. The people, the voters, want to eat your money. They believe this is the time to do it; like it is their right.
So they also expect people who are running for these offices to have money to give them, otherwise you do not get their votes.
And that is what I was trying to tell the voters when I was campaigning. That you eat someone's money, where do you think they go it from?
When they get into power, they will have to recoup that money.

MAURICE: How successful were you in that message?

JEDDEY: I was successful to the point that those who wanted to listen to the truth and the message

MAURICE: But how many are they?

JEDDEY: Even if it starts with five, it grows. We have to make sure that the leaders we are putting there are not bought, and that when they get there they won't have the urge to want to replace the money they used trying to persuade the voters.

MAURICE: Lucky, closing remarks. Should we continue voting, should we lose hope? And will you vote again?

LUCKY: Closing remarks: Let us go back to the drawing board. We have a system that is not working. Let us not pretend.
Let's hit the drawing board and understand the aspects that are not working.
We need to overhaul the electoral body.
Do we need to bring somebody else who will manage this? Let us ask ourselves the questions we need to be asking ourselves.
We cannot go through the same thing the same way and expect different results.

MAURICE: So we proceed with the electoral reforms?

LUCKY: A whole, I don't know what you would call the mother of all reforms, but an entire sweep, yes.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa, closing remarks.
And as you close, swearing in, there was talk that some of you will not attend it. What's your position?

BABU: Personally, as Babu Owino, I think we should not attend.
I do not think I will attend this swearing-in on Thursday

MAURICE: Why?

BABU: Because of what happened. It has been put strategically so that we can legitimise the presidential elections which is, I know you want to tell me, is before a court of law.

MAURICE: Well, yes

BABU: I am telling you my reason. You don't comment about about it, but let me talk about it.
Now, when we look at what happened in the presidential elections, it was a sham.
There is no need of swearing in to legitimise it on a Thursday while Friday is a major ruling at the Supreme Court.

MAURICE: Well, I do not see the relationship between the two processes. But it is your right.
You as Babu, you will not attend the swearing in?

BABU: As Babu Owino, I am not

MAURICE: Closing remarks, mheshimiwa. Should one continue to have faith in the voting? You are a product of our voting.

BABU: We should not lose sight of a gazelle because of a squirrel. These people

MAURICE: Say that again. Slowly.

BABU: We should not lose sight of the gazzelle for a dashing squirrel.
These people now they are squirrels. We still have a future and we need to clean the system for mwananchi, not for them.
My issue is that we clean the system, let all Kenyans come out when we call them, we clean up this mess, then, we will vote in 2022.
Because elections in Kenya are always free, but they are never fair.

MAURICE: Well, that's Babu Owino's opinion. This is Opinion 2017.

Just one last comment.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:45:00.29]

Muziki: Voting has become a big joke in Kenya. Why can't we change the voting machinery in Kenya?

Just very pathetic.

MAURICE: Thank you so very much for joining us. Thank you for your valued comments.

Let's keep on having a conversation. Let us share. And let us be one another's keeper.

And until next time, as we say, alamsiki.

[00:45:34.22] ADVERT.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Brenda Akinyi · 0:51 1

Jay Okocha · 0:55 Isokey

Betty Atieno · 0:50 2

Jose Sagwe · 1:09 3

Halatu Tee · 1:37 4

Millie Akinyi · 1:47 5

Ndung'u Wa Githinji · 3:00 Kuwa true na....

Godfrey Jim · 7:12 watching

Silas Silas · 16:41 Watching

Susan Nyabera · 17:16 If I vote and my vote it doesn't make any anything or change.l l'll never and ever

Tornado Mukambi · 20:32 Watching from Lugulu girls

Judy Flexx · 28:37 Why they denied NASA agents form 34a. Thats the big question?

Steve Moranga' · 29:07 am for Secession. people's republic

Judy Flexx · 29:14 Secession will solve this dispute.

Felonzo M Felonzo · 29:47 Babu ni wetu

Steve Moranga' · 32:06 am for Secession. people's republic

Felonzo M Felonzo · 33:11 Babu is right even if a d. . Was chosen that d. . Would still be the chair

Adopa Son Rodgers · 33:28 Babu has it right, we need more leaders like him.

Damarys Mumia · 32:57 i swear hakuna maana hii East AFRICA pengine TZ

Larry McGuto · 44:40 Tell the PEOPLES REPUBLIC SIGN THE PETITION TO OUR DETERMINATION OF SEPARATION

Kepher Ayoo · 0:00 Nice let's go apart

Katosh Pap · 0:00 Abdul chanuka wewe Ni jubilee wacha kudanganya eti wewe Ni NASA Dun wanjohi kwenu Ni central na hamwezi lazimisha tukae pamoja wakati tunatengeza sote wakati WAkula mnakula nyinyi wakikuyu na wakale enough is enough kae kivyenu na hao wasomali

APPENDIX 2: OPINION 2017: SEPTEMBER 6, 2017

MAURICE: Thank you and welcome to Opinion 2017. Thank you for joining us. This is where we have candid discussions having your opinion. Of course remember to share them via Facebook and we will share them undaunted and uncensored.
Very well.
I am joined by Hon Nancy Abisai, who is a Member of Parliament for EALA. East Africa Legislative Assembly.
Karibu sana Mheshimiwa. It's been a while. So good to see you.

ABISAI: *Ahsante sana.* (Thank you).

MAURICE: You are getting younger should I say.

We are joined by political analyst and researcher Vickery Omwandho. How are you sir?

VICKERY: I am good.

MAURICE: Uko mzima? (Are you well?)

VICKERY: I am good.

MAURICE: Very well. Just one day after NASA brigade led by NASA principals toured Kisii and Nyamira counties, there was such an emphatic reaction. Raila Odinga was received in a heroic fashion alongside Kalonzo Musyoka and other NASA leaders. Is this a deviation from the figures we saw from IEBC, Vickery?

VICKERY: The numbers by IEBC were just fallacies. We can't really base our arguments because you can't say that really Uhuru Kenyatta won votes in Nyamira and Kisii. Those were just manipulation to justify their fallacies. We must remember it was the same Jubilee and government who came up with some fallacies that Kisii and Nyamria were battlegrouds. To justify that, they had to rig, steal the votes so that they will say 'We told these people that it was a battleground and it came to pass.' Finally when the courts nullified the elections, people were happy because this time round their voices were heard. I think that is why they were happy.

MAURICE: Very well. We did mention that we will be having Mheshimiwa T.J. Kajwang, MP Ruaraka constituency. I am just gonna go into a quick break. But before that, what is the reaction in Vihiga County where you come from and of course in the larger East Africa? In Tanzania, I heard there were celebrations after the court ruling. What is the people's take in Vihiga and in other parts of East Africa now that you are conversant with what East Africans are saying?

ABISAI: First of all let me tell you that this time around anybody who is saying that there are some counties that are going to be swayed is actually living in denial. He or she does not understand what is happening on the ground. People are very happy. For the first time in Majengo, Mbale which is the main road, it came to a standstill immediately after the announcement.

MAURICE: Spontaneously?

ABISAI: Spontaneously. The boda bodas, the matatus were just at a standstill. So anybody thinking they can come and sell any other agenda in Vihiga, it will not work. And in the region, it has given Kenya a new lease of life in terms of the democratic principles. The court has opened up a very new chapter and I think this was the best thing. I am proud to be Kenyan because of this.

MAURICE: In Tanzania specifically, I remember the Opposition Leader Lowassa who has been supporting Jubilee people have been saying that Magufuli is associated with NASA. What is the particular of these? Because we are following the case very closely

ABISAI: First of all I need to tell you that if you are a leader of the calibre of Lowassa for example. Leaders cannot come out out rightly to show that they are just supporting this faction and that faction. You are, you know, a diplomat so you cannot go to another country and show out rightly what he did. That is not how to unite nations. And it is not how to unite the people. Let countries deal with their issues and come in when you must but you cannot come out outright and just do things the way you want to

MAURICE: When we come back in about 30 seconds, don't go away. This is Opinion 2017.

ADVERT [00:05:24.27]
NASA song. With pictures of massive crowds and Raila Odinga addressing them.

MAURICE: This is Opinion 2017. We were just laughing at a joke by Mheshimiwa TJ Kajwang.
Of course we are joined by Ruaraka MP TJ Kajwang. Mheshimiwa, congratulations for winning and welcome

KAJWANG: Thank you

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa TJ Kajwang' is fresh from a NASA PG meeting which was happening at Wiper House and which was attended by all NASA principals. Mheshimiwa, just to bring us to speed, the elections date appears to be a sticky issue. I mean some people were saying NASA has rejected the date that was announced by IEBC. Some people were saying that day was announced by Matiang'i. What is the exact position?

KAJWANG: Maurice, as you know, NASA cannot reject going for an election. The problem is IEBC thinks that business is always as usual. The fact of the matter is that issues to do with elections, programming, operations and so on, the law expects that there will be consultations between parties.

This is what we have flagged. It is there in the law. IEBC never know that there are parties who have stake in an election and so when somebody arbitrarily chooses a date and decides that that date will be the date of the elections, they are forgetting that there are crucial members who have a stake in this process. All we are saying is that Matiang'i cannot just name a date and throw it on people whether as the acting Interior CS or CS for Education. After all, IEBC does not fall under his mandate. He should not.

MAURICE: So where does Matiang'i come in all these?

KAJWANG: I understand, and this is just what I understand, because you know this date was given to us through when Matiang'i was addressing the nation and was saying

MAURICE: Oh, he addresses the nation these days?

KAJWANG: Yes, he was saying things to do with the exams and he was saying that he was hoping the elections will be done after the exam. Meaning that he knew the date of the election meaning that this is where IEBC must have picked this from the air. And we are saying that we have to have -- this time we are not going to leave anything to chance. We are going to be part and parcel of these arrangements from the word go. So as far as we are concerned, that date just exists in the mind of IEBC and Matiang'i. Our principals, and this is what we have come up with from the PG this afternoon, the principals, and in a couple of hours, are going to meet IEBC in a structured manner in which we as NASA are going to give what are our suggestions. Not our suggestions. Our demands which must be met before we are able to say that the country is ready for the elections. So until that comes out, and the date is part of it, and a score of many other things which I am sure you are going to come through-- a score of those things, everything is on the table.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:11:32.04]

Esther Hamisi: We should be allowed to vote in London. Please, I travelled in August then now please allow us to vote here. It is my right as a Kenyan.

Lekuta Festus: Watching

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Nancy Abisai, what does it mean, some people are now saying that NASA does not want our children to do NASA, NASA is interfering with the school calendar, where does it leave us if you as a parent?

ABISAI: That is a very sad statement to make because who is NASA? NASA is Kenyans. In fact, I have been hearing this statement that 'Kenyans decided', 'Kenyans said', what is NASA? Are people in NASA not Kenyans? We are also Kenyans.

MAURICE: We are.

ABISAI: Now when you hear people who say NASA does not care, huh? The people who support NASA, are they not parents? We are parents. We have children going to school. So you cannot say that we do not want our children to do ABCD. We want them to go to school, but you also must understand, and people must know, in any country, you have your politics, it affects every other thing.

Now you want to a situation where you are saying, 'Look, we have just come from a ruling. What we need to do is dialogue ad consultation'. It is not about ' I have said. Take it or leave it. It's my way or the highway.' That is not how we do things because when you come with a fist and tell people I am pushing it down your throat, take it whether you like it or not, how do you expect people to take it?

We are just saying, can't be it be a process? In fact, there is no problem even if they had suggested, before they announced, they say 'Listen, we have some dates that we have suggested, why don't we all come, let's agree on one or two things. Let's first look at the dates then we suggest other things that we need to do.'

That is how you do it. But you can't just wake up in the morning, make a public announcement, tell people 'take it or leave it, if you do not want it, you don't want elections. If you don't want it, you don't want the children to go to school.' I think it is a very unfair judgment.

MAURICE: Vickery, Uhuru is on record saying he was not consulted and he doesn't have a problem

VICKERY: When you saw Matiang'i making a suggestion of 17th, then later on Chebukati confirmed that, I think what Jubilee is out to ensure is that the mess that led to the nullification of this electioni is the same. They want us to go to another election with the same people that led us here. That is why they want to rush things.
That is what Jubilee generally want to hide but the most important thing is that we must not go to another election with the very, very people that messed us up. These people have not even looked at the servers. The algorithm that was there in that server is still there.

MAURICE: You said there are what? Just break it down for our viewers who may not be able to understand

VICKERY: The algorithm that was put in the server so that every timee you put in some votes, it will give Uhuru a certain number of votes so that at the end of the day, Y=MX+C. So that is what was in the server.

MAURICE: You said Y=?

VICKERY: MX+C. So generally, what Jubilee is out for is to ensure we go into another election with the same people, the same Chiloba, the same secretariat, the same hackers so that at the end of the day, they know that if you go to the Supreme Court, they cannot nullify an election.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Kajwang, there has been some changes shall I put it in IEBC. Some people are said to have been put aside, the term step aside does not quite use this time, some suspended. Are you satisfied with them? Are they cosmetic?

KAJWANG: Well, we are not. I cannot say that we are satisfied because some of these things we are just hearing them from the media. As I have said the most structured process we want to

engage IEBC is to sit down with them as a coalition which is registered with IEBC to participate in the elections. To sit down with them and on the table some of these issues that they are raising are spoken on the table and we see the internal memos whether they are re-designating or re-employing people, whether it is terminating contracts, or whether it is appointing new people. We would want to see evidence of this. We are not going to go by media reports and so on. The less I say about it the better, but we want to have a structured discussion, dialogue, and we want this dialogue to be participatory. If Jubilee wants to have the same dialogue, they are welcome. If they do not want, it is really their business.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:17:04.21]

Guzman the DJ watching from America: It is really a thank you

Shifadh Uthman: They should not be given an opportunity for manipulation. *Lazima tuwe ngangari. Wizi hatutaki tena.* (We must be vigilant and say no to theft).

MAURICE: Well, I don't know who exactly the mwizi is. But Mheshimiwa Abisai, wouldn't it be prudent to perhaps have finer details. We have suspended so and so from this job. It is a bit grey, don't you think?

ABISAI: Let me tell you, even the Bible says 'My people perish for lack of knowledge.' You just need to be transparent and open enough to tell people 'These are the actions we want to take. This is the reason why we are doing it. This is our suggestion and we are opening this window for discussion so that in case there's something we can change, we just want everyone to be comfortable.' The minute you start with one side leaving left out or disgruntled, you are already starting on the wrong footing. You can't have two people who have disagreed and then you come and say okay we have disagreed and this is what we are going to do. You have no say, and it is none of your business and I am going to do what I think is right. This is where we get it wrong. What is so wrong about dialogue and consultations?

What is wrong? There is nothing wrong? You can never go wrong when you do such things because you give people an opportunity to bring in suggestions and discuss and come with a win-win agreeable situation. But when you decide to push things down people's throats that is when

you start on a wrong footing. And is it too much to ask if we say that before you set a date, because even with the exams people prepare, don't they? You have to prepare.
People have known all along that the practicals will be this time because you prepare all along.
Even now, what are you preparing for? When you tell us there are six people who have been replaced, you have not told us where the rest have gone. Are they also just hanging there? These are spearheading, but these ones, have they been suspended?

MAURICE: Even the new ones, don't they need to subject them through a process or?

ABISAI: It is important because the court ruling. The chairman Chebukati should have done quick audits and come up with some very, very, as IEBC on their own, come up with some one or two things so that when he writes letters apart from the court ruling, he is also saying authoritatively as a chair that because of ABCD, I can no longer keep you here and even that audit could have been going on while he now says 'Look, I am taking an audit on these people, and here we have already replace, we are taking from within because of ABCD', and tell us what are the strengths of these people, how did he decide to come up with them because this is a process.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:20:14.12]
Sokomo: NASA this time most transmit live results as they come in. Last time it was a let-down. Please transmit live results.

MAURICE: Well, maybe the personnel in this studio need to connect to the server then we can transmit live.
Mheshimiwa, you were part of the legal team and I must say congratulations because Kenya had very brilliant lawyers. The court order, was it adhered to in full, and if not, what should happen? I assume IEBC when it does not comply with a court order, there should be consequences.

KAJWANG: Thank you for that question. But let me step back and perhaps finish where we were. Let us putt this in context.

The cry to restructure IEBC is a cry that has been there since the year 2007. You remember when we had the bungled elections the most infamous Kibaki elections in which led to post-election violence and we had the judge coming all the way from South Africa to come and find out

MAURICE: That is Justice Kriegler?

KAJWANG: Kriegler, yes. The names of these same people appeared.

MAURICE: Really?

KAJWANG: Yes, the names of these same people appeared. The name of this lady who is in charge of voter registration. Kasait appeared in that report. I know for a fact because I was counsel representing ODM in that proceedings so I have first-hand information. And a core of others appeared in that report. After that, nothing was done. When then there was a clamour by popular will of the people, Uhuru was not willing to let the secretariat bee swept by a clean sweep. So what did he do? He allowed the commission, well he was forced to stand, step aside as the commission was removed but he stood his guard on the secretariat. Basically, he was just rewarding them and we have seen what the secretariat have done. For having stood for them, Chiloba simply rewarded Uhuru. That's what he did. He was his stooge from that day as all those things you see the secretariat doing, a lot of those were done, may have done, without the knowledge of the commission or things which the commission could not stop them to do.

In a sense, listening the chair saying he is going to remove these people and replace them, it is water coming too late.

It should have happened before, back in 2007. Anyway, these people have been a disgrace to Kenyans whichever way they go it'll be better. They must go. So we support unequivocally that these people, that we have a chance to clean the secretariat. Because if you have the commission there and you do not clean the secretariat, these people have learnt the bad manners from them.

Coming back to the case

MAURICE: Yeah, the specific court order to open servers

KAJWANG: Exactly. There have been court orders, specific orders, on audit and scrutiny. Meaning that there was an order to compel IEBC to release and open their servers to the parties in question and it was couched in very careful terms that we were granted read-only access but that read-only access will involve releasing where the IP addresses are, and the data itself that found its way.

You remember the complaint that NASA brought to court was that at a particular point in time, specifically at midnight, of that shameful night, the servers were stopped, simply stopped. And between that times, there was a period of two, three hours, in which persons who were not authorised to use the server had access and threw in data during that period of time. And so this is what we want to know. We want to know who it was who accessed the server.

MAURICE: So let me ask, if IEBC up to now has not replied, what can be done to compel them? Or is that now fait accompli?

KAJWANG: From a legal point of view, one would want to wait for the reasoned judgement of the court because you see, what we have now are simply orders that the court gave. The court is yet to give reasoned judgement. Inside that reasoned judgment, the court will deal with whether or not the refusal of IEBC to release the servers was reasonable. You see, they said that, one time they said that our servers are in France. Then the story changed and now the servers were in America and that the time difference. When the time difference between us and France was not long enough, then the time difference between us and the United States was now long enough. But of course, we have a report which we now have from the court appointed ICT person. They are not in the United States.

What are you talking about these things being in France? These things are here in Thika as you drive to Garissa. Tucked somewhere under a culvert. So there is nothing which is in France.

MAURICE: Well, I don't know what to say to that.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:26:44.13]

Patrick Namakhutu: Push the date till December.

MAURICE: Vickery, is there a possibility of pushing this date if all the reforms are not done in good time and what are the implications?

VICKERY: I think Jubilee cannot allow the date to be pushed. Because that

MAURICE: Well, it's really not for them to allow. I thought this is being done by IEBC

VICKERY: The IEBC, the way it has been acting, it is like it is another arm of the Jubilee government.
This way, Jubilee will push IEBC to ensure that elections are held within the 60 days. Uhuru's term actually had expired. It is only after the court said that we must hold another election within 60 days, it therefore means that if we cannot hold an election within 60 days, there is going to be a crisis where a state of emergency

MAURICE: I mean, what crisis will be there? The common mwananchi, Uhuru right now is not the president as he was before the elections and everything seems to be going on

VICKERY: He is not a president as he was but he still has some powers. He still controls the army, and whatnot. So he is still the commander in chief. So when 60 days elapses, he ceases being president. So that way, we will be in a state of crisis and therefore we must have a transitional government.
So I think the government will be very careful to ensure that the elections are held within 60 days.

MAURICE: That should not be read to mean like that is the NASA position

[[[[[[NOTE TO SELF: IMPORTANT]]]]]]

VICKERY: It is not NASA position. That is the law. But if we are candid enough, I would say that it is time we stopped this thing that IEBC is an independent body. If we want to have a

credible election in this country, then we should have parties nominating commissioners to IEBC and even having their members in the secretariat so that they protect the interests of their parties because what we are having now is a case where people pretend and masquerade that they are independent but when they go there, they serve the interests of certain people. Like currently, they are serving the interests of Jubilee.

It doesn't need rocket science to do that. So we must run away from this pretence that IEBC is independent.

It is time we come to reality and say as a nation for us to have credible elections, every other party will be comfortable, and it is time we nominate the commissioners and even the secretariat

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Abisai, what would be the threshold that would make you comfortable as someone who is a legislator in EALA? What are the reforms, whether major or minor that need to happen before?

ABISAI: I think we have like Mheshimiwa has just said come from a PG. As NASA, we have laid down what we feel is the basic minimum that must be put on the table before going to an election.

We should actually, and I think as NASA, we all want to have an election within the 60 days. So nobody should start saying that NASA does not want elections.

MAURICE: David Murathe has been saying that NASA is not ready. .

ABISAI: No, no, no. We want. Remember the court was very clear that the process is as good as the final results. You cannot just talk about the final result because I have been hearing people talk about results, results. But the process is the means that determines the results. So we cannot just say let's go to an election tomorrow without knowing what mechanisms have been put in place.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:30:58.06]

George Odunga: IEBC did all these. Government needs to quit blaming NASA. We should have our president sworn in and students will be doing their exams. Tibim!

MAURICE: I mean, this tibim thing. I don't know. I hope he is not gonna be part of the exams.

Henry Obwonya: Change must come.
Sam Omondi: IEBC changes are cosmetic. We want radical surgery. We can't allow this serious error of judgement on the part of IEBC chairman

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Kajwang', some people are saying that NASA is becoming too much. You guys, the NASA lawyers, and its good you are here, you have been to court against IEBC a record number of times. Uhuru is on record saying IEBC announces a date and even before 24 hours elapse . . . I mean, some people are saying that NASA is now beginning to look like they really do not want elections.

[[[[[[NOTE TO SELF: IMPORTANT]]]]]]

KAJWANG: Anybody saying that us going to court we are becoming too much, then he has a problem he needs to deal with. Let me tell you, we will go to court if that is the only avenue to be able to get our rights on each and every item until wananchi of this country would be free from the shackles of regression and corruption. But let us not cheapen this thing. We begin from here: That we do not want Uhuru to have any single second or minute more than he is entitled to. He has outlived his period of time in State House. He is now a squatter in State House.

MAURICE: Wow!

KAJWANG': We are not going to allow him to take any other minute. We are the people who want these elections to be done like tomorrow.

MAURICE: It's a tough term to use. Squatter?

KAJWANG: Well, yes. I will explain it as a constitutional lawyer. Article 132 of the Constitution defines Uhuru's terms. Article 140 prescribes how Uhuru president is elected or not.

Because what the president is now enjoying is called caretaker incumbency. He is just a caretaker. Who is a caretaker if not a squatter? He is only a caretaker.

MAURICE: I did not see that coming.

KAJWANG: There must be a legitimate office holder of the place. So the guy is just a caretaker for the period of time to midwife the elections. The fact that we were done with him on August, turns out the guy had an arsenal had under his feet. But we will definitely deal with him decisively. Forget about it. We want that election. Do not be mistaken. We want it at the earliest time that it can be possible except there are things which we have seen and we are not going to go into these elections blindly. Things which must be done, preparations which must be undertaken. We must have an election which is going to mitigate August-- one that will right the wrongs that have been done in this country once and for all.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:34:11.29]

Yvonne Khaida: School calendar is not an issue. Jubilee is just making school calendar a scapegoat. I sat for my Form Four examinations in 2012. I remember the timetable was released two, three times exams being postponed.

MAURICE: By the way, there is a time teachers were on strike for most of the year, and they had to postpone exams

ABISAI: It was a crisis. The teachers were on strike, there were no teachers to administer exams. So I remember we postponed the exams, and postponed, and postponed, but the exams still happened.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa, if IEBC says 'We are not moving the date by a single day or hour.' What happens?

KAJWANG: First of all, I hope IEBC should be seeing itself as a constitutional commission which should be guided by law and reason. And I want to think that even when they propose any

date for elections, they must be persuaded by concrete evidence and concrete facts that will then lead to those dates. But if we show the,, as we will, that there are certain preparations which are minimum, irreducible minimum, that they cannot negotiate below that these issues must be done first before those dates are done, I want to believe that they should have the grace to accept what is facts, what is logical and what is not.

But I know, and as my brother says, the IEBC ceased to be independent long time ago. If they want to go that route, they will be talking to wananchi of this country, I can tell you that.

MAURICE: In which language?

KAJWANG: Well, you know, wananchi, the sovereign will belongs to the people. And I have seen the people's power spoken very, very powerfully and I can assure them that if they do not want to speak to the elected representatives of the people, they might as well talk to the people themselves. And the people only know one language.

MAURICE: Which is?

KAJWANG: Which your guess is as good as mine

MAURICE: Okay. I hope it doesn't get to that. Vickery, does the Kenyan get lost in this? Now this looks like it is about IEBC delivering on its constitutional mandate. It has now become an Uhuru-Raila thing and everything is lost in between.

VICKERY: We are in a country where ethnic slavery sometimes tend to play the way we ought not to. When you look at Kenya today, we are in a country where everything seems to be guided in a wave of impunity.

Some people want to perpetuate this impunity and get away with it. So when the court said that the due process was not followed, so that we should have another election, it is not about Raila, it is not about Uhuru. If for anything, Kenyans went to the ballot to vote 45 per cent to the counties, they went to vote for free education for all. Kenyans went to vote so that they can have affordable living. Not a case where we are in a country where we cannot afford.

MAURICE: So, in all this where is the Kenyan? It appears that it is about what NASA leader wants, the Jubilee leader thinks.

VICKERY: Well, the thing is people should look at it from the point that Raila stands for something. Uhuru Kenyatta stands for status quo, looting, and generational wealth while Raila

MAURICE: Well, I do not know about that. I mean, Vickery

VIKCERY: Just let me get to the point. While Raila stands for progressive change of our country. Because you can't really be a president who is presiding over looting and when people ask you that finally God has blessed us with some oil here, please Mr President, just give us 10 per cent of it. They are calling those people rebels?
So it is about Raila and Uhuru Kenyatta but in a sense there is some ideology behind it.
There is that regressive status quo that Uhuru Kenyatta would want to perpetuate. So we shouldn't let that happen

MAURICE: I just admire your conviction. I do not know where you derive your evidence from. You appear to know a lot more than we do especially as appertains to that

READER'S COMMENTS [00:39:17.10]
Outa: We were not counted as diaspora voters, only considered the ones within East Africa. I am from Qatar. It is our right to vote as Kenyans. Please, Hon Kajwang, can you raise that issue in Bunge.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa, how was the voting in Tanzania. I want to believe you voted in Tanzania?

ABISAI: People voted in Tanzania, yes.

MAURICE: How many?

ABISAI: I am not so sure bbecause for me, you know, I was the county agent in Vihiga so I was concentrating more in my local.

MAURICE: What you are saying is that as local people, are the local people left out of all these? Because the focus, the argument is so much on individuals. It's like there will be no other elections after this 2017. Some people are saying even if we have laws, let us just continue. The picture being created is that there is this one man called Raila who you just cannot satisfy. He says this today, he changes it tomorrow.

ABISAI: I think that is a very wrong notion. When we were, in fact this time around, even do you know there is a 98 year old lady who was fasting?

MAURICE: 98-year-old?

ABISAI: 98-year-old. She fasted for almost two days. A 98-year-old. And you know what she was fasting for? She was fasting that Raila will be given justice at the court. And when she heard the ruling, you know, she cried and she said even if God takes her away she knows that the country is headed somewhere. Her grandchildren, her great grandchildren. What does that tell you? You see even when people were lining up to vote, it was not a question of convincing them about anything. The voter turnout and even the people who came out know what they wanted to vote for. They know what they want. It is not about convincing anybody right now. It is just about telling them go back, just do as you did in the right away, and you know who you wanted. In fact, we were the ones telling them we all know people were coming out of their homes saying me I have already gone to Canaan. You are the one who is waiting

MAURICE: Yes, I am seeing a lot of people here

ABISAI: I mean that was the story

MAURICE: Who are watching from Canaan.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:41:51.00]

Tony Mwando Lukecho: What is NASA waiting for? We want them to hit the road campaigning so that we can have a real celebration after a real win.

A name here I won't read, let me go into the comment.
Chebukati changed the positions of the players in IEBC, but the team is the same. NASA HAO.

MAURICE: Mheshimiwa Kajwang, moving forward. Somebody has actually mentioned about campaigns. I am aware NASA was in a neighbouring constituency to yours in Mathare, in Kisii. But there are already political re-alignments. Munya has joined NASA and we have a host of some leaders from Mheshimiwa Abisai's counties and neighbouring counties. What do you make of all these?

KAJWANG: First of all, the viewer called Tony. I think your perspective is correct and we take it with a lot of courage that we should be on the ground. We should not be on the boardroom anymore. And I can tell you that we have had enough boardrooms. The last date was today when we as PG, we were now receiving all the reports.
When the verdict was given, we had to do some SWOT analysis and to really understand where we were. But I can tell Tony that we received reports from all these de-briefings and now we have created structures and units which are going to move to the ground.
We have units which are ward-based, we have units which are constituency-based, as well as units which are now presidential-based.
As we are speaking right now, all these teams will be firmly on the ground and you are not going to see people in any meeting anymore.
You are going to see people right on the ground where the rubber meets the bullet.
There has been a lot of realignments on either side

MAURICE: What do you make of Munya joining NASA?

KAJWANG: Yesterday, I was in Capitol Centre, the office of our presidential candidate. And I met Peter Munya, my friend

MAURICE: Oh, he is your friend?

KAJWANG: He is not only my friend, he was a class before me. After me

MAURICE: Which school was this?

KAJWANG: The Faculty. It's only one place where people -- Faculty of Law.

MAURICE: I was about to say *ujaluo itakuua,* but again you were with Munya. It's okay.

KAJWANG: I can see a lot changing in areas which are traditionally thought to be Jubilee strongholds. And that is why you ask, is this thing about Raila and Uhuru, I think not. I think to wananchi, these are just individuals who are candidates. I think there is a question of people whow want change in this country and stoics who will never allow change, and this comes from all walks of life, it doesn't matter which region you come.
And this is why you will see a lot of movements. Like Nyambene. You will see places like Imenti. You will even see the Nithis of this world.
Of course I know Jubilee has been trying to throw in goodies all over. You know, Lusaka is not goodies to anybody.
Thinking that Lusaka brings in Bungoma, and you saw a group of questionable characters going to State House the other day.
Each of time has a story to tell.

MAURICE: Did you say questionable characters? Why?

KAJWANG: Politically, they have questionable characters.

MAURICE: Like who? What?

KAJWANG: Some joker, in my view, called Cyrus Jirongo. He is a joker because the guy says he is a presidential candidate material and then when it comes to show, we do not see him other than him being a Trojan horse for Uhuru.

Marende who has bled the blood of ODM ever since he came into politics, and without bashing face, he walks to State House. We've seen him before there I think he was rewarded for being some chairman of a board in some nondescript company. And then Gumo. And some of those characters. You can name all of them. These in fact, we want to offload all of them. We want all this vinyang'anyiros, all these people who are politically questionable, let them land on the basket of Jubilee. So that we can run with the real people; we can run with Abisais in Vihiga. People who wananchi know are genuine leaders.

MAURICE: Not all of us have had the benefit of being in the Faculty. So your views, I think our viewers are requesting that you probably explain. You used the word called stoics and nondescript.

Could you perhaps, for the benefit of our viewers, not all of us were in the Faculty.

KAJWANG: Well, stoics refers to people who are impervious to change. They will never change. They want the same systems, what he was calling the status quo. Because they enjoy it.

MAURICE: It favours them

KAJWANG: It favours them and they are in their comfort zone. Nondescript are miscreant characters

MAURICE: Now you are using a term. You are making it worse, Mheshimiwa.

KAJWANG: Marende was appointed in some company which the government is owning not more than 23 per cent shares, KPLC. That is a nondescript company as far as I am concerned. It is a not a big thing. There's nothing big that has happened.

ABISAI: To add on to that, let me look at one who comes from my own county. Akaranga.

MAURICE: Mulembe nation has gone to Jubilee

ABISAI: No, no, no, no. Please talk about individuals. It's about me, myself and I. You know people do these things from their own reasons. I am glad there is no woman there

MAURICE: Really? Come to think about. What does it say?

KAJWANG: Because ladies don't deal with those nondescripts

ABISAI: Let me tell you something, Akaranga, just to speak, when NASA was coming to Vihiga before even the elections, I remember he kept saying 'I am in NASA, I should be enjoined. PPK is NASA' and Musalia Mudavadi never pronounced him as being part of this movement. Why? Because everybody knows the questionable character. He wanted to ride on the wave of NASA to clinch the seat and so when that did not happen, he went back where he belongs. And that is what we know.
And all along, we knew that is where he belongs. He was just campaigning for himself, and he just wanted to get his seat, and when he did not seat, he went back home. He was never really with us, and that is why the current governor beat him

MAURICE: Who is the current governor?

ABISAI: Wilber Asilwa Ottichilo. He is NASA.

MAURICE: Wow! Congratulations. We will be having him here sooner than later.
But, Ababu Namwamba. Otuoma. Khangati. Will these have an impact in the coming elections?

ABISAI: Let's go to the county like Bungoma where Khangati was. And Khangati was the one spearheading the campaigns, the ODM campaigns coz we had Ford-Kenya as well. And the NASA flag bearer supported him 100 per cent. It is really shocking when he comes out and says he was not supported.

MAURICE: But what impact will it have on the elections?

ABISAI: The impact, you see Wangamati, the current governor right now, WW, if people want to feel change, who brings the change on the ground? Isn't it the governor? Now, how is the seat of the speaker going to help people ib Bungoma as opposed to the seat of governor?
I think that is the question you should ask. The governor is the one who is supposed, through devolution, bring development by ensuring some of this, the sector, have been funded and that they are actually working for the people on the ground

MAURICE: So basically, this whole movement on the ground within the. . . I mean there are media houses reporting that Jubilee has raided NASA strongholds. Mulembe nation. I mean, I saw a picture of Ababu with Uhuru, they were hugging and all that. I mean Ababu Namwamba, no effect in Busia?

ABISAI: But they were there.

MAURICE: Vickery?

VICKERY: When I look at all these characters, Ababus of this world, Otuomas of this world, these are people who have no morals to hold on to. In fact, I would say these are people who get paid to stop thinking. So anytime you bring money around, they can go either side.
There is money in Jubilee. It must be remembered that Jubilee cannot account for 350,000 billion within five years. So they have that money. They have Eurobond. So anytime you dish out money, people who can get paid to stop thinking, can go for that. People like Otuoma, Ababu, they have been in Jubilee.
It's just a matter of PR. They are saying that they have come to Jubilee.
Look at somebody like Cyrus Jirongo. He was a presidential candidate. He was a project of State House. People must know that. The reason he was vying, Jubilee and Uhuru Kenyatta thought, that him being a Luhyia will get some votes and therefore snatch them away from Raila Odinga.

And that did not work. And he must survive. He must go there and get the billions that was looted.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:52:45.23]

Millie Wanga: Cosmetic changes won't cut it. They need to open the server fully and prosecute wrong-doers. Get a new team then do elections. If IEBC need a political solution, then they need to say so and stop wasting Kenyans' times.

MAURICE: Moving forward, just to wrap up the show, I will start with you Mheshimiwa Abisai. What should the people of Vihiga expect from NASA moving forward? Or what narrative perhaps should NASA go forward with so that they make sure they get the vote?

ABISAI: People are ready to vote for their candidate who is Raila Amollo Odinga and vote for NASA and that is it. People don't need to be convinced anymore. People know what they what, and I told you people could tell when the ruling party was met. It is unfortunate that the media chose to air some parts of Kenya, and neglected others. They needed to have actually been able to show what is going on in every other section in this country because there was jubilation everywhere. So we just want to go back to the ground and tell people ' look, you said that we had already gone to Canaan, but somebody stopped you. So now, we are ready to go and that is it.' And the Canaan issue has not stopped. The journey is on, and everybody is waiting. The journey is real. And that is the language people understand.

MAURICE: Vickery as you wrap up, as a researcher, these movements, numbers are being floated left, right and centre. 'Oh, Meru half a million. bla bla bla'. Do you changing political landscape?

VICKERY: To some extent it will. We have normal Kenyans who will reason. We have those who are galvanised as I said, they can't go beyond their ethnic kings, but what I would say is that if you look at the NASA agenda and if I look at a county like Nairobi that is currently getting about 15 billion per year in terms of devolved funds, if we devolve 45 per cent, they will be getting around 45 billion.

Look at a county like Kiambu that gets around 9 billion, it means they will be getting around 27 billion.

That is just good money that can bring the transformation that we want in this country.

My final comment: IEBC should stop these games. We cannot be fooled by exams, that exams will determine when they are going to vote. They must motivate our instincts in such a way that when you go to the elections, our votes are going to count. We have around 2 million Kenyans who have no jobs, so why do they want more people to graduate. Where are they going to? We can even have that exams next year.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:56:11.29]

Mutua Mwingi: A question; how should Kenyans believe IEBC to run elections again when in the first place they could not? If it is about exams, if there is a venue for example, IEBC can apply to the Supreme Court for an extension of time to allow exams to take place.

MAURICE: I do not know how true that is. Mheshimiwa, you can respond to that. And also, I hear somebody is taking you to court. And Nairobi County, is anybody filing a petition for the gubernatorial position? I mean, people are asking that NASA appears to have a strong case. Is anybody challenging Sonko in court? You can respond to those then you have your closing remark.

KAJWANG: First, you cannot extend the 60 days. The 60 days is in the Constitution. Neither the Court nor anybody else can change it. We have to have those elections within 60 days. Two, there is no reason to extend those dates. There are enough for us, we are sending these guys home within the 60 days. As I told you, we do not want Uhuru in State House for any more second than is due for him.

Millie Wanga said something that is interesting. I think when we get the judgement, the reasoned judgment, we will insist that everything which was ordered by the court is done. Kenyans want to know 'what happened?" What really happened into these servers? And who are these people who hacks servers illegally? Who are these people who are allegedly chopping other people's fingers to be able to gain access to the server? If the chairman of IEBC says he did not authorise his codes to be used, so who used it on behalf of the chair?

Kenyans are entitled to this information, and we surely we as a legal team, we will provide that it even has nothing to do with elections. It has everything to do with access to justice and access to information.
We will get that information and Kenyans will know what happened in the elections that was done on 8th of August.
About who has filed a petition?

MAURICE: I hear. I do not know how true it is. I just happen to know a few things, not a lot of things

KAJWANG: Well, I have only seen on Twitter handles and so on. There is this rumour on FM stations and I don't know why she/he chose vernacular stations. But look, I am used to this kind of thing.
I am used to this opponent. She is a cry baby. And I can tell her: "Come, baby, come." I'll handle her

MAURICE: Oh, TJ. TJ, you didn't say that

KAJWANG: I quoted my friend Miguna and let me tell you, you don't make elections personal. Elections are about the people. When they have spoken

MAURICE: So you firmly believe Ruaraka spoke?

KAJWANG: Ruaraka spoke loud and clear. Even the people who were doubters had it so clear. And I am not about to make elections personal and so when you choose to pursue somebody as if this is an entitlement, that if I do not get it, I will go to court, you will go to court a thousand times, but the people will still speak the same language they spoke.
And so the last thing is I want to tell the world, that we are ready. We have set units, we are on the ground, and we want to appeal to all Kenyans who have the votes, those who did not come to vote, this time we are going to do 98 per cent voter turnout.

And we are calling on volunteers, young people. The other time I spoke to young people who came to me, and you can't believe the number of people who want to volunteer on ICT.
They have a lot of experience, these young people. We want people to create firewalls that when Jubilee throws things there, we will just palter them off.
And we are looking for volunteer agents. We are not looking for people to be paid, or for people to make money out of being an agent.
We want people this time who want to come and fight for the party because the stakes that are there is the stakes of people who want to have change in this country.
We do not want people coming there because he/she is going to be paid one, or two thousand bob.
And whether Jubilee will pay 5,000 or something.
We don't want such kind of guys that I see crowding in NASA offices asking for payments.
Yes, payments we must give agents to facilitate them but that cannot be the primary reason why somebody should offer himself as an agent.

ABISAI: Maybe just as you end, another thing that we need to do, we must and Kenyans must not say that 'I do not have time to travel', you must get out and vote.
So you must go to you area and vote. Please do not just sit there and said you voted, oh these people will steal, get out there and vote and the people who need, at least we know we can be able to get together like people from western and get our people to go back and vote.

KAJWANG: Maurice, you asked about Nairobi, why nobody is filing a petition.
I am personally surprised because, in my view, there is lots and lots of evidence of voter tampering in the voter register. I do not why someone is not filing

MAURICE: I know Sifuna is filing for the senatorial. But for the gubernatorial? i do not know.

KAJWANG: Well, I would have expected our candidate to have reflected on this.
And if he was talking to any lawyer that looked at the evidence, every lawyer would have told him, you go to court because you have a good case

MAURICE: Well, you can tell him

KAJWANG: Well, I am not his lawyer of his choice

MAURICE: I just thought you are a good lawyer who won a big case

KAJWANG: Until one day I will be his lawyer, I am not able to advise him. And I can tell Kenyans by the way, you do not have to be a candidate by the way.

MAURICE: Are you saying anybody can go to court?

KAJWANG: Yeah, you don't have to be a candidate to file a petition. Any Kenyan, or any Nairobian, can file a petition and then table the evidence.

MAURICE: And then what happens?
Anybody can file now?

KAJWANG: No, no, no. There will just be a petition. The point is to nullify that election. After that, the people who contested in those elections, will re-contest. I mean, that is a legal advice for free, even for people who have not chosen me as their advocate.

MAURICE: Wow! Just to close, there has been this thing about challenges, we heard the Mugabe challenge. The Museveni challenge.
And I am hearing guys saying there is the Uhuru challenge.
I do not know what exactly it is.
I do not know if you guys will be willing to

. . . Don't go there Vickery.

Thank you very much for watching. This is Opinion 2017. Good luck and goodbye.

Ahsante sana.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Patricia Otieno · 0:21 Here already

Amos Chacha · 0:28 Lol

Eunice Mwakio · 0:24 Ndaaaaani!

Don Makaveli · 0:36 Watching from my smartphone iPhone

Janety Muia · 0:32 Here too

Ann Ann · 0:36 Am waiting

Prince Walter Ongeri · 0:38 Ndaaaaaani ndaaaaaani

Ooro Abraham · 0:38 Waiting

Hans Mbwaga · 0:41 Let us goo

Opeezy Robert · 0:36 Tibim!

Jenny Kereto · 0:36 Following

Amos Chacha · 0:41 Patricia

Tina Love · 0:52 NASA hao killers

Robert Mwenyewe Mukhwana · 0:46 Niko macho

Mumbo Kennedy · 0:40 Tibiim

Edwin Lewis · 1:00 Watching

Jackline Aluse · 0:59 Tibiim

Victor Kisato · 1:09 Number one pap!

Steve Wonder Odiaga · 1:17 Niko ndani

Zakariya Wa Musa · 1:20 Tibim

Samson Simiren Sam · 1:24 Watching from Narok

Tina Love · 1:37 Iebc must go

Rose Nyarkaksingiri · 1:34 WHAT IS NASA DOING TO SECURE OUR GENUINE VOTES?

Olindo Jr. · 1:38 Tuko ndani Mombasa tibiim

Skullboy Balozi Lawrence · 1:42 Am in

Ounda Khadiri · 0:42 tibiim

Willy Carl Saduma · 0:58 tibim

Ummu Sauda · 2:01 Tibim

Lotiki Thomas · 1:57 Watching live from Lokichar Turkana south Meanwhile, wakili Erustus Lokaale is new county assembly speaker. #mbelepamoja

Joram Musau · 1:59 Watching from former Prime Minister office

Tina Love · 2:29 Iebc declare Raila the winner

Francis Schumacher · 2:36 Hi Nasa team. My name is Francis Muriuki. I absolutely believe in Nasa and know that good change will come when You get into powers. Its good to celebrate the win today but tomorrow U should think of a proper campaign. I think I can be a help. I offici…See more

Tina Love · 2:56 Baba is here to stay

Joram Musau · 2:56 Watching from jubelee party headquarters

Rose Nyarkaksingiri · 2:57 OHURU STOLE.....BUT NOW, CAN WE FOCUS ON SECURING VOTES FOR NASA

Francis Schumacher · 3:08 Hi Nasa team. My name is Francis Muriuki. I absolutely believe in Nasa and know that good change will come when You get into powers. Its good to celebrate the win today but tomorrow U should think of a proper campaign. I think I can be a help. I offici…See more

Jaluo Jinga · 3:17 Where is Chiloba in this programme

Sylvanus Omondi · 3:48 president raila odinga

Jude M O Thaddeus · 3:53 Nahashon we don't want rulers we need leaders

Kyle Ke · 4:05 watching from Switzerland

Eunice Gichana · 4:06 Am watching from Nairobi since it is presidential elections will u vote from anywhere in Kenya

Kennedy John · 4:12 Raila should do all means to win this election.. We are not ready for disappointment been the third time.My opinion.

Mercie Maluki · 4:14 Is watching from kitui

Emma Venna · 4:48 Ndaaaani

Evans Omenta · 4:49 Sauti uko chini sana ongesa plz

Victor Ogutu · 5:01 We must win this thing decisively.

Tina Love · 5:24 Democracy

Bravoson Mkenya · 5:27 Raila must be the president.....

Jux Julius · 5:21 Watching from kitui

Dennis Chemiati Simiyu · 5:19 Watching from samburu

Nancy Auma · 6:03 Siendi mahali lakini ongeza sauti please

Raph Ralph · 5:49 Watching from Kilifi

Noah Too · 6:27 We're the SILENT majority in NASA. Tinga Tibim!!!

Mishna Ahmed Ahmed · 6:30 Watching frm taita taveta

Patrick Major · 6:49 Watching from Nairobi

Emmaculatta Cashie · 6:36 baba oyere

Rose Nyarkaksingiri · 6:44 BECAUSE WE MUST WIN & JUSTICE FOR KENYANS MUST PREVAIL

Lilian M. Sialo · 6:59 Tibim

Dem Wa Roman Reigns · 6:54 Watching from Nakuru

Darlcy Bresh · 6:55 Advertise the paybill number on media everywhere

Robert Maseno Abiri · 6:53 Watching from Nairobi

Jaluo Jinga · 7:03 Even Obama celebrated when Raila won the supreme court case. WHY NOT

Ghalib Adnan · 7:07 Watching from Dubai Raila tibiiim

Nyakindu Grace · 7:18 Watching from Swiss Tialala

Gloria Shirley · 7:22 Tibim tialala😎

Shiffat Uthman · 7:26 Watching from Westlands

Onedo Ken · 7:19 Watching from Mombasa thanks

Katam Tweet · 7:34 Baba yuko mbeleeeee....

Hayuna T Rits · 7:14 watching fro Gulf

Gloria Shirley · 7:51 Raila tibim tialala😎

Vincent Dock · 7:54 Watching from the gate of Jerusalem

Festus Gairigi · 8:04 Watching from England... baba tibiim

Onedo Ken · 8:09 Raila tibiim

Onedo Ken · 8:23 Taalaaa

Charles Okwemba · 7:45 Raila tibiiim

Chädî King Märtîn · 6:54 Bure kabisa.

Chädî King Märtîn · 7:33 Pia wa meru atapata kitambi cha ukorofi

Chädî King Märtîn · 8:02 Wakorofi

Amos Nyarega · 8:37 Watching from UK

Eustella Hamisi · 9:06 SHOULD BE ALLOWEDTO VOTE IN LONDON PLEASE TRAVELLED IN AUGUST THEN NOW PLEASE ALLOW US TO VOTE HERE IT'S MY RIGHTS AS A KENYAN

Abu Hati · 9:32 Chadi Martin ume zaliwa kwa choo maneno yako ya kijinga

Makotwerah Ghaby · 8:39 Niko locked

Daniel Obiero · 9:53 Obie is watching

Lona Bernice · 10:12 Tibim

Abu Hati · 10:31 watching from Toronto Canada

Angela Lizy · 10:40 Tialala

Derrick Mugambi Kaburu · 9:47 viewer watch this.. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrwBd1fjiSk



YOUTUBE.COM

NASA ANTHEM -…

Gladys Hassan · 10:59 Watching from heaven

Dallahz Mwaro · 11:15 From malindi

Abu Hati · 11:23 na uhuru ni mtoto wa nyoka

Phyl Sirimah · 11:30 NASA tunasonga mbele

Onyango Ken · 11:30 Ria

Emmaculatta Cashie · 11:33 tibiim

Dan Onzere · 11:36 Kama ni ngumu kuelewana na hii mikora ya Jubilee na JEBC twende secession.

Simon Jumba · 11:36 Am watching from Nairobi

Gusman Thedeejay · 12:04 Watching from America

Shiffat Uthman · 11:49 They should not be given any opportunity for manipulation, lazima tuwe gangari uwizi hatutaki tena

Abu Hati · 12:21 wanata kuiba tena hawa wakikuyu

Soko Mob · 12:26 NASA this time MUST transmit LIVE results as they come in. Last time it was a let down. Please transmit LIVE RESULTS

Patrick Namatukhu · 12:23 Push the date till Dec

Yvonne Haidar · 12:55 My question is,if the court ruled that the IEBC made mistakes how comes u allow Chebukati to pick for u the ppl to conduct elections?
Simon Jumba · 12:59 This people are not serious

Johnny Moru · 11:41 I admire Raila. A fighter for democracy

Mutungahfred Mutunga · 13:37 Where were they during langata teargas episode and buruburu

Jaluo Jinga · 13:50 Yes we should all be allowed to vote as Kenyans wherever we are. The commonwealth.

Winny Juma · 13:08 Can I vote here in Lebanon

Simon Jumba · 13:59 Our country deeds change and that change has come no one can stop
Phyl Sirimah · 14:28 Nsikia jubilee wa wanalalamika eti mbona Raila anaitwa BABA waeneza ita uhuru #MAMA ili tutoshane

Emmlly Mukholi · 15:02 Remove chebukati also bure washa panga n jubilee kuiba tena we don't want chebukati there

Omobani Kiongozi Makori Bosire · 15:15 my advice to NASA be more concerned in the polling centre than the national tallying centre all agents of NASA should have a smartphone which will enable them to take a vedio during counting and take photo of form 34A security begins from the first point

Dallahz Mwaro · 15:22 Change must come.

Shiffat Uthman · 15:29 Other than the campaigns and voting, we must really pray for Justice, only God can help us.As for me i will never stop praying for justice to prevail for RAO to be elcected as president

Patrick Namatukhu · 16:08 Iebc stumbled...big time, they keep dragging themselves into dirty again. These are sad times indeed. Hiyo Lazima no ya nini

Harun Obwonya · 16:18 Change must come

Abu Hati · 16:39 leo hakuna kampeni ya nasa nauliza nyinyi mulioko kenya

Omobani Kiongozi Makori Bosire · 16:49people will vote for Raila wether he compaigns or not the problem is securing our votes

Yvonne Haidar · 17:08 School calendar is not an issue,Jubilee is just making school calendar a scapegoat.I sat for my forth form examination in 2012 n I remember the timetable was released 2_3 times,exam being postponed.We officially started the examination on 28th Oct n one complained.

Phi Auta · 17:24 Why are we not counted as diaspora voters? They only consider those ones within east Africa. "From Qatar " Its our rights to vote as Kenyans. Please Hon Kanjwangi can you raise that issue?

Noah Too · 17:29 Why's Jubilee scared of transparency?

Jaluo Jinga · 17:37 No Chebukati changed the positions of his players on IEBC but the team is the same. NASA HAO

Tembah Semooh · 17:55 Uhuruto tano 70+ 1 hiko teyari watching from meru tunaangalia maendeleo sio jina baba.

Chamroolbuom Koryom · 18:36 I think the reason NASA declined the election was because MATIANGI announced it before IEBC and he is not among IEBC committee. That shows directives r from government.
Abu Hati · 18:50 Tembah Semooh mjinga mwengine hiyo 70=1 ina toka kwa matako ya mamako

Ghalib Adnan · 18:50 70+ labda mupewe paper mbili kila mtu kuvote Nasa tibiim

Georgie Onduko · 19:21 All of them are thieves..from whoever steals to the beneficiary..they have to be accountable please..#NASA

Angela Lizy · 19:15 Following

Abu Hati · 19:44 Tembah Semooh mwizi toka hapa nenda kaa comment kwa mlevi uhuru

Milly Lwanga · 19:50 Cosmetic changes won't cut it. They need to open the server fully and prosecute wrong doers.... get a new team and then do the elections. If IEBC need a political solution they need say so and stop wasting our time and money purporting to conduct shambolic processes in the name of elections! Twerps!

Mtanashati Julius Kam-j · 20:02 Kama ww n wa NASA sema tibiim tu.. Ndo tuendelee

Dan Onzere · 20:26 The guy who is to hack the system for Jubilee will not be available after 17th October thats why they are worried.
Robert Maseno Abiri · 20:45 Tibiim

Abu Hati · 21:24TIIIIIIIIBIIIIIIIIIMMMMMMMMMMM FROM TORONTO

Abu Hati · 21:47 Tembah Semooh MCHAWI NI MAMAKO

K'otieno Ken · 23:04 Chebukati should clear the team, and prove to us he can perform free,fare and credible election



Obed M Osoro · 23:39 STRICTLY DIEHARD AGENTS IN EVERY STREAM

Mutua M. Mwengi · 25:08 A question to the lady in the studio: How should we as Kenyan's believe IEBC again to run a fair election when in the first place they couldn't? If it is about school exams, is there a venue, IEBC can apply to Supreme court for extension of time to allow exams to take place and streamlining of the questionable issues that led us to this quagmire?

Phi Auta · 23:48 Election is a one day exercise which will not affect the exam. Matiangi is chocking with Kenyans. Claiming that it will affect this year's and next years learning in kuchezea sisi.

Arithimetrix MK · 24:02 Mungu ni mwema ameleta justice kila mtu ajionee. Mi nashangaa wakati justice inafanya wanalalamika.

Jaluo Jinga · 28:14 That is contempt of court. 60 days rule

Mutua M. Mwengi · 28:27 What crisis? Uhuru is a player and not a coach or referee!

Tembah Semooh · 28:25 Ions are positively charged ukinitusi unaongezea kura moja

Abu Hati · 28:32 If servers will not be opened there will be no elections.The school children be given take away exams.Hon Babu Owino

Noah Too · 28:47 Let's have nusu mkate, tosha and wait for 2022. NASA Tibim!

Salim Bajaber · 29:53 Am watching

Abu Hati · 30:01 More than 76 politicians have filed election petitions

Sophic Labistar · 30:23 Watching from ugunja

Mutua M. Mwengi · 30:26 Watching from Birmingham, England, U.K.

Abu Hati · 31:10 Watching from Toronto

Steve Ajulu · 31:17 a bipartisan approach and this must be done before election

Piny Nigi Geno · 32:15 IEBC must go,we want a neutral referee

Jaluo Jinga · 32:56 The constitution allows you to go to court to get justice. Tibiiiim

Naimah Ahmed · 32:54 Tibiim

George Ndege · 33:31 Tibim

Mwenda Joseph · 33:42 Tialala

George Ndege · 34:12 Wananchi Ria

· Reply · See translation · 2y

Halima Mistry · 34:55 I gree with you mweshimwa 100% change has to come in kenya it has been long time

Evans Owino · 36:10 Tiibim tunawasubiri sana

Jaluo Jinga · 36:10 Back to court. Tibiiiim

Mon Mon · 37:30 School exam remains the same even when postponed by a month, no issue with that but election can not be the same if the times are not right. The previous IEBC officials cannot be trusted with this elections, it's gonna he's disastrous and fatal event

Georgie Onduko · 16:31 IEBC did all this..the government needs to quit blaming NASA.we should have our president RAILA sworn in and students will have been doing their exams!!#TIBIIM

Sophic Labistar · 39:11 Very true

Steven Charo · 39:43 Say NO to thieves

Edward Mwando Kulecho · 16:38 what is NASA waiting for? we want them to hit the road campaigning so that we can have a real celebration after winning the election not court cases. Watching from City of Perth Western Australia

Margaret Ayuku · 40:03 The chebukati group wote out of Kenyan eyes during this 2nd presidential elections.we don't have confidence in them.
Morrs Kobia · 40:15 No'huuru'ni'mwizi

Muhonja Caroline Isimale · 3:32 Ndaaani ndaaaaaaaaaaani ndaaaaaaaaaaani to the state House tano fresh

Margaret Ayuku · 41:07 Of God he is

Piny Nigi Geno · 41:10 Peter karanja ouru kenyatta not our president,he must go
Benard Njoroge · 41:22 TANO TENA

Mutua M. Mwengi · 41:25 Kenya today is blessed to have Maraga. He is our HERO! A true son of Africa.

Raphi Anungo Junior · 41:50 Baaba

Piny Nigi Geno · 41:57 Tano imenaswa

Margaret Ayuku · 42:17 No way.watching from London

Bernard Tolilei · 42:28 We going to prove you wrong..tano tena

Abdalla Gakweli · 43:11 How wl Nasa wl assure us this round no rigging no stolen no complaining about votes stolen????

Quesera Wekesa · 43:55 Watching from Brazil. TIBIIM

Eric Lijodi · 44:00 Nasa tibiim Tano pap

Margaret Ayuku · 44:33 wakenya msilale u hv to put this man out.Tumechoka na umasikini

Piny Nigi Geno · 44:49Namwamba,Akaranga,jirongo,could not get their own votes,how will they get for ohuru

Soko Mob · 45:05 Ask the panelist the issue of presidential AGENTS. Most polling stations had NO agents.

Bernard Tolilei · 45:37 Its more of campaign than a TV interview..

Maurice Alal · 45:36 That brain. TJ. I like it

Abdalla Gakweli · 47:39 I think all world knw tht Kenyans belongs to peace n peace is Raila thts y after free n fear ruling all country became cheerfully no killing no police throwing pple tear gas so let's vote peace n peace is Raila Amolo Odinga with all his Team..
Cardiac Sonographer · 48:04 Watching from Cape Town,

Jaluo Jinga · 48:05 PLOT. Lumumbas quotes

Sande Willis · 48:40 Be awry that YK92 is regrouping and they intend to go buy voters ID cards in NASA strongholds in Nyanza and Western. Let's keep them on our radar as they are desperate to prove their worth in their newly found union.
Beatrice Aseto · 49:15 Watching from Stuttgart Germany, IEBC Should be jailed.
Nick Wanjohi · 53:24 Ok

Sande Willis · 53:16 Babu Owino: If servers will not be opened there will be no elections.The school children be given take away exams.

Jaluo Jinga · 53:40 Jirongo is youth for KANU 1992

Kerubo Jessica · 53:42 Hope chebukati and chiloba are in kodiaga prison
Jaluo Jinga · 54:30 The media were biased

Noah Too · 56:39 Raila will win by 2 million this time round. Tibim!!!
Nicholas Kisala · 56:27 Focus campaigns in your strongholds en let masses turn out

Carolyne Anyango O · 53:57 am for nasa

John Moturi · 57:33 IEBC JUST CONDUCT ELECTIONS BUT WE SHALL MEET AT COURT TO ANABLE JUSTICE PREVAIL WHAT HAPPENED TO RAILA WILL NOT HAPPEN TO ANYONE ELSE
Wod Areck · 1:00:49 TJ should even given a chance to speak in such forum he rigged the elections Mama won fair and square .

Sande Willis · 1:03:03 Oscar Omoke has filed a petition this afternoon.

Rose Nyarkaksingiri · 1:03:51 RESOLUTION & SOLUTION PLEASE
Omondi Josiah · 1:04:35 Nooo let Sonko b l am Nasa supporter

Titti Oyando · 1:33 Team Hague tuned in..

Mohazz Haji · 5:20 I don't see any difference between those appointed by Chebukati nd the one's of b4,,,, even Chebukati himself should dissappear
Titti Oyando · 3:51 It is the will of an individual that changes the cause of HISTORY.. and that person is BABA...

Vincent Ambeyi · 1:34 Tibiim NASA hawa

Obadia Ayuma Obara · 1:03 Tibiiiiiim

Victor Isalu · 0:40 Tibim

Titti Oyando · 21:00 IEBC should be purged, prosecuted and jailed ASAP and pave way for international policing to undertake this crucial exercise..
Hussein Saman · 1:12 lets vote RAILA

Angela Lizy · 0:00 Iebc should not conduct the elections,,,, or else Kenyans will face the same crisis,,,
Hussein Saman · 6:27 RAILA won three times 2007,2013 and 2017 but the MAFIAS from mt,kenya are manipulating the system through out every election.....But RAILA will Win inshaallah from wajir
Halima Mistry · 45:30 If Raila be comes president of kenya this will give chance to other communities in

Salma Said Rassi · 0:00 Nasa
Frederiq Vladimir Nyaqund · 6:16 watching from mombasa. Tibiim!

Baba Mdogo · 0:00 Tribal politics,nkt

Ayanga Daniel · 0:00 Mungu tu!

Tony Manero · 0:42 Baba tosha

Rahabbek Ole Naisula · 2:29 Raila going nowhere

Nancy Tumaini · 0:00 Iebc is jubees mole

Eunice Alex · 0:20 Tibiiim.

Zaitha Zaitha · 0:00 Nasa juu hata iweje

Nahashon Kipngetich · 3:21 Raila u Will never rule.....Uhuru tano tena

Beryl Otumba · 36:28 Is it possible to have Form 34As with carboncopy so to make 2 extra copies of exactly the same doc for each polling station?
Mon Mon · 39:39 Why is Uhuru forcing himself to people, people don't like uhuruto, people of Kenya minus few Kikuyus and kalenjins want Raila to be their president..period!!!!!!

Rose Nyarkaksingiri · 6:01 PLUS CAN WE HAVE MIGUNA MIGUNA AS OUR INSIDE IEBC OBSERVER FOR NASA ON ELECTION DAY.

Isaac Juma Mukwa · 54:22 Watching from CBD. This is a good NASA Initiative!

Benjamin Mandila · 15:09 Nasa hit the road go to the electorate, now Jubilee has had several rallies Nasa two. Am for NASA but let's not wast a lot of time on Iebc

Metrine Lwangu · 0:54 ndaaaani

Tembah Semooh · 21:11 Ni heri mwizi kuliko mchawi ata kama mtakosa kusoma yangu the Bible says not me.

Omobani Kiongozi Makori Bosire · 20:49form 34A is more important than anything please our egents must be diehards of NASA not somebody who can be cheated with cheap money
Wilmah Shee Gash · 1:40 Railonzo tosha

Mary Ambasa · 1:11 Ndani kabisa

Jaluo Jinga · 24:21 The ballot papers should be on carbon copy and distributed to both parties and the media to count and confirm prior to the transmission to the talling centre. THE END TO RIGGING. TIBIIIIM

Gikonyo Kingori · 0:00 Lets wait as Rao will still lose 5th time

Jackline Owino · 1:31 Maurice Ochieng Owino my younger brother. Big up Budda

Jackline Owino · 6:57 Nairobi iko locked !!! Raila tibim

Jackline Owino · 19:05 Raila fresh tano Baba a sober president .Ulevi si maendeleo

Jackline Owino · 20:08 NASA 80+2

K'otieno Ken · 27:50 CAN WE HAVE A THREE CARBONIZED FORM ,ONE FOR JUBILEE, ONE FOR NASA AND ONE FOR IEBC.

Ann Ann · 8:03 Ann Watching from. Diaspora, as akenyan , if its true that the election was stolen what is the way forward ? Will the thieves arrested and answer the questions to why they had to do that?
Ahmed Said · 0:02 N

Ahmed Said · 0:09 NASA

Fidel Collins · 19:38 Why should we do exam or be concerned with the school calendar or what you may call it when even after school when the governance is poor there shall be no jobs....

School calender can wait...!!!!
George Lule · 0:02 NASA COALITION BE VEEEEEEEERY CAREFUL!! JUBILEE ON TRICK AND DECEIT MODE!!!!!!!!!Personally, I'm not excited of the fact that jubilee are

pretending to be unhappy with chebukatis choice of people who are to oversee the election.. It is stage d to…See more

Edward Mwando Kulecho · 25:21 Watching from Perth Australia .....This time NASA should keep the promise they said wanahesabu tunahesabu, wanarusha tunarusha, wanaongeza tunaongeza, Then ... wanatangaza tunatangaza. What happened? Ama walitangaza mukavaamiwa?
Aggie Mbithe · 0:27 Tibiim

Jeremiah Awino · 0:00 When container is exermine under toxic effect,and proved to be contaminated by the same, the content in it therefore is emptied,should we use the container for the same purpose or do away with it.in short (chebukatti,is he not part of residues remaining on container?)

Sammy Ejore · 1:36 Watching from kakuma Turkana

Rose Wakoli · 44:16 God bless Kenya a really president hope so

APPENDIX 3: OPINION 2017 SEPTEMBER 29, 2017

MAURICE: Avery good afternoon to you and thank you for joining us. This is Opinion 2017. Now yesterday was a black Thursday. Yesterday, former SONU chair and now Embakasi East Member of Parliament Babu Owino was arraigned in court and later released.

[00:02:01.01] (((Advert comes on. Kata Tikiti ya Kuenda Canaan leo. Lipa na M-PESA 991444 or CO-OOP Bank Account name: ODM. Account Number: 011200006511102)))

He had been given a cash bail of 200,000 and 500,000 respectively. Running battles in Kibera around the Kibera magistrate's court and later he was released and at the pressing of the University of Nairobi, a scene that was more of like from the movies of the days of apartheid in South Africa was witnessed.

Kenyan students were brutally beaten up by Kenyan police or is it other persons in police uniform? Today, I am joined by students from the three leading universities in Kenya.

From my extreme left is Winnie Nyandiga, who is the President of the Masinde Muliro University Students' Union. She is also a Criminology student. Karibu sana Winnie.

I am also joined by David Jesse, who is a fifth year Medical student at Kenyatta University and also the president of the ODM Students' Front of Kenyatta University. Wow! That is quite an organisation.

Of course next to me is Shandra, I did not say it wrongly. It is not Sandra. Shandra Onyango, who is a Civil Engineering student, first year, at the University of Nairobi.

Karibu sana.

Before we get into the discussion, let us just have a look at this very unfortunate clip that tells us that today Kenya is back at the very dark days we feared for. Have a look.

[00:03:55.29]
Clips of students wailing under a cloud of teargas and water canons.

Man: Let's get some stones. Stones, comrades!
Clips of the students running away from the water canons amid whistles and screams.

[00:04:30.22]
Second clip of students being lined up on the floor as the aerial shot shows them being asked to do a frog jump.

Man: I am filming this from the fifth floor. They are waiting for us to come.

Video of man dressed in police uniform shooting in the air. Twice.

Cries and wailing as a man is shown lifting his hands in apparent whipping of the students lying on the floor

[00:05:46.28]
Another clip of students cramped up in a small space.

MAURICE: I can't even start to imagine the trauma that the students had to endure. The trauma for you as a parent knowing that celebrated Kenyan students, our A students, that our parents

take to these institutions that our government pays so much for to be in these institutions can be brutalised in such a fashion.

I mean I cannot believe that in the 21st century, Kenya can criminalise intellectualism in this fashion.

You are a first year. Before you joined the university, I mean when you got your results, I want to imagine the excitement of your parents that you are going to the university, a crème de la crème. You are joining the best of the best.

Did you ever imagine this would happen?

SHANDRA: To be honest, I have always been proud of my academic work and I have always hoped that my academic work and my diligence to it will take me to the best of places, meet intelligent people, hardworking people, successful, and in the university I expected to do just that. To be brutalised like I am uneducated completely, like I do not have the right to speak and express my views about what is happening in my own country, which is not something I expected.

MAURICE: Just take us through, what really happened?

SHANDRA: Yesterday, by 6 o'clock in the morning, the boys in Hall Nine were up singing songs and in the University of Nairobi we have this thing we call each other comrades. So if I am at Jeevanjee and someone attacks me trying to steal my phone or something, if I shout comrade, a fellow comrade will come and respond.

So my comrades were singing songs in response to many things that have been happening at the university for like the last two months. Just power shortages and other things that have been going on and then again speaking on behalf of our fellow comrade, now Babu Owino who had been arrested.

So really, it was just songs and dance and speeches till about 11 o'clock and that is when the GSU arrived. So I do not know if the songs was what needed to be stopped by all that brutality and all that cruelty and teargas but to be completely honest from 6 o'clock in the morning to 11, it was just songs and people singing.

MAURICE: At 11 when they arrived

SHANDRA: Everything went haywire. Everything. It was teargas. I remember strugglign to breathe in my hostel because they just shot the teargas inside the hostel. It was impossible to condone all the way to our mess, our cafeteria. Everything was just impossible. It was just a terrible situation.

MAURICE: Before I get to your reactions.
VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:09:17.23]

Jesse you are saying that is horrible and cruelty. These fake people calling themselves G.SU, they should be punished for practising terrorism. That is not normal at all. Do they have children? Cowards!

Lwonde Mafungo you are saying these errant police officers, if they are, what was their strategy and who sent them and on what mission?

MAURICE: You are a student leader, actually a president. What do you make of this? Has there been a situation at Masinde Muliro that are similar?

WINNIE: Unfortunately. I am just grateful that we are now coming out and talking about it. These things have been happening. It is not the first time and I think it is time the police are stopped. They have massaged us for too long

MAURICE: I mean, what do you mean massaged? I mean, my understanding of massage could be a bit different.

WINNIE: Yes, I think it is time they are stopped. This is not the first time and until they are stopped it won't be the last. And as you have heard, as my colleague has said, they were peaceful. The comrades were peaceful. They were just singing. We were just re-grouping to go to Kibra and stand in solidarity with one of our own.

MAURICE: Aha, you were preparing to go to the law courts?

WINNIE: Yes, and just in solidarity. What is it wrong? If I could take you down to history, when Uhuru and Vice President Ruto were in ICC, they mobilised Members of Parliament to go and stand in solidarity with them. So why is it when we do it, it is wrong? Babu is a student. He is a law student. And we are saying it is time. And we will deal with them the way they want us to deal with them.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:11:10.07]

Cecilia Kwamboka: Students being beaten like terrorists? The government send those police to deal with terrorists who attack our people, but not our students. This government has totally failed us.

[00:11:22.05]

(((ADVERT: Haba na Haba Tusaidie Baba. Same account number and details as before))))

Betha you are saying shame on Jubilee government.

Janet you are saying this is too much. How can a government do this to its own? I would like to hear Ms Margaret Kenyatta condemn this. She is a mother with children. She is our first lady.

MAURICE: The gentleman in the middle

JESSE: First of all we have to get from the first point of this. Peaceful picketing is a constitutional right inalienable right as prescribed by Article 37 of our Constitution. So these are comrades who were just peacefully picketing against the vexatious incarceration of Comrade Babu Owino. We were met by police brutality and I think it is time that we stopped police brutality because we have had this in the 90's, in the 80's.

[00:12:17.04] ADVERT

JESSE: When we promulgated the new Constitution in 2010, we thought that this is ending. And today, we see it is even worse than what was happening before. It is time that we condemned this as a society and the government to come out and. . . Because, when you talk to these people, they tell you that they were given orders. So who is giving them orders to brutalise students?

MAURICE: Let me ask you, did you interact with any of the officers or supposed officers? I mean it's not too clear whether they are officers. They talk about Mungiki or any other groupings being given police uniform. Did you sense some bitterness or?

JESSE: I have been interacting with these people since when Babu was arrested. I went to the DCI and we were blocked from getting into the DCI to see Babu and they were bitter. When you ask these people, like, what's up? They told us that we're working with orders from above? And you know, this above, is it the sky? Who is sending these people?

MAURICE: Who is above exactly?

SHANDRA: If I could just speak about the bitterness. I remember I was coming from the Graduation Sqaure going to Chiromo Campus, there was a NYS lady at the gate and she was stopping students from going to Chiromo Campus and she clearly said: 'I do not care what you got in KCSE, but if you are to enter this campus, it is with my permission or you have to kill me first.' And you know you wonder, when exactly did the relationship between the students and the people who are supposed to protect us go haywire? When exactly did it stop being a friendly situation and we become competitors, fighting against each other?

MAURICE: You did mention NYS. What is the precise role of NYS? I thought UoN, K.U. Even when I was in K.U, we had security firms that were contracted to do security. At what point does NYS come in? What is their relationship with the student?

SHANDRA: I believe I had mentioned that this uprising at the University of Nairobi did not start yesterday. For the last one and a half weeks, we have had students having small rallies at

night, demonstrations here and there because of the fact that those private security officers are being replaced by NYS officers.

MAURICE: So it is now NYS providing security at UoN?

SHANDRA: Exactly. And their relationship with us is not anything close to friendly. It is the closest thing to hostility.

ADVERT: [00:14:58.06]

SHANDRA: They are taking advantage of their position and making it impossible for us to move within the university to enter and leave. It's just haywire.

[00:15:16.09] ADVERT

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Kepha Onchore: Dictatorship has never succeeded anywhere in the world. Jubilee will fall. It is only a matter of time.

Vickery Omwando: These are the consequences of electing privileged fools.

MAURICE: Vickery, I mean that's hard hitting. I don't know. I don't want to place names anywhere you know these days you say things like "Mtoto wa mbwa" and it just brings you problems. You were saying something.

JESSE: As a society, we need to condemn this because what we are seeing is going to radicalise our students. Radicalisation comes with deprivation. These students are going to feel that they are deprived of something. It is relative deprivation. Like freedom. They are no longer free.

You go to UoN and the NYS has some kind of arrogance. They are feeling deprived of their freedom and when you deprive society of its freedom you radicalise society.

[00:16:16.11] ADVERT

So what you are going to see is radicalisation. And we have seen radicalisation. We have seen Al-Shaabab and all these groups. These groups grew because of radicalisation.

MAURICE: Madam President, somebody did mention that the case was D students disciplining A students.

WINNIE: Yes, that is true. And I think we should revisit this. We have just come up with a clear criteria on who will be joining the police force. Like the way we have said here all the time they have gotten orders, is it because they are foolish and when they are given orders, even the orders are out of place, they still go on and execute those orders?

MAURICE: At what point do they engage their brain?

WINNIE: And then the second thing is that it is only in Kenya, they only look at things like height, teeth

MAURICE: Yeah, the shape of teeth, man. It is crazy. I do not know, you are a criminologist, would that be anything that will help solve cases?

WINNIE: Yeah, you hear things when people get a D, no offence, and they're told 'Don't worry, you will join the police force.' That is where the rain started beating us. You go to successful democracies where being a police officer is a calling just like being a doctor being a lawyer and even an A student feels like I want to serve my country and they enter the police force. So in Kenya, we should revisit. That is why the other time we were seeing an A student, an electrical engineer in UoN joining Al-Shaabab and yet you want to wonder why Al-Shaabab still wins even over 100 GSU police officers. We need to revisit that.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:18:04.13]

Irene Osundwa you're saying why was the government pretending to care about students? Aren't these students?

Solomon Asiyo: NYS children threatening our safety must be ejected forthwith

Mohamed Ali: NASA supporters must support mistreated communities in Kenya including Somali, Mijikenda. So many others are mistreated by status quo. They are being used by policemen and paramilitary

JESSE: I think moving forward we need to . . . I feel the bitterness also comes from the fact that these people did not go to university. So they are bitter. So the next government, I think, police officers should first go to the university so that we can bridge this bitterness.
But sir, the acting interior minister who is in charge of internal security

WINNIE: A very bitter man of late also

MAURICE: I mean, but he is a doctor. He is not an academic dwarf. He is supposed to be an intellectual tower. So even if the police were to be limited in terms of intellectual endowment, Matiang'i is not limited

WINNIE: We have cases where you can remove the monkey from the forest bla bla bla

MAURICE: I mean, what are you talking about?

WINNIE: That is just a quote in the African set-up

MAURICE: I agree, but I need to caution you. Some people have talked about dogs, they have had problems. You're talking about monkeys. You might just be in problems.

WINNIE: I am so tired of being intimidated simply because I am opinionated. And when the government is wrong, I will say it is wrong and they want to threaten you with police cells. As Babu said, those cells were made for human beings.
And besides, you only die once. There is no way I can die twice

JESSE: I think Matiang'i is just to appear arrogant trying to propagate a status quo. So it is just a job. It is not like he is naturally arrogant. But he is trying to appear arrogant

MAURICE: I am just trying to cascade your argument that orders from above. So I am a police officer. A constable. I report to a commanding officer, most probably an inspector and then to a higher authority all the way to Boinnett and all the way to Interior minister and all the way to the NSC, the National Security Council and all the way to the Commander in Chief who is the president.

I am just trying to decipher this above because in Kenya what is coming out is we have robots called police. If they are told, 'kill your mother', they don't ask questions. They kill. If they are told to do otherwise, they do it. So in terms of this evil, the issuers of the order are also evil

JESSE: And again, why is it that these police officers are from one community? I was in the demonstrations and also yesterday, you find that most of them are from one certain community. So we are wondering, is it that the police force only has one community?

MAURICE: Well, I do not know how you know that certain group of police officers can be from one community. I do not know if it is because language spoken, or certain looks. I heard that there were many police officers that have brown teeth. But I mean, I have seen people with coloured teeth across the country. I don't know how you measure where one comes from

JESSE: No, we interacted with these people. I was there for the Monday demonstrations and I actually interacted with these people before we started demonstrating. Most of them are from a certain community. So is it that when these times we are going to deploy only a certain community? You know. . .

MAURICE: You are saying there is tribal consideration in deployment of police to certain missions?

JESSE: And that brings us to the issue that these are not police officers. Somehow there is that gap, because they are from a single community and there are claims that they are not police officers. They are just people who have been given uniforms and we are trying to connect the dots.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Eunice Gichana: All learned people should stand strong and vote Jubilee government out.

MAURICE: Surprising thing about learned people. I will tell you something: We have very learned people in Parliament. They equally seem to have disengaged their brains. We heard very unfortunate goings-on in Bunge yesterday and even last year when we had very bad media laws passed by very learned people, and sometimes I just wonder where we decided to sue what we learnt in school and where we decide what not to use.

JESSE: And even the university, you see some, despite their many PhDs and whatnot

MAURICE: Quite unfortunate, isn't it?

SHANDRA: First of all, I think that that our government must understand is that learned, educated, every single person has a political affiliation. So when a student uprising is up and they say I do not want this, or my government I am not standing with you on this, you should not come and brutalise us because you can just find us in a demonstration. I think it is a very big shame if it is true that our government is deploying people based on ethnicity

MAURICE: I mean, it is criminal

SHANDRA: It is criminal. It shouldn't happen. No one should do their job out of nastiness. Like you should not actually stand up against a fellow Kenyan because you are not from the same ethnic community with them. We as learned people, we should be able to identify what is good for this country and what is not good for this country. Whether you are in Jubilee or in NASA, you should be able to individually just see that this is wrong, and this is right. You cannot punish people just because of where they come from

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:24:11.00]

Cosmas Kaloki: Investigations must comment on what else might have happened in the hostels. If you watch the first video, you will notice something. Small small. I am really waiting for Matiang'i and Uhuru Kenyatta will say

MAURICE: To the ladies, do you feel safe anymore being a student? We have heard reports that perhaps some women, lady students were raped or molested by police. We saw a young woman being dragged away by police. It is not clear what happened to them.
Madam President, do you feel safe as a female student?

WINNIE: I do not feel safe. You know rape, you can do anything you want to me, but not rape. I can imagine of the first year students. They are just one month old. Probably they have never had sex. And then just like that in the campus, and police, who are supposed to be there protecting us when we are out on the streets demonstrating, which is our right, they should be there to offer us security. Which takes me down the lane, are these policemen human? Do they have kids? Sisters? Wives? Mums? And again, when you are in the police force, does it mean they are denied their conjugal rights?
I do not get it. And you know, the worst part is those who have been raped, before they are cancelled, it is super hard for them to come out. How do you come out? How will the society perceive me? How would that boyfriend of mine whom we had just started talking? I can't.

SHANDRA: If I may say, I was talking to a friend yesterday. He was part of the demos and he got really injured in the demos. He was telling me that last year, they had a strike of the same sort. And it was just impossible. The police were out of control. They entered the women's hostel and they raped people. There was a young lady who the police broke into their room and she was so scared of being raped she jumped from the window to the ground

MAURICE: She jumped from what floor?

SHANDRA: Third floor.

MAURICE: Oh Lord!

SHANDRA: She still has a spinal injury to date. So this just shows that the people who their vows and oaths to say that they will protect us and stand by this Constitution, are they really the right people? I would like to take us back to who are these police people? Are they people that just because they wanted to be teachers, they wanted to be doctors but did not make it, and they say 'Ah, there is something for you? Come and become a police officer.' For someone to actually take a bullet for you, they have to have passion. They have to want to fight for you. They want to have to protect you. If you are constantly choosing people to be police officers because it is their second or last choice, then we will constantly have these issues.

JESSE: And then, I think it is time we address this. We saw the police entering the rooms and dragging these students out. Some of them were not even in the demonstrations. They are trying to criminalise demonstrations

MAURICE: It is blanket criminalisation. It is colonial

JESSE: Some of them were not even protesting. So why were they being dragged from their rooms?

WINNIE: Like in a case of a teacher who was in class and the teacher was told to come out and the students were told to come out and they were frogmarched and assaulted. Such a case!

SHANDRA: The lecturer was told to leave the class and the students were brutalised. They were in class. They had no idea about the demonstrations that were going on. This is just getting out of hand

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:28:10.21]

T-Shirt KE watching from Egerton University. Tuko pamoja.

MAURICE: I don't know which tuko pamoja you're referring but I hope that he means that he empathises and shares in this.

I am just trying to think as a parent, I have probably taken a loan to keep you in school and I receive a call and probably my daughter has been raped, is in hospital, or has a spinal injury like you said, jumps from the third floor running away from a police officer who wants to rape her? A police officer in a police uniform that I pay taxes for? I mean, as a parent, is it even safe to have people live in the hostels anymore?
I do not think as a parent I will have sleep because it appears anything can happen to you.

JESSE: Like my parent has traumatised over this issue. She kept calling me yesterday trying to understand the situation. Currently parents are stressed because these are the students, for some of them, they are the only ones in their villages

MAURICE: Right. Many, many are the hopes of families and villages

JESSE: Yes, hopes of families and villages. So when you brutalise this student, it is a whole village to some people.

MAURICE: Is there any recourse? In terms of is there a connection between administration and student leadership like now the girl who jumped from the third floor and injured her spinal cord? What is next for her?

WINNIE: Unfortunately, and before I comment on that because you are talking about hostels and parents feeling that their children are not safe anymore. But if you look at it from this perspective, are our parents safe with us being in the university? Because yes, they can rent for me a hostel outside the university but in a case like we said I am in class, and I am being brutalised. So it is not a matter of hostel or not in the hostel. It is a matter of being in the university.

MAURICE: So being in the university now threatens your life?

WINNIE: Everything

MAURICE: So now passing your exams is now a problem.

WINNIE: Imagine.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Vickary Omwando: Jubilee is composed of frauds and people who have perfected the art of shortcuts to life
Emeru Moses: Police are so intimidating in Kenya, they do not have respect. They feel untouchableand we should re-educate them by saying discipline by beating was for colonialism and we are beyond that

MAURICE: People are dragged out from their classes, from the hostels. Just a while back, about a month back, people were dragged from their houses in Kisumu. People were dragged from their houses in Mathare, in Kibera. And they were shot. This is a spec of a police bullet. I collected them outside the IEBC premises.

{{{NOTE TO SELF: IMPORTANT}}}}

While I was there, they were firing teargas into the classrooms and hostels, and I was just looking at this cop, and I was like: what is wrong with you?
I mean, this is live bullet. All those are cartridges of live bullets.
What I am trying to think is what are you supposed to become when you leave the University of Nairobi if this is how you are being treated?

JESSE: That was my point exactly when I was talking about radicalisation. You radicalise society when you subject them to such horrendous, excessive force.

Because if I am treated in such a manner, I would probably want to treat someone else in such a manner too. So you radicalised me.

SHANDRA: The argument from most people is that there are other ways to air our disagreements. That if we do not like what is going on in the university, then we should use a suggestion box or something of that nature.
I can assure you that if those avenues actually worked, we will not have those demonstrations. They say that we just want to disrupt the normal university peace

MAURICE: Destroy property, loot

SHANDRA: But it is not true. As I had clearly said, from 6 am to 11 am, we were singing. We were dancing. We were talking. It was just us coming together and speaking. From 11am onwards, it was something else.
Not because we were on the wrong, not because we were destroying property, but because the police came and just started brutalising us

MAURICE: They had to do everything possible to stop you from airing your views

SHANDRA: Exactly. It is the only avenue that actually works, and they had to send the police.

WINNIE: This was a case of the youth rising against government oppression and the university and the government was not having any of it because they want to rot in power.

JESSE: And again I think there is a disconnect like in Nairobi University for example, they are trying to disband SONU. So the students' voice is no longer there because in most cases the university colludes with government. They speak one language. So these students no longer have a voice.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:33:43.26]

James Hakizimana: Watching from United Kingdom. So sad what Kenya is going through? Keep the fight going! Canaan is real. Hang in there.

MAURICE: This must be a Rwandan

Linet Nyaboke: The students are both NASA and Jubilee, I am sure. The choices you make have consequences unfortunately for us all.

MAURICE: Now, we are wrapping up. I will start with you and finish with you and finish with Madam President. To your parents, to Kenyans, to Boinnett, to Matiang'i, to the Commander in Chief Uhuru Kenyatta, 30 seconds, they are watching

SHANDRA: I am an intelligent Kenyan. I have political affiliations. When I see something wrong, I will say it and I will not keep quiet. When I raise my voice to fight against what you ahve dictated, listen to me. Don't shut me out.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Kilonzo B Mutiso: The only situation is for the masses to rise and act

JESSE: To the Kenyan people. You witness this despite your tribe or political affiliation. Some of those students who were clobbered yesterday were Jubilee supporters. I think it is high time that we looked at what we want as a society, and the kind of government that we want.

Do we want a dictatorial regime that will continue oppressing us? To the police, some of us are fighting for, you have kids, and you have parents. We are fighting for your children to have a better future. It is high time we look at things on the flipside. As much as you want to be brutal, but are we fighting for? We are fighting for a better society and your children. To Uhuru Kenyatta, these orders are from above. We do not know which above they are from, but it is constitutional that we protest peacefully and as a president, you should respect the rule of law and our Constitution.

WINNIE: A country that invests in its youth is a country that is safe. Our society is going the wrong direction. For the people out there trying to defend what happened or what has been happening, especially immediately what happened after our polls and what happened yesterday at the Nairobi University simply because you are a Jubilee supporter or you are a NASA supporter that is wrong. A time will come when the shoe will be on your side and you will need us on this other side to stand up and speak against it.

It is time as Kenyans to come forth and shun the evils whatever they are, it doesn't matter where you are coming from.

Kenya is bigger than all of us. And for us to have a better future, we should start right now. To the youths out there who are in this struggle, who are fighting for a better tomorrow, do not give up. It is just starting.

We need to rise up against the oppression because in the end, both the oppressors and the oppressed will be punished.

MAURICE: Very well.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:37:01.24]

Andrew George: That is an obnoxious act which is unacceptable in our society

Tabitha: He who watches over Israel will never slumber nor sleep, God will fight for us.

MAURICE: Thank you very much ladies and gentleman. I thank you for coming out.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

DUSTIN ROSE: Thank you for coming out to speak on this. Kenya ni yetu.

MAURICE: I wish you well in your studies and pray that God grants you cover.

Very well, there you have it.

I mean, it is just unbelievable to believe that sometimes this can be happening in Kenya. To the police, this daughter will be treating your daughter, your son tomorrow. This criminologist will be assisting you tomorrow. This civil engineer will be building your house tomorrow. You have to behave like you belong in this society.

To those who give orders from above, whoever you are above, shame on you.

We need the human heart of you.

Thank you for watching and goodbye.

This is Opinion 2017.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

James Ochieng · 0:19 1

Ja Koyoo · 0:28 Tibiim

Nyar Japuonj Olajo · 0:20 2

Abu Ipty · 0:14 1

Gladys Glad · 0:24 2

Mohamed Rashid · 0:29 Tibiiim

Lemiso Leboo · 0:38 1

Phoebe Oki · 0:55 3

Abdirashid Sheikh Abdullahi · 1:16

😢😢

Hans Kalama · 1:12 4

Mathews Kalenga · 1:12 8

Tony Manero · 1:23 5

Habib Mãríö Fadhil · 1:19 Tibim

Moruri Nick Shadrack · 1:17 Tibiim

Mike Onuro · 1:31 Tialala

Jessy Kanini · 1:54 Tialalaaaa ✓✓✓✓

Blessed Meshack Oyugi · 1:39 Watching

Bethy Dundee · 2:00 Okk

Agnes Owaga Owande · 2:44 I'm here..I don't miss my party affairs

Dulax Dula · 2:48 Power!

Janet Omido · 3:05 I'm watching!

Samuel Blacky · 3:33 Tibim

Samuel Blacky · 3:39 Raila tosha

Cicilia Kwamboka · 4:00 Intimidation will stop this is our mother country and not a country of some tribes...no to dark days

Bony Karani · 4:01 Following

Zaphaniah Mauti · 4:29 √√√√√tibiim

Å-ó Alfred · 5:10 We will put light to darkness.

Lwembe Mwafungo · 5:12 Wow Engineer Anyango I love that engineers and doctors is all we have in NASA

Sylvester McOwiti · 5:25 The last time I saw that was in the 90s

Eli Justus · 5:39 THE REAL UTHAMAKISTAN

Bertha Ocholla · 5:33 The Leader of darkness and death

Oloosinigi Alex · 4:03

🙈🙈🙈

Anne G Ke · 6:32 It is simple. Uhuru must go.

Jessy Kanini · 6:38 Thats so horrible & cruel! Those fake people calling themselves sijui GSU they should be punished for practicing terrorism. Thats not normal at all. Do they have children of their own really¿¿ cowards

Lwembe Mwafungo · 6:36 These aren't police officers and if they are what was there strategy and who sent them and on what mission

Vera Ivy · 6:36 THose were mungikis

Smooth Ake · 6:39 Fuck UHURU

Bertha Ocholla · 7:18 SHAME ON JUBILEE GOVERNMENT

Janet Omido · 7:30 This is too much!! How can a government do this to its own? I would like to hear Mrs. Margaret Kenyatta condemn this....she is a mother with children. She is our first Lady....

Bethy Dundee · 7:06 Paiful to watch

Lwembe Mwafungo · 7:38 It's habitually to them to hack sound everytime

Shiffat Uthman · 7:57 God is watching, i have faith that all these will end soon

Raila Mandela · 8:13 NASA tiibim

Elkanah Mike Ongeri · 8:16 they treated the students like criminals surely this is unacceptable before the eyes of God and us as kenyans. even criminal have the rights not to be tortured like this

Bertha Ocholla · 8:15 Amen Shiffat

Joan Gee · 8:30 I thought jubilee cares about our "children" nkt

Anne G Ke · 8:34 The same gov't that brutalised Langata Road Primary school kids. What did we expect?

Majeed Abdul · 8:46 Leave them keep on digging their own graveyard... It's almost six feet down 👇!! We will pour the gravel on top 🔝 them...

Smal Smalz · 9:04 I really suspect whether this are police or thugs ?

Ouko Maurice · 8:55 Mungiki in police uniform

Kepha Nchore · 9:12 Dictatorship has never succeded anywhere in the world. Jubillee will fall. It's only a matter of time.

Vickery Omwandho · 8:46 These are the consequences of electing privileged fools .

Evalluna Shivachi · 9:42 Those are students and not criminals.hizo nguvu wangetumia kumaliza Alshapap and not our future leaders. So sad as a parent

H M'c Oliech Jakobura · 9:51 Shame on them

Voke Kevo Jaseme · 9:47 Watching too

Janet Omido · 10:05 Even if they are not police officers they got a green light from the government!

Asiyo Jakariero · 10:32 Nys children threatening our safety must be ejected forthwith

Nicholus Muthui · 11:37 Very foolish act indeed,masomo muhimu kweli

Bertha Ocholla · 11:23 University students vote out this government

CEditor Ngicho Maxwell · 12:33 Kenya is back to Moi's error, but One day, one day,.... this stupid Government will only hear about Power.

Anne G Ke · 12:48 Jubilee should know that when you are in a hole, be smart enough to quit digging

Nicholus Muthui · 13:00 Hi NASA Coalition,just give me the number for the lady near you to say sorry for what happened to UoN students ,only that

Wuod Ugenya · 13:02 So sad

Nelly Reset · 12:58 Shame on the one in control wameshindwa kushika terrorist wanashika na kupiga students big shame they should be punished if Laila wins Uhulu and luto u better run not just run but ruuuuuun run for your lives

Eunice Gichana · 13:10 All learned people should stand strong and vote jubilee government out

Janet Omido · 13:31 Nothing good comes out of violence...nothing!!

Geoffrey Mainye · 13:38 Young people should stand up and defend the constitution to the end

Omin Mary · 14:16 I think our suspicions that Mungiki are back in uniform is gaining credence... A police trained to maintain order cannot purport to maintain order by creating disorder... am currently into studying weaponry am getting convinced that going forward we might need terrorism to silence some of these quacks

Cicilia Kwamboka · 14:25 I hope our fellow university students will not wake up as early as 4am on 26.10.2017 to go and vote this so called jubilee government back.Law students should help their comrades to learn more on matters of democracy.

Kepha Nchore · 14:27 Dictatorship has never succeded anywhere in the world. Jubillee will fall. It's only a matter of time. They should respect students.

Cosmus Kaloki Singh · 15:15 Investigation must commence on what else might have happened in those hostels if you watch the first video ikiisha youll notice something

Smal Smalz · 15:17 Am really waiting to hear what Matiangi and uhuruKenyatta will say

Reagan Otoyo · 15:30 The question kenyans should think hard if not harder is it that they are having a government or a group of illegal tax collectors in the name of a government and what should be the purpose of having something called a government? Why Should some of its vital arms be situeted in Kiambu and not within Cbd or any other bigger city

Abai K Eddy · 15:47 just wait and see they will come saying ;we are still investigating .Shame on Matiang

Janet Omido · 15:42 This police unleash thier anger and frustration on students and civilians. They have poor salaries, poor housing this is thier chance to unleash.. on our children! SHAME!

Eunice Gichana · 16:49 How can police moleste student in their hostels shameful

Elkanah Mike Ongeri · 16:55 hawa jama walikuwa na hasira vile wao hawakufika university ama hasira zao zilikuwa za nini?

Dusty Grouse · 18:07 Madam President @ winnie 👋□👋□👋□👋□

Wamutomo Aka Baba Mapacha · 18:14watching fro diaspora 😔

Omochokoro O'Rebeka · 18:23 I request the guests to contribute to #HabaNaHaba.. They may have contributed but I beg..

Janet Omido · 18:27 I don't think the police were asking if the students were JUBILEE OR NASA. They were all clobbered! This should make ALL of us think beyond tribal lines and party affiliations. ..people THINK!!

Vickery Omwandho · 20:00 it must be remembered that our police force is compost of academic dwarfs who will always exercise primitive energy under instructions of the executive

Myq'ue Branold · 20:27 police acted wrong

Anne G Ke · 20:33 Egerton Uni rioting as we speak. It is, what it is.

Smal Smalz · 21:02 Matiangi is only concerned on how he can arrest Raila and not to protect the Nation

Dusty Grouse · 21:27 Yes Madam President Sir. You can remove the monkey from the forest but? ..... □□♂😂😂

Kevin Ouma · 21:23 jst imajine those gsu some were total failures in class then they secured for them that job through corruption then they beat learners with high grades yet them in secondary they got D+.

Janet Omido · 22:02 Will the government do ANYTHING to stay in power?

Kefan Mukz · 22:27 ethnicity s being empowered by unknown sources



Dora Kimori · 22:35 Under paid, frustrated, uneducated, easily bribed,low self esteem using their badges to intimidate.

Bertha Ocholla · 20:12 These students are quite intelligent!!!



Dora Kimori · 23:04 That....is the police force!

Pitah Mawira Jobs · 22:21 We hurt too easy. We ascribe to a certain thought. Honest conversations are no longer happening.Revolution is due.

Bridgit Lynn Adala · 23:13 NASA more of these please

Dusty Grouse · 23:35 Is Sonko a Learned leader? □

Emily Moses · 23:53 Police are so intimidating in Kenya they don't have respect they feel untouchable we should reeducate them by saying discipline by beating was for ukoloni we are beyond that. We need to feel secure

Vickery Omwandho · 23:45 Julibee is compost of fraudsters and people who have perfected the art of shortcuts to life and as such will always use belligerent inhuman means to advance their ills . It's time we rise above these heinous idiocy in securing human dignity

Reagan Otoyo · 24:12 Any body under the current state is a hostage to the hits squad thats the problem

Manage

Rose Nyar Oyugi · 24:26 Young and Intelligent students! Proud of them!

Janet Omido · 24:39 With the nurses on strike who is tending to our injured children? This is not the Kenya I grew up in.....God please intervene!

Titti Oyando · 24:41 These attacks are a stark reminder that nowhere in Kenya is no longer safe for our children! These attacks should be condemned in the strongest possible terms.It is unfortunate that the CLERGY are quiet..

Emily Moses · 25:19 Police brutality has to stop period.

Desai Ogada · 25:24 We must not give those clueless fraudsters to molest us

Desai Ogada · 26:02 Duale ruling over us is very pathetic and backwardness

Desai Ogada · 26:41 Students must rise up speak against these atrocities

Cosmus Kaloki Singh · 26:35 Let's hope IPOA will do something they've promised to do so

Samuel Prince Muxau · 27:40 its serious

Alphas Adoga Keverenge · 28:32 Call for all universities strike

James Hakizimana · 29:59 Watching from United Kingdom, so sad what Kenya is going through. Don't stop the fight,Canaan is real,hang on there. NASA hao

Fern Nyabs · 30:15 The students are both NASA and jubilee supporters am sure... the choices you make are consequences for us all unfortunately.

Andrew George · 31:22 It is so barbaric & obnoxious act which is unacceptable in our society

Duncan Obat · 32:16 Let me assure those thugs that ICC is watching. The Hague diaspora!!!

Anne G Ke · 32:27 BAGGY!! I cannot be in Jubilee tafadhali!! Not even if struck by momentary or permanent madness! They started on Primary kids, now it is our Uni kids. What are they looking for??

Mutiso David Kilonzo · 32:36 The only left solution is for the mass to rise and act

Cardiac Sonographer · 32:42 He who watches over Israel will never slumber nor sleep, God will fight for us

Tony Manero · 34:48 Very good

Dusty Grouse · 35:28 Thank you for coming out to speak on this. Kenya yetu!

Lwembe Mwafungo · 36:58 Congratulation team on TV you gotta a spark

Duncan Obat · 37:08 The Clergy are quiet because of the 10 million donations they get from the DP!!!

Tony Manero · 37:37 Tutateseka kwa sasa lakini mwisho tutashinda

Dan Ndula · 37:29 This regime is heading no where!

Manage

Emily Moses · 37:49 Y'all spoke my language thanks

Jessy Kanini · 38:06 All the best in your studies

Steve Mwakalama · 38:12 We should solely blame the police for accepting to carry out illegal orders.They are bound to strictly adhere to their code of conduct under the Constitution and a big part of the blame is to us all for accepting and supporting a rogue government.

Lillian Atieno · 0:07 So sad indeed

Bollo Evelyn · 0:00 This is very sad indeed.

Meydin K Updullaxi · 0:00 Sad indeed

Roselyne Olembo · 21:32 And the wages of sin is death. Never forget

Norah Odidi · 0:00 Winnie Nyandiga I will keenly follow. Amondi Jenn join me as this is unacceptable

Achie Paula · 0:00 JUBILEE MUST FALL IN THE NAME OF OUR FATHER AND PROVIDER JESUS CHRIST ENOUGH!!!!

Smal Smalz · 30:34 I invite all the panels to check on a clip i did about this situation in Kenya, its totally shameful.

Bedwin Ringoma · 0:00 26th October 2017 is the DAY

Paul Huncho · 35:35 We will never relent, comrades will fight to the end

Judie Gaks · 0:00 It waz unfair

Ivorina Clazy · 12:11 Shame on githeri media who cannot condem this action

Mike Wa Favour · 0:00 I cant see any problem with jubilee government,it is know that nasa is always perssimistic .stop complains

Mike Wa Favour · 0:00 Acheni porojo....achani gava ifanye kazi,nyinyi someni acheni .....· 2y

Awuor Nyocholla · 0:00 I would feel better if the investigations are done by an external body other than the Kenyan police. These are the same people who rejected external help to investigate Msandos killers and instead detained an underage for such a "high class" murder.

NASA Coalition · 0:10

Kepha Nchore · 0:00

Cicilia Kwamboka · 7:07 Students being beaten like terrorists????let the government send such police to deal with terrorists who attack and kill our people but not our fellow students....this government has totally failed us

Cicilia Kwamboka · 0:00 I just felt like dying...but God is just keeping an eye on them

APPENDIX 4: OPINION 2017: NOVEMBER 2, 2017

INTRO. Ends at [00:00:28.19]

MAURICE: This is Opinion 2017. This Thursday the 2nd of November 2017 and today we are looking at the role of the youth in the proposed NRM, the Resistance Movement.
I am joined in studio by nominated member of teh county assembly for Nyamira County, a popular face in our political space, Renee Nyakerario Mayaka -

Did I get that right?

RENEE: You did.

MAURICE: Did you say you are from Maraga's clan?

RENEE: My grandmother.

MAURICE: Who is from the same clan as Chief Justice Maraga's clan?

RENEE: Yes, it is called the abanyama tuta.

MAURICE: Abanyama tuta

RENEE: Yes

MAURICE: Okay, very courageous people. And I am joined also by Muroko Japheth, who is also the President of the Global Miraa Dealers Network and a political activist. Mzalendo Muroko, karibu sana.

MUROKO: Ahsante sana bwana Maurice. Tuko area kama bacteria.

MAURICE: Ahsante sana karibu. Before even the show started, some people are commenting on your page. Someone did mention that the role of youth in NRM is to rusha mawe unless something changes drastically.

I mean those are some of the things we are going to demystify and deconstruct today.

Looking back at the Mau Mau struggle, many of the people like Pio Gama Pintos of these world were young people.

And one of the roles Pio Gama Pinto played was to make sure that families of the freedom fighters who were detained had medicine, had food. He did a lot of work in the background in the South African freedom movement.

Young people were in the frontline.

Even biblically, if you are going to talk about David and Goliath. I mean David was a young man. Jesus Christ was a young man in his ministry on earth here.

So we want to look at the role of the young people in NRM. do you agree ni kurusha mawe as it was put?

RENEE: Absolutely not. I do not agree that is the role of young people. When you put it like that, sort of you're telling people that the role of young people ni kutumiwa

MAURICE: Kutumiwa vibaya to be specific

RENEE: Kutumiwa vibaya, eeh. And that is not what you want to drive the resistance. Actually, NRM, What we want to do is that the young people should be the drivers of this resistance movement.

We should be the brains behind what we are gonna do. We should be the people taking action goign out there telling the people why it is important, and why we are doing this.

Because most people tend to hinkm especially out there, people tend to think from Jubilee side,

MAURICE: What does the other side mean?

RENEE: Them. I mean, the guys who are out of touch with reality. That is what I refer to them.

They think this is about Raila. This is just not about Raila. This is liberating your country from the people who think that they have an entitlement.
So this is taking that away from them and into the people's hands.

MAURICE: *Mzalendo Muroko,vijana kama wewe. Umefanya kazi mingi kwa hii taifa*. (Patriot Muroko, for the youth like you, you have done a lot). Is it limited to rusha mawe or militia as the deputy president put it in an interview with CNN?

MUROKO: *Ndugu Mbaggy, mimi najua hapa Kenya tuko na vijana more than 14 million jobless na wamekuwa jobless kwa sababu ya bad governing policy*
(I know that there are 14 million jobless youth in Kenya who are in that situation because of a bad governing policy).
That is why you see they are bringing all the wrong things when the youth want to liberate the country.
It is such a shame for a person of the deputy president's stature to stand and say his country has a militia.
That is scaring investors and tourists. He has branded the country as a no-go zone and that is killing the economy of any country.
As the youth, these are some of the things we want to stand and say no because it is now a point that even our votes does not decide who leads us.
Our leader is chosen by the State. Whether they say we are throwing stones, or whatever else, we must liberate ourselves, use all our strength to ensure that we have liberated ourselves and the nation.
When we were in school, they kept telling us that we are leaders of tomorrow.
The tomorrow we were told has already passed. And they are not giving us the chance to lead.
So these things of saying that the youth are being misused, in fact, it is a government who wants to misuse the youth. Like if you look at the education, this government has made people lose the morale to study hard because most of the time we are being taught is lottery like bring money, SportPesa,

MAURICE: Angukia Chapaa

MUROKO: Angukia Chapaa. Instead of teaching us skills so that we build a nation that has industries and creates job opportunities. Right now, there are Kenyans dying from hunger. You know how bad it is for a human being to die from hunger?

Because the food we used to produce was only enough for seven million people. We are still producing the same. If you go to town, there are young people sleeping on the streets, spreading sacks and laying their family on the streets.

They have no land. And at that time there is someone who has 10,000 acres, 20,000 acres, and they do not even know where it is.

But it is in their name.

Those are the things we want to stand against and offer directions for the country.

And we want to get there in any possible way.

MAURICE: Okay. Renee, you seem to have. A number of people here are happy that you are on the show.

[00:06:50.28] VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Nancy Ouma says Muroko tibim. Haupendangi ujinga.

Well, I do not know how she knew that.

Kodima, you are saying Renee representing.

Yes, you were saying something.

RENEE: Yes, I just wanted to say something especially about the remarks of Ruto the other day in terms of militia.

MAURICE: Which Ruto?

RENEE AND MUROKO: William

MAURICE: Oh, okay. Okay. The deputy?

RENEE: Yes, if you might call him that. In my view, first of all I thought that was careless. But then again, and this is something you'll notice the people who are pro-change, NASA People. Every time they give us lemonades, we make lemons out of it.
So when he termed us as militia, we decided ourselves roles in NRM. Like I will call myself General Renee in charge of Daughters of Raila battalion.
I saw Kondele guys put on there, they have a battalion. They have brigadiers. So give us lemons, we will make lemonades and run with it.

MAURICE: Let me just draw your attention to the headline of the Daily Nation today.
It has the picture of Jomo Kenyatta, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Raila Odinga, and Uhuru Kenyatta and it appears to drive a narrative that the political crisis we find ourselves in is an affair of two families.
In fact, it goes further to simplify it and say that if Raila and Uhuru had coffee today, this whole problem will go away.
Do you quite agree?

RENEE: Absolutely not. Because this has ceased to be about individuals. This is now about our country. And that narrative I keep hearing it from people saying that ooh these leaders they meet and engage and have coffee, but when you disagree objectively, it does not have to be subjective. And then again, we can't just, the issues that this country has especially the electoral fraud issues, cannot be solved over a cup of coffee. It is beyond that.
We can't just move on over a cup of coffee. And I don't encourage it.

MAURICE: Muroko, this problem of Kenya, where we are right now, is it a problem between the Odinga family and the Kenyatta family?
There are some who are sayign Uhuru and Raila should meet, and these things should end.
I don't know how it will end. i don't know Raila ad Uhuru if they met, where will we take Forms 34A, those ones that were not okay?

MUROKO: My brother Maurice, I am a grandson of a freedom fighter, FieldMarshall Musa Mwalimu who was second to Dedan Kimathi.

The problem that we have in Kenya was created by Kenyatta Snr. Because he took this land like he was an agent of the colonialists.

Odinga family were calling for positive change. Remember that without Jaramogi, Kenyatta would not have been president.

Jaramogi is the one that said in 1961 when the colonisers wanted to hand over power to him he said that until they release Kenyatta and the other freedom fighthers so that we sit and create a new Constitution for ourselves, how we want to rule ourselves.

Now, you need to understand where each stands.

The Kenyatta family are of impunity. Jaramogis stands for positive change. So mixing those two and saying that . . .

MAURICE: So this is not a problem between two communities?

MUROKO: It is not an issue between two communities.

MAURICE: It is a national issue

MUROKO: Yes, it is a national issue which has been created by the Kenyatta regime. It came when he took over as Prime minister and after six months, he started speaking his language to the exclusion of the other communities.

So in 1967, Jaramogi said enough was enough and together with Bildad Kaggia told Jomo Kenyatta that they will not let him run down the country.

Kenyatta put him in detention for nine years and that is when the Kenya People's Union (KPU) was formed and a by-election was done in 31 constituencies where people quit, and Jaramogi won in nine as the others were intimidated, or bought out.

It is a big problem. It is about land distribution and resources.

I do not see why we are all equal when paying taxes, but when we are dividing the wealth, then we have discrimination.

That is where the problem is and that is why we are saying we must change and take back to the country to the right path. That is why I support Raila Odinga because that is his policy.

MAURICE: Okay. These things you mentioned about militia, Renee.

[00:11:58.26] VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Militia Generali Junior: General Renee Tibim. If they give us lemons, we make lemonades out of it

Atemorkich: The gentleman is very sharp. I agree with him that the DP was wrong and reckless to tell international media that Kenya is under control of militia, the same people you want to invest in Kenya

MAURICE: Moving forward, there is a clip I want us to look at. This happened in Uasin Gishu I think one of Uhuru;s son who had been taken by the DP for a tour in Uasin Gishu.

But before that, there was a situation where the Supreme Court failed to raise quorum.

We had that Justice Jackton Ojwang', one of the justcies, was somewhere in a village eitehr in Homa Bay or Migori.

Njoki Ndung'u missed a flight from where to here. The details were not divulged. Was she on official duty? Nobody knows.

How does the Supreme Court fail to raise quorum on a critical national issue and if it did, are they likely to fail to raise quorum again?

RENEE: That is quite a pertinent issue that need to be discussed and the question I was asking myself was what are the disciplinary measures for that because that was absconding duty.

Furthermore, these are people who are paid six figure salaries by our taxes. So they are obliged to come and work for us. I saw someone say Njoki Ndung'u missed a flgiht from Nyeri.

I didn’t even know there was an airport.

MAURICE: Oh, is there an airport? Maybe there is a new one. I mean, who knows?

RENEE: I don't know. I think she can use a quarter of her salary to charter a chopper.

MAURICE: Her office can charter for her, even a chopper. Those facilities are there, I mean, in their contracts.

RENEE: I mean even if she were to come to listen to the cases, she would have come and given us her usual 'No Verdict' which was fine, but absconding and refusing to come? That was sad. And I just hope and I am sure people are going to go to court because of this matte, the civil society, individuals because there were a lot of gaps in the just concluded elections.
And if it does, I would like CJ Maraga to take a stand on that matter because again that would be unfortunate in such a situation.

MAURICE: Muroko, do you have hope that we will raise quorum in the future? Because this is a very dangerous trend.
I mean there were rumours, I do not know how true it is that the Deputy Chief Justice was under house arrest either officially or unofficially. Those rumours have not been confirmed. But Muroko, Supreme Court failing to raise a quorum.
I know it is an issue that has been glossed over: But the question is, the next time they are needed, will they show up?

MUROKO: Ndugu Baggy. You know the situation we are in right now is worse than the one we had for Kanu when it meant arrest, fell, steal, kill. Kamata Angusha Nyang'anya Ua (KANU)

MAURICE: Just wait a minute. I don't take away from you that you can have your opinion, but I don't know, we cannot confirm that that's what KANU stood for. It meant Kenya African National Union.

MUROKO: Okay. I am saying it is bad because the Judiciary is where the weak go to look for justice. It is such a shame that where Kenyans are supposed to get justice on an important matter like the one that as in question, and you find the judges of the Supreme Court are not there.

But another thing happened at the Court of Appeal where judges met at night 9p.m. to overrun a ruling by Justice Odunga who had decided that IEBC returning officers were not recruited legally.
And someone like Njoki was not in a place where she could not make it back to court. She could have even used a chopper to come.

MAURICE: Exactly. Even if she had used the road.

MUROKO: It is a 30-minute drive. Mohamed Ibrahim, we understand his case because we hear he is sick but the court is under siege from the Executive and we must help let them free.
This is why NRM Youth has decided that we will have civil disobedience because if you are in a place where you cannot go to court, it means that government is illegitimate and you cannot take order from a government like that or one that is not ready to serve you.
So we are doing civil disobedience where we will demonstrations and when we go on protest, because it is civil disobedience, if you find an open supermarket, you take what you want.

[00:17:41.24]

MAURICE: No, no, Muroko. Now that is incitement.

MUROKO: When you go to a bank . . .

MAURICE: No, no, no. Wait.

MUROKO: You rob.

MAURICE: No, no, no. On this, no. That is . . .

MUROKO: If you go through a Bata shop, you go in there and change your shoes

MAURICE: No,no, no. You only do that--change your shoes-- if you have bought them. Please.

Let me read this comment we will get back to you Muroko.

Janet you are saying Supreme Court let us down and should be disciplined.
Amina Ferrari you are saying: Is that the same Njoki who in 2013 left maternity leave to be on the Bench?

Well, I do not know. That is new information to me.
Jared you are saying Senior Sergeant NRM present.

MAURICE: Now, let us have a look at that clip I was telling you because the thing we are saying is that as the youth we are patriotic enough to want to liberate our country.
But how are we going to say we are patriotic? . . . The uniting factor in this country is Swahili language?
Let us just have a look at the clip.

CLIP
[00:18:55.22]
Clip of Muhoho Kenyatta reading a text on his phone to a crowd as the Deputy President watches near.

I am so happy to be in Nandi. Ni mara yangu ya pili kufika Nandi. Ahsanteni sana kwa kuwa marafiki zetu. Wakenya tufanye kazi pamoja. Naomba vijana tupige kura kwa amani. Ahsanteni sana. Mungu awabariki.

(It is my second time to be in Nandi. Thank you very much for being our friends. Kenyans, let us work together. I ask the youth to vote in peace. Thank you. God bless you).

Plays the clip again.

MAURICE: Very well. I mean that was the video of one of the president's sons. I want to believe that anybody raised up in this country. I have a daughter who is six years old. She knows perfect Swahili. I know perfect Swahili.

I mean, I am wondering, why would the son of a leader be sort of detached? And if we're saying the youth are going to liberate this country, is that what you are talking about? Is that what your age mates are talking about?

RENEE: Every time, I look at this clip I laugh because in this day and age, you are the son of the president of Kenya. Kiswahili is our national language. English is our official language. How in the world . . . I mean the worst thing he would have done is get a seat earlier, cram it, then come and. . But reading Kiswahili in front of people?

I mean this is the same guy you hear now people want to impose on the people of Gatundu to lead this nation.

I mean? And I am not saying I have a problem with the children of our leaders wanting to have ambition in the political space or whichever space. I have no problem with that.

My problem is you cannot be detached from the rest of us. You cannot not know Kiswahili and then you want to stand there and speak in front of us and we are supposed to accept that that is how young people behave? Absolutely not.

MAURICE: If the status quo remains, he could one day be your president. If this system remains as it is. I mean the DP did mention that anybody thinking about the presidency should stay put until 2032. Perhaps 2032 this could be the guy who could be having the mantle of leadership. Muroko?

MUROKO: In Kenya, we have different types of education. It is unfortunate that those people starting from the CS of Education to PS to head of parastatal, where do their children learn?

They all study abroad.

They are not using the same system that they are asking Kenyans to trust. Why?

There was a time Beth Mugo was the Health minister and she got breast cancer, where did she go for her treatment? She went to America.

Why was she no treated in the same system that she was managing?

So these people are just serving our colonial masters.
And the thing you say about the possibility of him coming back to want to lead us surprises me a lot how he will communicate to us if he cannot speak the national language.
His father right now is brutalising us, supervising a system that even if someone like that who cannot communicate comes, they will just be president. That is why we as NRM, we want to end that system before Raila exits the political stage.
If we do not correct it now when Raila is still around, we will be stuck with this.
So we are saying our fellow youth to stand firm with us so that we smoke out this government the way the Egyptian government was removed in 18 days. The way Muamar Gaddafi government was ousted in 14 days. Let us stand strong like Sankara of Burkina Faso who led the country for only for years and changed the rot that had been there for 100 years.
Because we are going to boycott some company's products, we are even going to include churches where the pastor is Jubilee.

MAURICE: Muroko, just a minute

MUROKO: We will not go to those churches.

MAURICE: Muroko, on the issues of faith, God is the same God. And the NASA team has been on the forefront saying that God remains the same God. So the pastors are not God. They are not God. Let no pastor be the one that you say leads you to God. God has no tribe, no political party. Here, I have to correct you.

MUROKO: Give me a chance to say because I am the one saying not you.

MAURICE: No, no, no. I have not denied you any chance.

MUROKO: So if you are not denying me a chance, then let me speak.

MAURICE: I have not denied you any chance, but I cannot let us do things that will make us seem like we are inciting people

MUROKO: No, it is a crime, just let me say it. The thing I am saying is that the clergy. There was a time the Jubilee government said that all churches should be closed and the pastors who have no degree should be removed.
I remember over 30 bishops came to my house and told me that they want to see Raila. I took them to Railas office in Capitol Hill. They talked and Raila released a statement, and Uhuru pedalled back on the issue

MAURICE: Yeah, yeah. I remember that

MUROKO: But today, I am surprised that

MAURICE: It was the same time they wanted to tax offerings

MUROKO: Now I am surprised that now when Raila is being harassed by the system . . . And if you harass Raila, you have harassed 70 per cent of Kenya's population, and the same people from the church are not even talking about justice. They are talking about peace. But you cannot have peace with no justice. So I am saying that church that has a Jubilee pastor, follower of Jubilee, we as NASA

MAURICE: No, wait.

MUROKO: Let us not get into these churches until we have churches standing with the people like Father K, Alexander Mugo, Gitari

MAURICE: No wait. Listen to me first. If indeed we are saying that we will go to church because of our leaders, we are breaching the faith. The church is there to use a constitution called the Bible. The Bible has not been written by a NASA or Jubilee supporter. I mean, let us have that clear.
We cannot say that we. . We cannot say that we will go to a church because there is a NASA pastor. Because do we now have a NASA church and a Jubilee church?

MUROKO: I am not saying we go to church because of the Bible . . .

MAURICE: If you are saying that one leader is pro-Jubilee or whichever that people should not go to that church is saying that we will start demanding a Jubilee Bible and a NASA Bible.
The Bible is the Bible. And God is God. Let us leave it at that, please.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:26:27.06]
Let me read these comments.

Mamake Aminal Abdulmalik: I am asking this child lives where and how is it that he does not know the national language?

MAURICE: One day, you might want to be president one day, I don't know if you possess those ambitions.
Hassan Joho wants to be one time. Will you have that chance if you were to go head to head to head with that young man if the system were to remain the same?
Rolling back the clock Uhuru's appointment into politics was an appointment as chairman of KTB, later nominated MP, later entry into Kanu, and then the acrimonious fallout, and the rest is history. You as young people, it appears that there are young people . . . It looks as if he was being propped up. It is not just an ordinary visit.
Do you have a chance just as an ordinary girl from Nyamira?

RENEE: I mean, if the system remains as is right now, I definitely do not have a chance. And because of that narrative he is from whatever family, he has this kind of money, you do not have a chance.
But if we get the changes that we are pushing for right now, kusema tu ukweli, let me say this in Swahili, tusimame hapo kwa podium mimi na yeye tupimane nguvu kuonge na kuarticulate vitu and that kind of thing, he has nothing on me.

(If we were put on a podium and asked to articulate common issues, he really has nothing on me).

And that is the kind of thing we want to push out there. And it is interesting you are bringing this up coz I was having a conversation yesterday with someone who is five years older than me. We were with one of our Daugthers of Raila members Eva and the guy was busy telling us that there is no way you guys will stand a chance if Jomo were to vie against you.
And I was like that is crap for lack of a better word because I mean, I have been brought up in a world where I myself as Renee I am brand. I have made myself and I will go out there and vie against this person who has a name and show them that even Mayaka has a name in this society.
Let us not buy that narrative that the guy will be imposed on us. Nothing like that. Let's kill it right now. Let us kill that system right now.

MAURICE: Someone is saying Mbaggy if you keep interrupting Muroko, I will boycott you as well. Muroko, yes, you were saying something

MUROKO: These people NCCK led by Karanja recently brought an amendment to create more seats for Prime minister, two deputies. And as Kenyans, we started a very bad trend where the loser takes over power and shares it with the winner.
Now they are telling us to create seats but they are not telling us whether we will shift positions so that Raila is president with 70 per cent of the government and Uhuru being prime minister.
We are serious on the issues of economic sabotage because we cannot be paying taxes that buys guns, pays salaries for the police and then they are using the same to kill your children.
And not just economic sabotage. Even if a donkey from Jubilee impregnates our donkey, we will hunt it down until the pregnancy is removed

MUROKO: I think that one I will call comic relief. Remember after all this is said and done, we have a country that we have to co-exist in. Your closing arguments, Muroko then Renee.
Moving forward, the youth have been killed. Most of those who have bullet wounds are the youth. Most of those who are jobless are the youth. Most of those who have been arrested in

demonstrations be it today or in the 1990s, during the Orengo heydays, have been the youth. What is your last words to the youth on behalf of NRM: What should they hope for?

MUROKO: I am telling the youth to stand firm because we are being killed and people in the church, the ones I told you about, we have not heard one of them and talk about justice for those youth.

And those youth having not committed any crime except demanding for electoral justice in Kenya. As the youth, we should stand firm knowing that this country is for all of us and we should work for it and anyone that is trying to block us, we sweep him off. And if you support Raila Odinga, if you get burnt by fire, it goes off. If you are cut by a panga, it doesn't go deep. If you step on a nail, it breaks. If you are poisoned, you vomit. If you are handcuffed, it opens. If you are jailed, it opens. If you are shot, the bullet slides off you like Maina Nejnga's, Moses Wetang'ula's or Muroko's.

MAURICE: But I will have to correct you. The idea that we will maul people on our way to it, is not the policy that we agree with. The main aim is to work for this country where everyone lives in peace and is equal.

Renee, your closing argument

RENEE: Let me refer back to Chapter 1 of our Constitution that talks about sovereignty of the people and telling the young people out there that the power belongs to the people and you can exercise it directly or indirectly through elected leaders.

And that is very powerful. People need to realise and we saw it the other day on the 26th when 72 per cent of Kenyans boycotted the elections. That shows you that the power remains with the people and as young people out there, I just like to tell them, because I have seen this narrative of we are tired, let us move on, and don’t get tired.

This country needs us. And it needs us to use whatever it is that we have within your capability to liberate it.

And the most powerful weapon that we have is our minds. Psychological warfare. When someone out there tells you that oh, Raila is too old.

Raila is not old. Actually, some of the time when he comes up with ideas and says the things he wants to do, it catches these guys flat footed. So we need him to lead us to Canaan, so that once we get there and he transitions us from the bad governance, the bad issues in this country, then he can let us now proceed and liberate this country further.
Let us not get tired young people. Let us not get comfortable especially the middle class. We have this mentality as middle class Kenyans that so long as I can put bread

MAURICE: Yeah. So long as you can do Java, you have Wi-Fi, and you watch football over the weekend

RENEE: Yeah. Let's get out of our comfort zone because this again is about our children, our future. So let's join hands and come together.

MAURICE: Muroko, you have something pressing

MUROKO: One message to the European Union who came here and said that the election was okay on August 8. Recently, they started saying that they will not give us visa. And we don't want any visa to go to the UK, or Germany. The only visa we want is to go to Canaan. And where we have reached, if there won't be justice, there won't be peace in the government. We would rather just divide the countyry, each get a piece of it, and those that llike to steal, let them steal in thier homes as much as they can, those that do not want theft, we stay at our place because we do not want to be infected by it, the virus of Jubilee of impunity.

RENEE: Baggy, before I leave, because otherwise I will be boycotted by my team. I just need to say this. The team that I am passionate about, the Daugthers of Raila, we are now calling ourselves Daughters of Resistance

MAURICE: Okay. That was quite fast.

RENEE: I mean, a big shout out to them just to encourage them to keep doing what they do because these are ladies who on a daily basis dedicate two hours to pray for this nation, for

liberation, and they keep the fire burning. And they keep doing activities. I know this weekend they are planning a walk in Nairobi, a walk in Mombasa

MAURICE: Wow

RENEE: Kisumu, they are planning to go and donate blood to victims of the incidences that happened, and I'd just like to shout to them and tell them to keep doing it. And there is this perception that Daughters of Raila are majorly Luos. We are not. We have a Mombasa chapter. We have a Nairobi Chapter.

MAURICE: You are a national outfit basically

RENEE: Yeah, we are. We are a national outfit and we'll keep doing what we are doing and we would like more and more young people to join us in going out there and liberating this nation.

MAURICE: Very well. Just some two closing comments that I will go through quickly.

READER'S COMMENTS [00:36:33.25]

Sam Mosweta; Muroko, you are the man.
MAURICE: Muroko, have you paid people?

Peter Morendai: When you step on a nail it breaks.

MAURICE: No, don't try that home. If you step on a nail, it will pierce you very badly.

Well, thank you very much for watching. Thank you for your comments. Thank you Renee. Thank you Muroko.
And let's remember that every generation out of relative obscurity discovers its mission in life. I do hope that this generation will find its mission to put back this country on the right track.
Thanks for watching and goodbye.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Santhoshkumar ·

Dalid Bondo Tautin Buns · Hai

Tarun Saini Saini · hi

Kamlesh Yadav · hi

Sunil Goshwami · BABA You comeback? ok.

Yasir Khan · xxx vidus

- **মোঃ আকরাম খান** ·

Isha Kashri Kashri · sagar

Niranjan Majhi · A

Ochina Manus · XXX

Faryad Nazami · Faryad Nazami

Rãjù Kùmâr Súñi · kana.karuca

Mdalamgir Molla · xxvi

- **Dnyaneshwar Bhavar** · Raju Wagh
- **Amir Kuan** · 03179929764
- **Amir Kuan** · 03179929764
- **Harinder Singh** · Xxx xxx xxx

Vasave Nitesh ·

Md Wasil · xxx vifeo 20012

Md Irsadhussiun · xxxx

Chetan Singh Rathore · 0:28 1

Karan Kumar Sharma ·

Md Raien Ahmed · BAN

Mehran Gujjar Mehran Gujjar ·

Choudhary Shab ·

Ghulam Rasool Bhatti ·

Ghulam Rasool Bhatti ·

Muhammed Aslam · 03042577431

Muhammed Aslam ·

Tuhin Rana Etfvhdh · gf

Umar Ali · Mosn

অচিন **পুরের** **বালক** · Hi

Md Rawshon Ali · xxxxxxx

Md Rawshon Ali · বাংলাxxxxxx

Md Kawser Hossen Hridoy · xxx

Md Hajrat Bhae ·

Sameer Mymn · 0:00 X Xx

Raja Ahsan · gdw

Raja Ahsan · gdw

Kishan Rakani · xxxxz

Kabir Kabir · 1:03 Kabir Kabir

Job Onyango · 12:29 Nimeona Baba while you were away

Sawan Moni Ji · Nice

Ramsihng P · Ramsihng

Kamran Riaz · .

Md Shipon Chowdiry · Md Shipon chowdiry 01830193557

Jitesh Jitash · jitesh

Muju Rahul ·

Muju Rahul ·

Nk Kumar · nice photo

Nk Kumar ·

Sudhir Yadav ·

Rahees Ahmad · ROHITASH.SINGH.

Shamsher Khan · heeloo

Mohd Saddam ·

Janet Omido · 13:49 The Supreme court let us down and should be disciplined .

Lameck Kombe · 7:24 👊👊👊👊👊👊

Mankind Maulid · 0:30 Niko ndaaaaaaaanii

Thee Softman · 0:54 Resist

Caroline Owiti · 27:32 Some churches are compromised, let the truth be told.

Joseph Kimani · 22:38 Eti ukipata duka ya viatu unabadilisha, my frens jaribu.

Joseph Kimani · 11:32 Nonesense!

Joseph Kimani · 6:28 Ujinga tu!

Nicholas Ogolla · 27:51 Moriko tibiim, hawa mapasta wa Jubilee ni manafik,

Nyakindu Grace · 25:57 Moroko tell them

Adel Adelaide · 2:48 NRM member

Abonyo Kabonyo · 25:52 Morocco tialaaaa i stand for change am with you

Hortensia Wak · 6:25 Representing from US

Dsliva Dhe Shaggy · mmmh let us pray 4 our country 2 stop thx murder ruling of jubilee

Mak Dingz · 3:42 MOROKO....BABA WHILE YOU WERE AWAY. NILIKUPIGANIA

Phibby Mihegwa · 8:31 Tibiim wako ritho

Beatrice Rebecca · 8:41 Tibiim

Tina Mwemba · 0:22 Kenyans are tired watch as many youths join NRM

Mary Needy · I think you people, you are on wrong page, your words are really empty!!!

Doll Real · 1:10 TIIBIIM

Tina Mwemba · 8:22 NRM Tibim

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 32:20 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂moroko yawa

Peter Migiro · 0:24 RESIST

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 30:53 Moroko 😂 tialalaaa

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 25:51 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂moroko

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 24:36 Moroko 😂😂😂😂 you go kill me ooooh 😂😂😂😂😂😂

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 19:41 Maina wa kariuki ondoa ujinga hapa ngombe hii

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 15:41 Moroko😂😂😂😂😂😂👍👍

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 8:07 Say hi to Renee

Bosi Bori · 17:14 Ati KANU meant what?□□□

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 7:14 Hapo sawa moroko

Mer Cy · 2:13 Sound

Musumba Opuche · 0:00 Following

Agnes Namale · 0:21 Following

Edwin Okwaro · 0:00 Am in in in in... 100+

Christopher Adhanja · 12:48 Maina WA Kariuki kplc is not owned by kikuyus or jubilee supporters it's owned by taxpayers.

Collins Obuya · 19:54 Watching from likoni.

Budalangi Youths Empowerment · 15:50 Huyo jama ako sawa

Naomy Kitui · BABA. aabiswe. 19m-7m you get 12m hizo ni voters za baba with no question

Caroline Atieno · 7:23 Moroco man thanks your great

George Owuor · 1:29 Sound

Simon Jumba · 13:45 nice conversation

1**Buyu Maureen** · 1:55 Sound yawa

Mwalimu Moses Onchieku · 1:22 Imbuyore senator?

Umu Razaan · 0:00 What happen hapend we.are waiting for u sir

Mary Sidonge · 9:29 This issue is no longer about Raila and Uhuru.It is about Kenya and Raila is no longer alone fighting for himself.Raila won't play with our lives.#Resist!!

Mary Sidonge · 7:05 #Resist #Morocco juu.

Samwel Ochanjo · 2:02 Sound please

Adekens Munala · 35:13 BABA WE ARE WAITING FOR YOUR WORD

Mise Flora Chaurembo · 37:19 I like this jonalists

Scholastica Rose Ajode · 36:41 Why should a Government murder her own citizens slitting throats in the streets . It's not fair at all.

Mise Flora Chaurembo · 37:00 We are tired of thugs

Naya Ogonga-Wittmann · 36:26 Thanks Moroko 👊□, ur keeping it real

Belinda Omollo · 36:01 Tell me if you are not of jubilee party , would you listen to her preaching or teaching ? I waited for that prayer day with the hope of hearing pastors and preachers who would help our country heal by preaching the truth that our leaders leaders need to hear , l wanted to hear prayers against evil and killings and corruption etc but .....

Racqel Akumu · 35:48 Mbele twasonga

Babyloves Totoh · 35:23 Hahahaha moroko mwambie ss twa taka kwenda cannan tu

Ortiz O Okulloh · 35:46 Tibimmm

Aesah Gomah · 35:35 Tibiim

Mise Flora Chaurembo · 35:35 Asante sana ndugu we better divide

Maggy Achizo · 35:32 Virusi kweli

Mise Flora Chaurembo · 35:02 Tibiim

Winnie Amolo · 35:11 Morokos message to the European Union EU 😂😂😂😂😂

Oku Ra · 33:44 We are ready....Baba command us

Peter Murandai · 33:38 ukifungwa jela, inafunguka 😂😂😂😂😂

Geoffrey Migiro · 33:23 Thanks Moroko just drop me your address am ready to join hands

Patricia Otieno · 33:07 Ongezeni moroko maji ya kunywa

2**Field Marshal Azuki Kanyambuya** · 31:06 Hahahahah! Hapo sasa Moroko. We shall resist without mercy. Anything Jubilee should be treated with contempt the way their they treat us. No Mercy!

3**Innocent Otieno** · 33:01 tibiim nko ndani

Diezel Power · 32:43 Toboa yote

Peter Murandai · 32:27 Ukikanyaga msumari, inavunjika

Aduda K'Osumba · 32:20 hehehehehehe,kupita na watu

Sam Mosweta · 32:04 Moroko you are the man

Prince Wycklife Aggrives · 32:03 sema yote

Belinda Omollo · 31:51 The prayers went to from a prayer for the nation to a prayer of condemnations for and to all who are against the jubilee party and the judiciary .

Mariam Ashisinde Safi · 31:24 Hehehee Moroko , sema ata jogoo wao hatutaki

Scholastica Rose Ajode · 31:08 Kudos to Moroko . Tell them the way it is .

Samm Kingsley · 31:03 Moroko tibbim this one is another miguna

Bol Ron · 31:20 hahaha Maroko hata punda ya jubilee ikipachika punda ya NASA mimba tunaiuwa.

Generali Osumo Jnr · 28:03 The clergy has been pocketed by the jubilee regime. The handout disease which is the main development agenda of the failed regime has got its roots even in the church. Everybody is comprised by now.

Allan Odhiambo · 31:02 Hapo hapo Moroko my brother

Winnie Amolo · 31:08 Hata Punda ya Jubilee ikipachika Punda yetu mimba hiyo mimba lazima itolewe

Babyloves Totoh · 30:42 Moroko tibiim

Feisal Osman · 30:59 Moroko Tialala

Benja Ben · 30:11 Africa kusini kuli kua na ubaguzi wa Rangi, now Kenya kuna ubaguzi wa makabila noma xana

Lep Lep Thuno Juu · 30:26 Moroko tibim

Feisal Osman · 30:34 Moroko ni balaa

Lilian Ochieng · 30:08 I think church's and clergyman have fear keeping in mind that a priest was killed after saying the truth

Belinda Omollo · 29:11 We saw how compromised the church in Kenya is from the "national prayer day " l was so saddened and disappointed .

Julliet Enock's · 29:07 If that clergyman is as ignoramus as some of you portray him to be, why are bishops and religious men being killed on political matters?

Sam Mosweta · 28:53 Clergy my foot we will not believe them as NASA supporters

Janet Omido · 28:26 That is true Caroline Owiti. Let's be honest and find a way to navigate out of this. Denial is not a solution.

Scholastica Rose Ajode · 28:08 Naomba NRM tuwe na kila kitu yetu soko, Bank, supermarkets , buses hata Airline yetu .

Bozzi Boziana · 28:11 They must be told the truth! Some clergy are hypocrites

Ombui Ombui · 28:13 Huyo jamaa anasema ukweli sababu Kama wanaabudu mungu wa ukweli, they must stand for the truth, but they side with dictatorship and corrupt regime. We are not even sure whether they pray they true God.

Mariam Ashisinde Safi · 26:51 Tafadhali watu wetu msiingize mambo ya siasa kwa kanisa au kwa maneno ya Mungu.

Geoffrey Migiro · 26:18 Clergymen my foot!

Rateng Mor Kich · 26:13 Baggy please, if you keep interrupting Moroko I will boycott you as well.

oline Owiti · 26:09 SOME

Maggy Achizo · 25:54 The clergyman is useless... and brain washed

Lilian Ochieng · 25:46 Moroko yeeeeeee

Bozzi Boziana · 25:15 Then you guys try and transform the same to spear head NASA agenda to the Nation.... avoid their stations like plaque.

Rateng Mor Kich · 25:00 #Resist #Boycott #Reject Moroko is on point. Let him speak. The clergymen have let us down and we must reject them together with their masters

Naya Ogonga-Wittmann · 24:38 Moroko □□□□

Janet Omido · 23:23 Does Margaret Kenyatta speak Swahili?

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 23:08 Hii network ya NRM iko very clear from bungu

Maggy Achizo · 23:08 Kenya

Janet Omido · 22:53 This kid could have crammed those few lines seriously it was not insha!

Johnstone Kyalo · 22:32 Live from industrial area

Nyabate Barracks · 21:31 Sound!!!!

Sam Mosweta · 21:36 Kiswahili?

Alfredo Karemu · 21:23 Even this stupid media won't divide Kenyans watching from msa and waiting for this great disintegration. Burekabisa nasa

Mariam Ashisinde Safi · 21:08 Mm nauliza huyu mtoto wa Uhuru anaishi wapi ndio Mana hajui lugha ya taifa?

Racian Odindo · 21:23 And you see the old guards smiling as if that is ok, i don't know whether to be happy or sad.

Millie Ogada · 21:04 Drug addicts son

Allan Odhiambo · 20:53 Imbecile

Rateng Mor Kich · 20:39 We cannot trust the government, we cannot trust parliament, we cannot trust the media and now what appeared to be Kenya's last hope, the supreme court, has been hijacked by agents of impunity. Our only recourse is to stand up for ourselves and for our country. Let the government know no peace until we have justice for every single Kenyan

Nancy Auma · 20:20 😂😂😂😂 kiswahili boycotts his head

Kb Linus · 20:29 Poor kid

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 20:07 The brains or lack of brains behind Uhuru's son embarrassment should shoot himself with his own gun

Millie Ogada · 20:13 From Diaspora

Janet Omido · 19:36 poor kid! That was very embarrassing! What was his purpose?

Janet Omido · 18:33 This whole election with boycott by supreme court and late night ruling on the returning officers indicates there is more than meets the eye... a brown envelope??

Ally Baba · 18:36 Watching from Gatundu

Mokua Boyani · 17:56 From Nairobi tialala

Feisal Osman · 18:11 I like this guy kkkkk

Arbigail Timinah · 17:57 Watching from msa

Rollince Mola · 17:30 NRN yuthi haki nakupata kamili

Oboka OS Aus · 17:20 Following from Migori

Collins CJ · 5:32 Moroko my man

Emmanuel Wangila · 17:11 Watching from Mt Elgon .....we are planting more tree's.. NRM is real..

Collins CJ · 5:12 Kamata angusha nyakua ua(KANU)

Mzee Mboya · 16:42 Watching from Kenol, Machakos

Naya Ogonga-Wittmann · 16:38 Kamata Angusha Nyanganya Ua □□

Bol Ron · 16:25 Kamata angusha nyanyasa uwa KANU. Hahahahaha Maroko utatumaliza.

Issa Pazia · 16:14 Mariko🤦🥊🥊🥊🥊🥊🥊

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 16:06 Kamata ua

Mokua Boyani · 15:54 Kamata nyanganya ua

Nancy Auma · 15:46 😂😂😂😂😂😂Moroko I love you for nothing

Jared Bob · 15:43 Senior sergeant NRM present

·**Anima Ferrari Min Bentley** · 15:26 Moroko👊👊👊👊□

Sean Prince · 14:20 Renee Nyakerario Mayaka😍😍😍😍

Janet Omido · 15:16 The Supreme court behaviour shows they are divided and they may not deliver justice in future.

Omondi Kevin Okello Kadimo · 15:08 Action needs to be taken to ensure such absconding of duty is avoided in future

Dalmas Onyango · 4:49 NRM am a strong member at kaimosi forest

Racian Odindo · 14:55 Locked kama kawa from Kisumu

Johnstone Kyalo · 14:31 Baba is fighting impunity not Kenyatta family period.

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 14:22 Is that the same Njoki who in 2013 left maternity leave to be at the bench?

Mwalimu Moss · 14:14 Njoki sikuwa anamangwa

Simon Barasa Owana Owana · 14:20 Busia Tibiim

Lemiso Leboo · 13:44 Fom Narok with love

Bo Na · 13:12 Always proud of u gal. Wen I grow up wanna b Renee Nyakerario

Edward Onywera · 13:07 Thanks Renne and Moroko..The problem of this country is the culture of perpetual impunity that has been cemented over the years.We need to address the critical issues of justice,fairness and equitable distribution of resorces across Kenyans irrespective of their tribal affiliations.If we sort out the above,politics will diminish to zero..!

Salim Seif Abdallah · 13:16 Watching

Betty Mwangeka · 12:55 Watching

Job Onyango · 12:49 Moroko

Shante Annbell Orina · 12:24 That madam is very sharp

Patrick Ochieng · 12:11 niko ndani

Rateng Mor Kich · 12:04 Impressive grasp of history by the gentleman.

Edward Onywera · 12:13 Thanks Renne and Moroko..The problem of this country is the culture of perpetual impunity that has been cemented over the years.We need to address the critical issues of justice,fairness and equitable distribution of resorces across Kenyans irrespective of their tribal affiliations.If we sort out the above,politics will diminish to zero..!

Daisey Zachary · 11:57 Maina direct you negative energy elsewhere...

Omondi Kevin Okello Kadimo · 11:40 This is not a Raila thing. Raila is only but a symbol of hope representing the change we want. Change is inevitable

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 11:29 Watching from bungu

Evah Cheril Otieno · 11:39 This man speaking knows the real thing

Shante Annbell Orina · 11:35 Madam I see u

Vickie Kandaya Remulo · 11:12 Watching from the forest -NRM

Brian Sinoya · 11:08 We are coming forcefully more determined than ever hawa jubilee wametubeba ujinga muda sasa ni mwisho #NRM

John Chris · 10:45 If u want to boycott anzeni na kplc tuamini

Milkah Kemunto Nyamwaya · 10:51 Jeramogi for change

John Chris · 9:44 Kuota

Nelson Omondi · 9:57 watching...

Caleb Otieno · 9:46 The issue is change not Raila TIALALA

Omondi Kevin Okello Kadimo · 9:36 Ruto's militia comment was reckless and stupid. A regime with state power can't say such.

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 9:35 Munir uchafu gani??? Kwani baba hana kazi iingine ni kuongea tu??? Watch another chanel if yu r not happy

Peter Okundi · 9:09 Nrm is real, Renee tialala · 2y

Mariam Ashisinde Safi · 8:59 NASA tibiim, pamoja tuangamize ukabla , ufisadi,,

Calistus Mafura · 9:11 we need change

Rateng Mor Kich · 8:52 The gentleman is very sharp. I agree with him that DP was careless and reckless to tell international media that Kenya is under control of militia. Same people you want to invest in Kenya

Generali Osumo Jnr · 8:40 General Renee 😂😂 TIBBIM. If they give us lemons we make lemonade out of it.

Kefa Kenyanya · 8:31 we need change.

George Juma · 8:20 Tibiim

Juma James · 7:53 Agwambo Tibim

Vivi Shihundu · 8:09 Nawasikiwa kabisa from swaziland

Dan Daniel · 7:56 Let's save our Kenya ,, vijana tiibim

Elmeleck Mocka · 7:53 Infact we need change!

Allan Odhiambo · 8:02 NRM Tibiim

Abraham Kiptoo · 7:13 Tibiim

Mahatmah Gandhi · 7:16 Let baba save Kenya

Mwangi Chege Mwangi · 7:01 NRM Tibiim

Jared Bob · 7:09 Say hi to Reene

Justice Pablo · 7:09 Baba aongee hizi chafu kazi gani

Caleb Otieno · 6:41 Sound Fundi wa mtambo

Daisey Zachary · 6:04 Renee

Nsorwi Nabs Mabsio · 6:24 Big up

Demoggy Zippy · 6:20 Umeongea kama Wanaume kumi!!!

Nancy Auma · 5:58 Moroko tibiim hawapendi ujinga

1**Omondi Kevin Okello Kadimo** · 6:08 Renee representing.

Maria Misachi · 5:42 Yes

Babyloves Totoh · 5:35 Apo ss

Francis Nate · 5:33 sound pliz.....

Peter Okundi · 5:20 Thanks for accepting

Cabdulqaadir Hilowle · 5:23 Sauti pz

Generali Osumo Jnr · 5:21 Can see my sister Renee Nyakerario

Austin Flani · 5:08 Activate the landscape view

Anima Ferrari Min Bentley · 4:51 Moroko is the real deal👊👊👊👊👊

Maria Misachi · 4:43 Sound yawa

Aleky Okisai · 4:37 Sauti plz

Hellen Oiruria · 4:39 Baba atwambie kitu we r in a dillema

1**Peter Okundi** · 4:29 We need to here u my friend ,pls sauti

Shadrack Moimett · 4:21 Kwani mdomo baggy anasikia baridi pekee

Aleky Okisai · 4:02 Our president Raila Amolo Odinga should not give-up, we Wil support him always

Baba Carl · 4:04 Zima na ufungue tena

Esinah Machana · 4:04 Sauti pls

Justice Pablo · 3:49 Volume ama baba aseme tu boycott

Frankline Orinde · 3:40 Sound system

Rashid Shaban · 3:38 Okey

Baba Carl · 3:39 Sound iko sasa

Hazael Micheal Kinyili · 1:53 sauti hamna

Babyloves Totoh · 3:27 Watu bwaga leo weka sautii

June Oten · 2:56 Sound plz

Nowa Opiko · 3:11 Watching from Arusha Tz

Bosire Paul Japhet · 3:12 MRM TIBIM

Willys M. Chan · 3:04 Kwani sign language

Hendrix Teens Larson · 2:56 Sound

Baba Carl · 2:41 Who is

Beryl Otumba · 2:36 Reeeennnnnneeeeee

Baba Carl · 2:23 Giza

Opande Kipande Dan · 2:36 Sound

Blessed Charles · 2:17 Raaaaah

Bill Onyango · 2:18 soooooooouuuuuuund

Mstaarabu Tena Imara · 1:54 Sauti

Noah Okidia · 2:13 Nani amekanyaga wire ya speaker?

Wuod Ayukoh · 2:06 No sound

Syliphanus Makokha · 1:50 Sound and pictures not visible

Tomu Wakataka · 2:02 Sound

Babyloves Totoh · 1:53 Sautieeeh

Philip Makori · 1:49 No sound

Belinder Konje · 1:50 Sound bwana ochien

Eddie Ja-Kawuor · 1:51 Sound brother



Derrick Mlami · 1:40 Is this live really

Peter Okundi · 1:35 Sound pls

Nana Ogo · 1:47 Sound pla

Vishnu M · 1:46 Audio please

Omondi Mourice · 1:29 live

Tomu Wakataka · 1:38 Sound

Gati Esther · 1:28 Following keenly

Babyloves Totoh · 1:22 Sautiii

Vishnu M · 1:32 No sound

Kirkowski Seidensteckie Cladnicanin · 1:31 _*RAILA AMOLO ODINGA.*_

One day, you will remember Raila Amolo Odinga A leader who fought for multi-partism and democracy A leader who accepted the pain of torture and detention. _Without him, there would be no TNA, URP, FORD, ODM and the likes._

One day you will remember Raila Amolo Odinga The only luo leader who endorsed a Kikuyu president and through him, _the Rainbow Coalition was formed. Kibaki, a kikuyu,_ _became president. And when the time to return the favour came, the people from the mountains turned their faces against him_. _They called him a dictator and a tribalist. Yet, he had once supported one of their own...._

One day you will remember Raila Amolo Odinga. A leader determined to save the Mau forest. And when he condemned illegal harvesting of trees by settlers in the forests, he was called a betrayer by the people from the valley. _To them, Raila Amolo Odinga was suppossed to sit back and watch forests burn, since the people from the valley had voted for him in 2007._

One day you will remember Raila Amolo Odinga. A leader whose presidential votes were stolen by someone he once endorsed to be president. But he humbled himself, almost looking like the looser, and worked with the then president, just to prevent further bloodshed. _It was like a woman who has been tortured by her husband._ _She runs away from home and comes back later because of her love for her confused children and forgiveness for her husband_

You will not remember him now, because right now, as he has been unjustly branded dictator, betrayer and a tribalist who will finish you if he succeeds to protect power & own interests. _But a day is coming when the whole nation will remember_ _*Raila Amolo Odinga a very fair man & a National leader treated very unjustly by reason of only being a Luo son, a soceity's travesty of justice on one great man, their prodigal son, fare on

well great one.....THE BEST PRESIDENT KENYA MAY NEVER HAVE UNFORTUNATELY*_

Bill Onyango · 1:16 omera ongezeni sound

Bonny Tha Prsident · 1:21 Sauti hamna

Tomu Wakataka · 1:27 Sound

Maks Makale Goddie · 1:21 All the best

Maks Makale Goddie · 1:15 Rennnee

Noah Okidia · 1:14 Renee Mayaka mwenyewe

Josphat Ogwangi · 1:08 Sound

Hamdah Mamake Halima · 0:55 No sound

Fred Babake Precious · 1:01 Riaaaa

Nick Were · 0:52 sound

Bonny Tha Prsident · 0:54 Am live

Nyabate Barracks · 0:51 Audio.. You ain't audible

Paul Kitti Zacharia · 0:47 Sauti iko down

Caleb Wandera Wa Wandera · 0:54 SOUND

Ben Byno · 0:41 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nuyfHXIsLc

CHECK WHAT CITIZEN TV CAMERAS FOCUST ON Corazon Kwamboka…

Ben Byno · 0:28 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nuyfHXIsLc

CHECK WHAT CITIZEN TV CAMERAS FOCUST ON Corazon Kwamboka…

Paul Kitti Zacharia · 0:23 Am live

Nancy Auma · 0:25 50

Rama Jasso · 0:23 Yap

Hamdah Mamake Halima · 0:20 3

Ortiz O Okulloh · 0:21 001

Noxin Nixon · 0:19 2

Erick Ochieng · 0:24 1

Janet Omido · 0:08 I'm here!

Phoebe Oki · 0:05 2

Mboya Lorraine Edwards · 0:10 2

Levy Desmond · 0:12 2

Min Nicky · 0:02 Tibiim

Kirkowski Seidensteckie Cladnicanin · 0:18 _*RAILA AMOLO ODINGA.*_

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Min Nicky · 0:00 1



Abbas Husain · 0:04 1

APPENDIX 5: OPINION 2017. NOVEMBER 24, 2017

INTRO

MAURICE: A very good afternoon to you and welcome to Opinion 2017. And this day we are very grateful to host a man whose accolades are global, none other than David Ndii.

It is important to know that David Ndii is an economist, the chair of NASA Technical team and Strategy.

David Ndii actually was part of the team that led the economic recovery team in 2003 in the Narc government. He wrote the recovery paper when Prof Peter Anyang' Nyong'o was the Minister of Planning.

A government that we can actually be proud to say did something in this country.
He was also involved in writing Chapter 12 of the Constitution on the Economy.
So David Ndii, karibu sana.

NDII: Thank you.

MAURICE: I am so grateful. I know you have a very busy schedule and I thank you for finding time for us on Opinion 2017.
Now, the name David Ndii just some two months or so back, it was all over. Some people were calling for you arrests, some people were calling for your head. Some were saying: yes, you are our hero because you are saying what is regarded as taboo but it is in our hearts and this was about secession. But we will come to that.
Let us begin by Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965 which guided government policy in terms of public investment.
How has that affected what other Kenyans feel as marginalisation or over-investment in particular areas and zero investment in other areas?

NDII: Thank you very much for having me, and thank you for starting with that subject.
Really, you are starting with the question where did the rain start beating us because we can say that that is when the rain started beating us.
Sessional Paper 10 of 1965 is very instrumental to understand in Kenya for several reasons.
One, it was actually the KANU manifesto. That is the manifesto that KANU used to win from independence, and a translation of KANU manifesto into policy.
Of course, the way you do. Like the way NARC had a manifesto and when the government came into power, Prof Nyong'o asked myself and two other people to take the NARC manifesto and take the other policy document and translate them into an economic recovery strategy.
That was what Sessional Paper 10 was what. Why do I and other people say it took us on a wrong course? For two reasons.
At one point, in fact. Let me start with the most important point. One, it said that economic growth is the most important priority for Kenya to solve all our problems.

It put material development at the centre and it said that economic growth is the most important thing.

It then said its theory of economic growth is if you want to grow very fast, you must put your investment resources, you must put your investment resources in the places which have got high potential. And in fact, it said not just places, it said places with teh high potential and the people with the discipline for planned development.

I am quoting the paper.

MAURICE: You may just want to quote again for our viewers. I think that is very, very important. That second bit of your definition.

NDII: It said that. You can go to the section. I do not remember the paragraph it is but it is titled Provincial Balance and Social inertia. You can hear the language, heh?

So it said for you to grow as fast as possible resources must be put in the high potential areas so that you can develop fast and the people with the discipline for planned development.

So you have high potential places and high potential people. Low potential places and low potential people.

So once you have characterised people like that then you can see how sort of the root cause of marginalisation is in the mind-set of people.

The other thing it says, when you go back to the front, or the prefix, is that the introductory part written by then president Jomo Kenyatta, he then says, advises, that all the debate on economic policies-- there had been a lot of debate about whether to be socialist, capitalist and that kind of thing.

He says all those debates must end. We cannot continue debating about the aims of our society endlessly.

Debate must end and go back to work or something like that.

So it gives you the mind-set of the people who then took over the country.

They were intolerant. Because you have just told people that their places will not be a priority and they will not be a priority and now you're telling them not to engage in that debate.

So what does that add up to? They add up to prioritising what we call trickle down economic development and putting economic development which is wrong, flawed, and also prioritising material progress of some people at the expense of political development.

MAURICE: And social development?

NDII: Political development, which is very critical. You are a colony of very diverse people. They were not under the same governance until we became a colony, and the colonisers then came and drew arbitrary borders. So you are not the same. You are not a nation. In fact, you to recognise that your first duty is to build national cohesion, which Nyerere did? You fail to recognise the importance of bringing these people together, and getting over the divided rule, and ruling over the negative impact of colonialism and people and exploitation.

So you throw away the independence of people and then you prioritise and advance an economic agenda which in fact polarises people even more.

You advance a divisive economic agenda. So you don't people the political institutions to bring people together, you supress by intent the debate so that they cannot voice their disagreement or that they disagree, and then your own policy assumption that to grow you must invest in high potential places is actually wrong as a matter of economic theory and practice.

Because in theory, if you want to maximise return on investment, you invest in the places with less capital not the places which have already a lot of capital.

That is why foreign investors from Europe and America come looking for investment opportunities in emerging markets or others like growing economies like ourselves.

Because the returns are higher where there is less capital.

So why aren't they investing in Germany which has got more economic potential and people who are known to have very disciplined in terms of economic output?

Why do they come to Africa and Asia and other places?

It is because the returns to capital are higher the less capital you have, that is why you have more opportunity.

So the economic model was flawed, the priority was bad, the mind-set of the leaders was bad and bigoted, and they could only have led the country towards the path where we have now arrived.

MAURICE: Wah! You know listening to you it means there are certain stereotypes and even comedians have picked. There are certain stereotypes that Community X, these are lazy, laid back people. Community Y, these are business persons who are very aggressive. Community Z, these are . . . I am just beginning to join the dots that these classification then, these stereotypes were informed by this classification which has direct links to how Kenyans see themselves today. You mentioned something about Mwalimu Nyerere.
We were told when we were young that Tanzania wako nyuma. Well, that appears it is the opposite now in terms of social cohesion.

NDII: True.

MAURICE: Phew! Okay, very well, especially for a demographic that say is between 18 and 25. These are things you do not hear in our history classes.

NDII: Unfortunately, it is an indictment of our education system and it does not teach people the right history, and it does not frame it in a manner that informs social inquiry to understand society.
It is learnt by rote. It is not critical, there is not critical appreciation.
Which is unfortunate.

MAURICE: Very well. I will be reading comments. Let me just get a few here.
[00:12:21.27] VIEWER'S COMMENTS
Hon David Ndii, when is the people's assemblies and countrywide support beginning? Baba's word is final. This is by Don Wells.

Very well, I am sure David Ndii will get to that. He has already given you a title Honourable.

Okay, let's go to the topic that made some people raise hell about you. It was all over social media that David Ndii has committed treason. David Ndii should be arrested. He is touching on a

topic that wants to tear the country down. He is baying for blood. Secession. What informed your remarks then?

NDII: Actually, you have to go back two years ago. Two years ago I wrote a column and that is actually wat informs this debate. The title given to the column was Kenya is a cruel marriage. It's a time to talk divorce.

But the underlying theme I picked upon a statement made a few years ago by Prof Bethwel Ogot, famous historian when he said that Project Kenya, the Kenya Project, is dead.

And I started explaining what Kenya Project is. The Kenya Project, again for the young people, is a debate that was there in the 60s and 70s and it is what we have just described, the project of making this disparate nations into one.

The making them into one nation. The Nyerere Project. So you can see the Nyerere Project for Tanzania, the fact that the Kenyan one did not, and Prof Bethwel Ogot at some point declared it dead.

So I picked on that and said that if we are now approaching the General Election with an electoral commission which is already discredited that was the Hassan Commission with the Supreme Court Mutunga ruling that did not have the credibility, and you would recall the lack of the credibility of the Judiciary is party what triggered the post-election violence in 2007.

MAURICE: True.

NDII: And I said, look, my thesis was the following: If we cannot live together and we are going to fall apart, we might as well do it in a civil manner. That is why I was talking about divorce. Instead of having a civil war.

And then you end up with the same crisis. That was my proposal. I put it out for debate and I was saying if we see that instead of going back to the 2007 scenario, and you have a civil war, why don’t we start talking about whether it makes sense as a single nation anymore.

And that was the first time people said secession, jumped up and down and all sorts of things.

I also wrote in that article that if Uhuru Kenyatta is declared the winner in another sham election, this country will burn.

And people took that literally to say that people will kill each other. What I really meant is that the country will funnel. I t does not have to do it by whatever, but its capacity to hold together will be severly tested and that is where we are.

So when I saw that again the issue was revived, I have made a point of.

Okay, let me back up a little.

In the 90's we had debate and I pointed that out in one of the articles that I wrote, whether in writing the Constitution which we now have whether we should introduce it in the preamble as we the People of Kenya or we the Nations of Kenya.

MAURICE: We, the People of Kenya or We, the Nations of Kenya

NDII: How you frame it one of those two is actually very fundamental.

If you say We, the people you're saying that we are one nation, one cohesive group of people and you can actually build a nation based on individually western template of a nation state.

If you start with the premise, We, the Nations of Kenya, and then you are admitting and acknowledging that our different ethnic groups are actually nations. Luo Nation. Gikuyu nation.

MAURICE: They are nations first.

NDII: They are nations. They were nations. They are pre-existing nations. And what we are doing is a federation of nations. So we're negotiating the Constitution as nations. We're going back to pre-independence and stopping to pretend that we are one people, and saying we are different people but we are made to be part of this colonial state and we re-negotiate and say we Maasai want to do this, we Kambas want to do this, and we Turkana want to do this, and we El Molos want this.

I always advocated for that model. And if we pretend we are one people we will always have a problem until we acknowledge that we are a multi-national state.

So you can then begin to see that there is nothing incendiary about the secession debate because you are saying given the level of division that we have is the capture of the state by individuals but it takes the state of dominant ethnic groups.
Ethnic groups dominating others. That is the character it has acquired. And they are saying they will dominate us for another 20 years, having done so for the past 50 years. I am a member of one of those ethnic groups and I say it is wrong.
Part of the backlash is because I am a member of those and I am being disloyal.

MAURICE: So the criticism is coming from within?

NDII: And this is wrong. You cannot have this perception and if you have a thing which has a semblance of an ethnic supremacy project, that one has only one end, and that end is tragic.

MAURICE: Now that you have mentioned that, somebody is asking, what does Uthamaki mean? It is something that props up left, right, centre. Those of us who do not belong to the ethnic group where this word is indigenous to, what does it mean?

NDII: You can have different lose translations and I think the closest one is kingdom. I think the political one which will be more appropriate is hegemony. It conveys more a sense of hegemony that you hear that among my people.
The narrative out there that we are entitle to power in Kenya for various reasons because we fought for independence more than other people, because we can probably manage better than other people. It was said recently because the other people do not have a stake in the economy that is why they are out there destroying things.
So there is a hegemonic undertones and that is what people are capturing.
Unfortunately, if you look at the events of the last two months, they are enforcing that kind of thing.

MAURICE: That kind of thinking?

NDII: Yeah.

MAURICE: Wow! Let me go through comments. I mean, hundreds and hundreds of them. [00:21:16.19]

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Gitobu Mwendwa you are saying what is happening in Kenya is a scandal already
Kennedy you are saying Tibim tumeresist
Thank you very much for resisting

ADVERT

And just so I can remind you u as you can see on your screen, you can support NASA Tv on Airtel Paybill 555155 and the account number you can put anything, NASA TV, put your name, and if you feel like you want to buy me coffee this evening, you are welcome to do that.

MAURICE: Very quickly let us go to matters economics. Eurobond and other scandals, NYS, SGR and many others under the belt of the Jubilee administration.
We are being told that the administration is currently planning to float another Eurobond so that they may meet the obligations of the other Eurobond.
It is also understood that the first instance that led to the floating of the Eurobond was to deal with a syndicated loan of 2014.
Let's just have a clip of Uhuru Kenyatta at that time when this whole Eurobond was being floated.

UHURU: Indeed very competitive rates that we were able to achieve. Ladies and gentlemen, that cash is now deposited in our Kenyan accounts. The bonds, the bonds rather, are now currently trading at a premium of 102 per cent on the Irish Stock Exchange signifying further investor confidence in our economy.

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow Kenyans, I want to assure you that that the government will spend this money prudently.

This means that both private and public sector corporations have the ability to tap into the international market to fund their business expansion at reasonable costs.

By accessing these external funds, we will reduce government borrowing in the domestic market

MAURICE: Very well. Those are the sentiments of Uhuru Kenyatta at that time and we seem not to be able to meet the obligations of that loan. Is the government of Kenya broke and what happened to that loan?

NDII: Okay. Let me give you the history of the Eurobond. The first time the idea was floated, it was to be a benchmarking bond which require debut. A debut means it is your first time going to the market to borrow.

We have borrowed from international financing institutions and the commercial banks. So the idea is that if there is a third market which you can get and you are now qualified for, the economy has grown and now your economy has changed, a bond issue then becomes a benchmark, introduces you to the market.

Like the way companies do what you call listing by introduction so that you can get, or you even do a small listing in the stock exchange so that you can get a valuation of your company. It is a valuation bond; what is the value of your company and that sort of stuff.

The amount mentioned for that purpose was 500 million dollars and it so happened that we already had borrowed emergency commercial loan which we normally shouldn't do. In fact, it was the first one in a long time worth 600 million dollars. So if we issue we can then substitute the commercial syndicated loan which is more expensive and not a good way to borrow with a bond.

So we'll just take the money and pay off the bond, it will be perfectly legal.

So that was the logic of the Eurobond to replace the syndicated loan. The syndicated loan is two years, the interest is much higher, and the market then was very receptive to instruments from countries like us so it would have been a 10-year bond replacing a two-year loan, a cheaper way. The IMF loved it, everybody loved it.

MAURICE: So the idea economically was good?

NDII: At that point. But it so happened that because the market was flooded with money; the petrodollar, monetary policy of the west to recover from the financial crisis. There was a lot of money doing what we call hunting for yield.

So the financiers kept persuading us to increase the instruments from 500 million to 1 billion. And then from a billion to 2 billion. We had no plans for borrowing 2 billion. It is just that the market was willing to lend to us.

We had no need for it. We had no plan for it. It was a huge amount of money for our economy. We normally don't borrow in such terms. The previous biggest project we had done was Thika Road which only 400 million dollars or thereabouts.

This was four or five times this much. So we were pushed by the market receptivity of our bond and we borrowed money we didn't need; we had no plan for it.

And then when we borrowed they said, the market wants even more. So we got what we call a tap sale. We said you can continue lending us until. So that was in June until the end of the year. They didn't even disclose that they had gone on and opened tap sales and borrowed another 800 million dollars or thereabouts.

So instead of borrowing 500 million dollars to offset a bank loan or 600 million, we ended up with almost 3 billion dollars and had no plan what to do with it.

MAURICE: In the economy.

NDII: That was extremely irresponsible thing to do. But something that we would have done knowing that it is very difficult to absorb that kind of money. It is not even sensible to spend it all at once. What we could have done is put it in a fund and say this money will now our infrastructure project in three, four years and we will draw down.

Which is what other countries did. Set up a fund, put it aside and you'll be drawing into the budget 600, 700 million dollars per year as per project.

The next thing we heard very shortly is that it is finished.

And that is when you say people like myself begin to ask: How? We do not have the capacity to absorb 3 billion because it was 2.8 less than 600 million which we paid off the commercial loan, you're talking 2.2 billion dollars in a year or two of money that was not planned for projects.
And when you look at the budget, most of the projects we were doing were financed from other sources which you could see like World Bank, ADB, all these.
So people will tell you, but we have done Outer Ring road. It is funded by FDB. It is not funded by Eurobond.
We have done this. I can show you the funding of all the other projects people claim.
We cannot show you a single project funded by Eurobond funds, earmarked.
So it was thrown into the budget and funded various projects.
It is actually physically impossible.
If you were to do construction projects, new construction projects of that magnitude in Kenya, we do not have the equipment, we do not have the engineers, we actually do not even have the storage capacity for the diesel you need to run that kind of work.
You can't escalate project implementation five, six, seven-fold within a year. You couldn't

MAURICE: So the question is, where did the money go?

NDII: We don't know. That's the big mystery.
But let me tell you. It is no peculiar. This market borrowing is a new avenue for many developing countries.
It always happens and every so often in history, you have this opening up of capital market, and the countries go into the open market and they do this hugely responsible things. Argentina has done it severally, Mexico. Greece did it recently. As we're speaking, besides our Eurobond, there are two other scandals of a similar nature which have now fully out in the open.
One is the Malaysia. It is called 1MDB. Same sort of thing. They went into the market, borrowed some money paying slash funds all sorts of things, it was stolen by some of the financiers.
And it is now an international investigation.
The other one is Mozambique.
It is called the Tuna Bond money scandal.

Also some syndicated lending organised by a Swiss investment bank and a Russian investment bank and again it has engulfed, and it has literally bankrupted Mozambique.
So these things happen. They are not peculiar to us.

MAURICE: So now, as a citizen, if then as a government wants to get another Eurobond in order to meet its obligations, what conclusion does that drive me to?

NDII: Let me clarify. To be fair when you then start borrowing in the market, the advantage is that you often do not have to pay the principal.
If you borrow from bank, you pay both interest and principal. But borrowing from the international market is same way as borrowing from the domestic bond and bill market.
So once you go into the market, the sensible thing to do is to re-finance.
When it is maturing, you finance. So that you are only paying interest.
So once you have gone into the market, going back to re-finance your debt is not a problem, as long as you have borrowed responsibly.
Two, the thing you have, the thing you run is called the re-financing risk.
That at the time you are going to re-finance, the market may not be as receptive as it was when you went there the first time.
So that is the problem we are suffering from.
We went, borrowed irresponsibly, our credit worthiness has plummeted, both for economic, actually for economic, financial and political reasons.
So we do not know how receptive the market will be when we go there.
Now the reason why we desperately do it is that in fact the plan was to do it this year, but because we did not do it for whatever reason Treasury has not explained, one of the consequences is that one of the syndicated loans that was falling due in October, that we needed to pay off by going to the market, they were not able to do and they have had to re-schedule with the creditors. And that is called a default. It is a default event.
So our credit worthiness took another nosedive because of that re-scheduling event.
Because the bank, it was due, you were not able to pay and because you had planned to go to the market.

So it was the victim of re-financing risk. Not being able to go back to the market when you need to because when you become a market borrower, you must have a lot of political and economic discipline.

MAURICE: To stick to the script

NDII: To stick to the straight and narrow so that you can have good credit. It is just like an individual. If you have a credit card, you must then acquire financial discipline, otherwise you will fall into problems very quickly.
If you are a new credit card user, and you do not use it responsibly, it will get you into trouble.

MAURICE: Very well. We are just about to wra-up. Let me just do comments and then we will come to your closing remarks.

[00:34:52.28] VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Adam Junior. Ndii is a great guy. I really like his liberal mind-set. We will fight through this together.
Richard you are saying Ndii you are a lovely patriotic Kenyan. Kenyans need to understand why they are in Kenya and most Kenyans need proper education.

MAURICE: Very well. Just to wrap up, two things.
One, do you fear for your life because I mean, you are basically going against the grain in an administration that had demonstrated severally that it can be merciless especially with people it cannot compete with intellectually.
We have seen Msando, Jacob Juma. Do you fear for your life at any point and lastly, is there any hope for NASA faithful's out of this quagmire?
I know perhaps you might not be in a position to give way forward seeing you are not a NASA principal, but a lot of people are asking: Is there hope out of this? Is the fight still on and can we win?

NDII: Okay. Let me quite straightforward.

One, I have that conversation with my mother all the time. About personal safety.

And I point out several things, in fact including last week.

And unfortunately I had to point out to my mother because people keep telling here, people who fear for people like me. And what I see on the other side is people dying, all sorts of people with all sorts of causes.

My friend Gakuru. He was pro-government. He met an accident. Nkaissery. He was threatening us. He went before us. So this is my point. You will die when your day comes.

Not a day before. Not a day later.

Now if your day has come, it does not matter what side of the political divide, or what your persuasions are or are not. You will not be able to stop, nor will anyone stop you from it.

And we know our day will come. I cannot live in fear and allow myself to be intimidated.

Because for me, the freedom, I cannot accept that another human being abusing authority which is used to protect citizens. He has been given that authority to him, I cannot accept that I become a victim of fear of another human being. That I will not accept.

It is actually not within my constitution-- physical constitution as a human being to accept to be intimidated and to fear another human being.

And I think that is the principal to live by.

Because what do you gain by fear? Because why should they not fear you? Why should you fear them?

So that is the principle to live by. You agree to live by fear, you are allowing another human being to become a god.

I will not allow another human being to become a god. Mere mortals like me.

Which brings me to the next question.

Is there hope for NASA?

All dictatorships end in failure. So even these people who are trying to establish a dictatorship, their fate is failure.

It is a matter of when, not whether.

MAURICE: It is a matter of when . . .?

NDII: Not whether. Now if we refuse to succumb, and we have said it so many times, and I will repeat it, and we have said it on the outside After the August 8 election that this country is now divided in to two groups of people: Those who are willing to accept a dictatorship compli and put their heads and blow the trumpet, and those of us who refuse to accept that after 25 years of fighting and sacrificing, and doing all the things we have done, myself, and sort of together when Raila, Anyang' and all these people were called the Young Turks, we were the youth wingers, the intellectual youth wingers of the Young Turks.

So opposition is a part of my life and I am not going to sit by and say what I had done most of my adult life at the expense of I could have joined the system, I could have become richer, I would have stayed abroad and become a famous professor.

I could have joined Wall Street and become a rich investment banker. And all those opportunities, I chose to do something I believe in for the future generations of Kenya.

I am not going to give it up because some political thugs can ride roughshod all over the country and take over institutions and run away and sort of extinguish the dreams of millions of people.

That is something we should just: By refusing to accept, we have won.

Because the dictatorship will end in failure.

MAURICE: (Breathes deeply) Wow!

[00:41:05.12] VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Zach you are saying: Hey, we need this TV to broadcast 24 hours programmes and having people like David Ndii to educate people.

MAURICE: Well, you can support NASA TV to make sure that dream is possible by sending your contributions to Airtel Money Paybill number 555155.

You can put any number or name in the account number.

If you feel like you want to buy me coffee, or David Ndii this evening, you can write Ndii or Baggy.

I leave you with the word from the Holy Bible, 1 Corinthians 7:23, and it says: "God bought you for a huge price, so do not misplace of human beings".

Thank you for watching Opinion 2017 and goodbye.

Wow! That was powerful.

NDII: (Both shake hands) Thank you.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Hazard Joe · 0:09 When will kenyans wake up, this is unbelievable, are they importing aliens from outta space to come officiate the occasion or what? This is the kind of nonsense that drives me nuts, lectures are on strike they are told no money, nurses and doctors have been striking for ages and still they dance to the same no money tune. But we are ready to splash a whopping 300M on an event who's legitimacy is still being questioned worldwide. This is madness, only in Kenya.
Jared Bob · 0:09 1
Maimuna Chausiku · 0:10 1
Wilson Okinda · 0:20 1
Jemmy Vincento · 0:19 1
Masaf Ken · 0:27 2
Ja Masat · 0:29 2
Aton Aton · 0:17 1
Philip Ogolla · 0:23 1
James Ochieng · 0:32 1
Teresiah A Nice · 0:06 4
Achieng Joy · 0:33 Hi
Patrick Namatukhu · 0:26 3

Hezron Omwenga · 0:26 3

Odawa Maurice Wamira · 0:32 7

Kevin Okello · 0:48 6

Erick Ochieng · 0:14 Watching

Vanceyl Min Gabrian · 0:45 Tuned!!!

Timothy Kilonzo · 0:52 Improve the voice

McAriek Julu Nahashon · 0:44 Hello

Ogutu Jay · 0:51 Tuned

Masaf Ken · 1:12 Watching from island of New Zealand ... Wellington. Wassup Maurice

Benson Okinyi · 1:09 Hey hey hey hey

Nasiowan Kagwa · 1:15 TUNED

Peter Monari · 1:07 1

Omondi Moses · 1:12 Tibim

Jay Wuod Nyadhi · 1:16 Watching my National TV

Ogutu Jay · 0:58 David Ndii, The Chief Economist

James Ochieng · 1:32 Sautino nipiny manade

Patrick Namatukhu · 1:21 Volume...

Omondi Onyango Ibrahim · 1:40 Watching from Kisumu

Mariam Ashisinde Safi · 2:23 Watching from +966

Micah Ndiema · 2:48 i want my share

Elsy Odongo · 2:42 Ndiii again

Julius Ondara · 2:41 Tiarara

James Ochieng · 2:58 An angochndini emamoraga

Joel Otuoma · 2:51 DN is a brave man!

Junior Immah Napas · 3:08 Watching frm lodwar

Nasiowan Kagwa · 4:10 ONGEZA TU SAUTI

Maloba Johnstone · 4:20 Volume

Rex Dicksanih Akonih · 3:09 when is the swearing of our president raila

Sospeter Agola · 4:18 Which number on gotv

Maloba Johnstone · 4:28 #Resist

Patrick Namatukhu · 4:57 Thank you David...

Carol Caro · 5:34 We want our country

Charles Wenger · 5:28 I think long-term objective is to make this a National and international T.V. we will support you and you have vast following. Remember communication is power we need such as well as radio stations controlled solely by the affiliates. Good work so far.

James Ochieng · 5:40 When is the swearing?

Jonathan Mwakisha · 5:48 #Resist

Ronald Okeyo · 5:32 Provincial balance and social inertia

Awesam Rabala · 6:25 Tuko on

Freddy Odhiambo · 6:16 #Resist

Joel Otuoma · 6:45 "Social insertia"

Benson Okinyi · 7:07 Tialala

Aesah Gomah · 7:33 #resist

Otieno Othieno · 7:42 TIALALA

Wiy Nnie · 7:51 Charles wenger, u a talking sense

Peter Jakakiimba · 7:50 Kudos

Nyaikondo Rioba Nyaikondo · 8:08 Tialala

Mankind Brayo · 8:14 Watching....from NASA's stronghold

Maimuna Chausiku · 8:24 Welcome Dr Ndii we need to hear and see more of you. You're always under cover.

La'mech Paradise · 8:34 Bundles ni mob

Mlosi Selector · 8:48 Kabisa

Benson Okinyi · 9:05 Kocha Silibwet.... what do you mean?

Albert Waiganjo · 9:07 Following

Roba Mnazareti Waukweli · 9:08 Raila plz don't let us down

Davis Nicas · 9:19 I love Dr Ndii he is very brilliant person iam getting you from Mbeya TANZANIA we need way forward please tell Baba don't let us down we have been suffering very much

Otoyo Kondeng · 8:58 Kocha Silibwet hiyo ndiyo business yako?

Julio Migayi · 8:25 Both their hands are put forth and are upon what is evil to do it diligently; the prince and the judge ask for a bribe, and the great man utters his evil desire. Thus they twist between them [the course of justice]. Micah 7:3

Kevin Love · 9:13 Kocha .move on on your own with your despotic leaders. The rest of us have serious issues to attend to .

Samlo Okech · 9:24 NASA pod wan mbele

Benard Michira · 9:45 kocha silibwet or whatever it is you call yourself,move out of that tribal cocoon and you will know how the rest of kenyans feel.

Elijah Kerina · 7:43

✂

Hon Isaiah Nyamwaro · 9:09 Kocha silibweti you are as silly as your name suggests

Don Robin · 10:43 Hon David,when is countrywide rallies in support of peoples assembly and boycotts beginning? Baba's word is final.

Elijah Kerina · 7:43

👊

Hassan Abdulahi Hassan · 11:01 Sound

Emmah Achieng Muruka · 11:04 Watching

Mike Onuro · 0:44 Resist

Steven Kamalla · 11:12 Who is this puppy called silibwet.

Onyango Stephen · 12:32 Tume resist

Faith Hakala · 12:50 Is this professor ndi

Kennedy Ouma · 13:04 Tibiim

Saddam Justus Ombaso · 13:19 What is the way forward on Tuesday

· 13:26

👊

Jimmy Abdul Rhazackh · 13:27 We want our nation Hon.

Esinah Machana · 13:22 Keenly following

Rosemary May Adala · 13:35 #Resist

Ayimba Irene · 14:00 PROJECT KENYA IS DEAD!!!!

Faith Hakala · 14:49 Why should ndi be the one ☝ said he's the one who came with secede, Kenya KE was a creative creation of uk GB and it's failed

Nyamunga Baptist Joseph · 15:37 Shieved mind

Faith Hakala · 15:47 Yes it's better just secede even now we aren't satisfied

كمت فبي سثص · 16:08 Here secession will work very well. Great solution God gave us already

Emilly Ermers Dabossqueen · 11:05 Sound

Anna Awino Olala Odero · 16:19 BABA RAILA IS OUR PRESIDENT IN JESÚS MIGHTY NAME AMEN AMEN BARCELONA SPAIN.

كمت فبي سثص · 17:15 Yes, self determination. Good.

Niyeye Tenno · 16:56 Hii talaka ni lini wajameni tunataka kujua mwelekeo..

Faith Hakala · 17:36 Kocha don't call anyone your friend and encourage us to accept kleptocracy

Pyter Charagu Mtenja Snr · 17:55 Hii tv i ng'olewe transmitter.!

Samson Ozil Onsarigo · 18:06 @kocha silibwet f**ck your ass

Faith Hakala · 18:22 Yes we should go the Swiss way true we should go your model

Oliver Twist · 18:37 🖳 yetu tibim

Hon Epaalat Francis · 18:38 #Resist

Faith Hakala · 19:00 Yes we are a multi national state we aren't a state

Kevin Love · 18:43 KOCHA GO SPREAD YOUR PROPAGANDA ON YOUR DESPOTS WALL AND PAGES. THIS IS A PATRIOTS,DEMOCRACY,JUSTICE ISSUES. SOMETHING THAT YOU AND YOUR KIND BARELY UNDERSTAND.

Ahmed Abdallah · 19:36 #peoples's repulic

Faith Hakala · 19:43 Kocha we are informed educated

Oliver Twist · 19:52 Where are our nasladies wajibu walala hoi wanao comment negatively

Martin Waweru · 19:55 Yes!?

Faith Hakala · 19:56 It's kingdom

NASA Coalition · 20:04

Precious Aggy Njogu · 20:56 I expected Raila to be invited to Harare for swearing in .he would have learnt a few tips of how to be a president without violent demos and protests.his Agemates

are calm while taking power and he is here loitering from one country to the other begging for support. Jipange mzee

Faith Hakala · 20:55 But kyuk never had no king

Bobby Paul · 20:54 Listening to Dr Ndii, This man even if you had to bring together all Uhuru cabinet combined, they still would not match Dr Ndii!

Kevin Love · 21:25 Kocha why are you here. Shouldn't you be moving on with others as well?!

Aoko Nyoremo · 18:29 Prof. Ndii is talking a lot of sense but people mad with power will do the opposite

Peter Inyambukho · 21:37 I love David he tells it in black and white

Inangugwa Stureh · 21:44 NASA waamue tugawane kenya

Aton Aton · 21:58 Ndii is my guy....we are proud of you brother

Hashim Magut · 22:05 Is that an odm channel.... The person interviewing once attacked uhuruto... Politics is over its time to build Kenya....

Mwas Mc'Faden · 22:28 Watching from köln and liking this guest. Tell him not to feel along from uthamakistan coz am also for that idea and am from the mountain side

Ndungu Karanja Amos · 22:57 There should be no relenting on the course to just government through just poll and in a just environment THATS ALL WE'RE ASKING

Duncan Obat · 23:45 The amount will be spent by Ruto to finish his homes ha ha ha

Pree Odero · 24:06 Silly chieth.

Zack Ochomba · 24:19 Hey we need this tv to broadcast 24hrs with programs and learned people like David Ndii to educate pple

Faith Hakala · 24:48 Kocha I don’t need you to tell me anything I can make own informed educative choices, intellectually you can’t inform me

Freddie Wa Mombasa · 1:48 Who is this?

Faith Hakala · 25:58 The issue is euro €bond who’ll pay it kocha your children shameful shameless

Marion Seje · 25:56 Watching you too

Faith Hakala · 27:10 Kocha not everyone needs titles like you he’s not claimed hegemony and he’s clueless, he’s an economist who knows what he’s talking about

Stano Imbasha · 27:12 Goodwork

Nyamunga Baptist Joseph · 24:29 Hegemony, the predominance of one state or social group over others, which is always self distractive...

Faith Hakala · 28:17 At the moment we are being lead by a clueless duo with debts with irresponsible borrowing very clueless

Fred Abala · 22:44 Ndii is a great guy. I really like his liberal mindset. We will fight through this TOGETHER

Faith Hakala · 28:58 A guy whom during his ministry day lost money and said typing errors

Nyamunga Baptist Joseph · 28:58 It's finished...caput!!!

Faith Hakala · 29:35 Kocha where did euro bonds go

Dere Tony Husler · 29:48 Watching from eldoret

Junior Omollow Samwelah · 29:42#railareturns,,,,,dont let us down

Maximillah Osambula · 3:21 Hii

Hillary Gondi · 30:18 Shut up

Leonard Lenn · 31:30 Silibwet my foot

Alphonse Nzioka · 31:38 Nonsensical economic explanation

Faith Hakala · 31:51 The problem is the debt is so huge we can't explain where the borrowed money went Malaysia euro 💶 bond we owe trillions

Calvin Kenani · 31:54 Mocha u ignorant sgr is funded by Chinese bank. Wake up.

Prince W Mussoko · 31:49 Let us support NASA plz

Martine Juniour · 31:29 Pain as truth is said i see, better be ready for more

Simon Smith · 32:08 Simon Smith am watching from Migori

Faith Hakala · 32:34 What a floppy shambles

George Kemunche · 34:33 1

Shadrack Njugunah · 34:59 Support 4 wht?:

Real Croco · 35:26 Mudomo baggy doing a serious political show..am trying hard not to laugh

Marolyne Ojwang · 35:34 Thank you Ndii, saying it like it is!very proud of you sir!..

Real Croco · 35:55 But he has done it so well. Kudos

Aston Martin Junior · 36:01 Tibim tibim

Jessy Kanini · 35:37 Resist this idler called Kocha Sily ama nini ? Looking for fame on a NASA Tv, get a life, internet troll!

Paul Ambunyah · 35:59 We stand for truth

Oliver Twist · 38:07 Jessy 🖐□🖐□🖐□🖐□🖐□🖐□💐

Anna Paula Jonez · 38:04 Resist

Kirkowski Seidensteckie Cladnicanin · 38:06Jessy don't be silly

Titti Oyando · 37:53 The only thing to fear is fear itself!!!!

Agnetah Ayuma · 38:58 Very true🖐🖐🖐👊👊👊👊👊

Carolyne Odhiambo · 39:33 Its a matter of when not whether...

Akinyi Amollo · 39:53 I love your moto my dear, push on so we can migrate from them

Emmanuel Brown De Moonka · 39:36 Alive tibiim

Julio Migayi · 40:08 Mbugua Kinuthia Nonesense take youralcoholic comments and silliness to githeri media. Canana must be achieved.

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 40:47 Am with you ndii

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 41:11 Secession we can rise and promote ourselves

Niite de Dmk · 40:39 True

Hillary Gondi · 41:24 Good job

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 41:51 The country is broke because of a few people we can't manage the debt let us divide the country . We not turning back

Gideon Wanyoike · 42:00 Mchango tena

Sandra Sudi · 41:41 Discussion with David ndii was very educative, good job

Xussin Xussin · 42:05 Good job

كمت فبي سثص · 41:59 God bless you Dr. Ndii

Jackson Mutie · 41:37 I am stuck here.....thank you for enlightment.

Omosh Junior · 41:50 We need this tv 24hrs to avoid githeri media

Lydia Kemunto · 42:07 God bless

Marolyne Ojwang · 42:08 Wooow!!..David Ndii!!..one of the great men we got on this land..

Lickqwid D'Architect · 0:00 David Ndii is so intelligent... Economists

Benard Mourice Juma · 1:20 Niko radar

Meshack Mesh Kyalo · 4:03 Canaan is real

Jorgia Jorgia · 19:32 Nonsense

Javani Angwende · 0:00 Love this

Mwangi Wanjohi Realpeter · 0:00 lack of knowledge

Dwin Danic · 39:21 😍😍😍😍🙌🙌🙌🙌□□□□☺☺☺

Julius Ologira · 1:22 Watching from osaka Japan David keep up fighting we are behind you.

Janet Omido · 0:35 Watching

Midusa Wuod Betty · 0:00 You are on what channel?

George Mongare · 1:42 Volume

Lyze Dayo · 1:23 Watching from Cameroon

Japheth Kioko · 0:43 Hi

Japheth Kioko · 3:41 Where do i tune in

Okumu Charles · 21:43 Ndii is brilliant

Nancy Adhiambo Famby · 5:35 Waaaaaaaah. This is sad and pathetic that such discriminative behaviors were engraved in Kenya's constitution

Reph Ojwang · 0:19 Educative channel

Gideon Syengo · 0:00 Most of the jubilee top cream will find themselves in Hague, wacha vile unasema ati Raila

David Emporrer · 0:00 What I can say after the discussion Mr. Ndii had with NASA TV on the origin of Kenya economic in balances, it was by designed executed with all the tricks. If this kind of information were in the domain of public, I believe there would be something bet…

Anna Awino Olala Odero · 3:05 BABA RAILA WASE CHOPO KOSO,?

Benjie Okari · 9:28 Pig up nasa tv keep moving to main stream news outlet

Sophia Omwenga · 1:20 Tuned

Sophia Omwenga · 6:29 listening.....

Jessie Je · 22:17 Hon Ndii is a boom

Jojes Currently Mjamaa · 0:00 Jubilee goons fuck of our platform we nid ur crap mind no more

Dan Mark Minor · 1:23 Tibim

Tom Omolo · 1:12 Tuned

Jessie Je · 41:56 Ameeen

Polly Mkenya · 11:50 Kusos

Kenn Wasike · 1:48 Generali Ndii

Wilfred Thekopites · 1:45 Always have problems with the Voice when live .

Wilfred Thekopites · 19:02 The interviewer is just flowing just the way am doing.!!Dr Ndii plz try to moderate your language.

Guros Wesonga · 0:00 Just asking,how can the nasarites fast track this secession process before the next shambolic elections in 2022?

Margaret Sørensen · 6:44 DAVID: You have really done a great job Resist.

Nyar Asembo Kochola · 0:00

Nyar Asembo Kochola · 0:00

Nyar Asembo Kochola · 0:00

Caro Oyugi · 0:06 Good move

Sam Ngugi · 0:00 Hatuchangi

Samson Njoroge · 1:08 Thugs

Eliazar Ong'ara · 1:05 Good job Maurice for consistency and the zeal in your work deliveries...keep it lit!

Evalyne Nyambok · 1:18 Resist

Ronald Odindo · 0:03 Resist

Ombai Junior John · 0:00 WE CAN REMOVE FROM JUBILEE POWER.MY ADVICE TO YOU IS TO LAUNCH A NATION WIDE SIDE INDOOR PROTEST. WHERE ALL NASA SUPPORTERS CHOOSE TO REMAIN INDOOR FOR AT LEAST 1 WEEK THERE SHALL BE SERIOUS ECONOMIC MELTDOWN AND JUBILEE GONE.

Lance Dzombo · 0:00 Waauuu

Caren Wamush · 0:00 Big up guys for the good work ndani ya nasa tv

Akinyi Amollo · 29:17 Ndii, where did you reach with the move to devide from those riggers???? Please tell me I am in for it, I am watching from USA us New York

Bernard Owambo · 0:00 "THE DICTATORSHIP WILL END IN FAILURE".....The two despots should know this.

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 0:04 We resist we are together

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 0:20 Baba we are with you

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 0:37 Love nasa caanan tumefika

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 1:57 Secession

Anna Awino Olala Odero · 2:35 IM VERY VERY SAD. I NEED URGENT DOCTER. IS MY JESÚS CHRIST AMEN AMEN IM NASA TEAMS, ONGE NGAMA BABA OSENEGO,

ONGE NGAMA BABA OSENEGO, ONGE NGAMA BABA OSENEGO, IN JESÚS MIGHTY NAME AMEN AMEN BARCELONA SPAIN.

Greytone Steven Koipo · 0:00 Tumechoka na big anoncement kila siku na ni fake??

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 3:03 He who laugh last Laugh the best we will laugh and succeed

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 4:17 Smart man

Mercy Kainga · 0:30 Support what! Some more money!

Anna Awino Olala Odero · 4:48 OUR PRESIDENT RAILA.

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 6:29 We resist paying taxes period

Anna Awino Olala Odero · 7:11 OUR FATHER RAILA IS OUR BEST PRESIDENT OF KENYANS RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST RESIST IN JESÚS MIGHTY NAME AMEN AMEN BARCELONA SPAIN 666215171.

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 7:56 True we being led through divide and rule to polarize us

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 12:21 We are in need of secession

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 1:50 Nasa reloaded... tibbim

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 3:35 Elsy kwani ndii anavuta oxygen yako???

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 14:17 secession it is period better part in peace

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 4:29 001 hatubanduki swear or no swear! Tibbim

Manage

Like

· Reply · 1y

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 15:20 History shows in elections violence . We secceed period

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 17:00 How do one support nasa tv from abroad

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 17:49 We are not one we must divide the colonial state secession. We remove the British forced relation. Pre colonization we secceed

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 19:21 Let jubilee have their country we secceed

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 19:50 Kocha is uneducated dotard being

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 21:02 We are entitled to secession

Nancy Tumaini · 1:43 Wts nxt

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 21:41 We dismantle the pro colonial map

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 11:08 Michira u r inside that tribal cocoon break open

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 23:11 Corrupt thieves uhuruto they spent it on private life . We introuble they want to borrow again

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 24:36 Precious you high on drugs

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 13:28 Joshua una penny ya ku contribute??? Pay your rent kwanza!

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 24:56 We not going to pay debt for personal persons use

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 25:25 Euro bond is in waiguru ruto uhuru account

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 14:40 Irine soo??? We are looking for solutions not funerals

Adedee Stakishari Stakidawa · 15:57 Faith ndii did not come up with seccesion hes just articulating a point that many want !!

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 26:42 2billion dollar no am done . Gai ruto and uhuru you will die and buried without anything

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 27:49 They steal and ask us to pay back it won't happen we secceed the fund is in their offshore account it will be frozen

Akunda Akunda · 0:00 the current leadership of nasa seems clueless on how they can go about with secession. the rest of us know its time to secede. if nasa principals cannt do it, let them tell us.

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 29:33 Uhuruto borrowed extra 800 m dollars for themselves and kept quiet Kenyans when do we wake up

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 37:05 Thank you ndii death is not inevitable . No one is immortal

Catherine Olivia Apondi · 39:41 I refuse to be dictated to never we seek secession

Grace Opiyo · 2:10 Go on my bro David we are all behind you

Frankline Makanga · 0:06 You r useless

Florence Otiende · 1:42 Watching

Charles O Adada · 0:00 Is this a national TV by NASA or what?

Reagan Otoyo · 22:42 Ndii you are a lovely patriotic Kenyan, Kenya need to understand why they are in Kenya, the most Kikuyus needs proper education

Hunk Omosh · 2:35 Tibim

Hunk Omosh · 2:52 Watching

Aleey Shukreey · 1:33 Watching from Bangladesh

Sarai Divah · 1:13 Everything about you as NASA is fucked up!!

Timothy Chepkwesi Katiba · 1:25 Mko na umama sana. Acha Canaan tujipeleke kama hamtupeleki.

Wiy Nnie · 1:53 When are we(NASA) swearing in our president? Hon RAO.# Raila my prezo

Cathy Gray · 0:54 Peleka ujinga huko

1y

Bonii Mutider · 0:00 Mambo yabadilika,

Precious Aggy Njogu · 24:16 Raila ataondokea hii mchezo last minute and set trap to his juniors who will later be ICC candidates...Raila will sacrifice orengo and others

Replies ;

Ngaywa Masawa Ondula MoussaMoses · 0:00 That's yours, keep on dreaming

Shamilla Favour Mwenje · 0:00Precious Aggy you think like an idiot

Precious Aggy Njogu · 0:00 Shamilla Favour Mwenje you follow idiots so RESIST IDIOTS

Yahya Zedy · 0:00 Uhuruto belong to ICC

Lily Fiki · 0:00 Wewe ndiwe wajuwa sheria kushinda Raila mmmh haya ota ndoto

Faith Hakala · 0:00 Precious Aggy Eustus you are fool

Precious Aggy Njogu · 0:00 Faith Hakala ehhhh fools follow fools ...welcome to this fooriiiiiish world😂😂..RESIST me ohh

Faith Hakala · 0:00 Precious Aggy Eustus when did I follow you?

Precious Aggy Njogu · 0:00 Right now you are on my comment...even you dont know yourself..just resist me and pay attention to the main post...wacha kiherehere ya Kilimani Mums..follow clever posts abegiii..I did not invite you oo...

Ooko Charles · 0:00 You think if your mother sacrificed every other person will think the same? Go look for getheri media you comment yo nonsense.

Bernard Owambo · 0:00 I expect this from a whore

Precious Aggy Njogu · 0:00 Yahya Zedy baba has refused to be sworn in and instead of mourning you are here displaying your ignorance

Precious Aggy Njogu · 0:00 Haiya where are you guys???Faith hakala hope you doing well😂😂😂mnaapichia wapi?

Jacqueline M Ruthi · 1:01 Airtel is leaving Kenya lol

David Mbuya Were · 0:17 V

Musa Obiri · 1:47 Watch ing

Machuki Obedo · 1:56 Ndanindani kabisa

APPENDIX 6: OPINION 2018. JANUARY 1, 2018

THE YEAR THAT WAS

PART 1

INTRO

OPINION 2017 BANNER

People carrying Kakamega senator Boni Khalwale on the shoulders.

Man with plastic orange on his head.

Banner of Raila.

A burnt tyre in the middle of the road.

A flag similar to Kenya's.

Police car, people throwing stones.

A large crowd of people.

Mombasa governor Hassan Joho with the mic flanked by Aisha Jumwa.

Ford-Kenya leader Moses Wetang'ula.

Musalia Mudavadi.

Kalonzo Musyoka.

Raila after he was unveiled.

2017 The Year That Was . . .

[00:00:30.20]

MAURICE: Thank you for joining us and welcome. We are looking at 2017, The Year That was.
Now, it was a year like no other with extreme political fireworks, scandals, arrests, and police brutality, political fever and temperatures that Kenya had never witnessed before.

[00:00:32.21] INTRO

MAURICE: We start this journey by having a look at the birth of NASA at the point where Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi and Isaac Kiprono Ruto officially joined NASA.

ISAAC RUTO: My brother, ndugu Kalonzo Musyoka, my brother Raila Amollo Odinga, Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi, na Moses Wetang'ula *pamoja na wenzangu ambao tuko pamoja, tusalimiane kwa alama ya Mashinani.* (Crowd waves CCM words). (Plus those who are here with us today, let us wave with the CCM sign)
Mimi sasa naanza kujifunza maneno ya Tibim na gani ingine? Ahsante. Tutaelewa. Na NASA, sindio? Nimekuja hapa kujiunga na wenzangu kirasimi. (I am now getting used to the Tibim slogan and which else? Thank you. We will get used to it. I have com here to officially join with my colleagues).

MUDAVADI: *NASA hawa! NASA hawa! NASA hawa! Ahsante sana.* (Catch them! Catch them! Thank you very much).

MAURICE: After the official formation of NASA, the next task ahead was the presidential candidate. And first things first, Raila Amollo Odinga had to go through the legalities as sepcified in the Political Parties Act meaning his party ODM had to nominate him as a presidential candidate officially and this happened in Kasarani in an event like no other

MAN: Ten million strong! Ten million strong!

(Hellena Ken sings Yabadalika)

MAN: Ladies and gentlemen, let me now take this opportunity to invite His Excellency Raila Amollo Odinga, our presidential candidate, our presidential nominee as was duly elected by this NDC today.

MAN: Wapi nduru? (Raila holds his nomination certificate for the cameras).

RAILA: *Tuko tayari na watu milioni kumi*. Ten million strong! Ten million strong! Our position remains that we will not allow anybody to steal elections on August 8. We repeat our stand that if you love this country, do not contemplate, and do not imagine, and do not try to steal the elections in August this year. We will not allow you to get away with it.

MAURICE: After Raila Odinga getting the nod from his party, it was now time to find out who was going to be the flag bearer of the NASA coalition. This happened at a massive, massive rally at the Uhuru Park Grounds. There was a lot of tension as everybody wanted to know whose name was on that white envelope

(Crowd sings) Principals walk in front holding hands

[00:05:12.21] NASA agenda: Eradicating poverty. Improve social and economic rights. Transforming Governemnt (Servant leadership). Devolution. Equality for women, youth and persons with disability. Resolving historical injustices. National reconciliation and healing. NASA, Mambo Yabadilika.

(Helena Ken sings).

MUDAVADI: *Nataka nizindue Number 5, yule ambaye atapeperusha bendera ya NASA, yule atakuwa NASA presidential candidate, na yeye ni The Rt Honourable Raila Amollo Odinga.* (I

want to unveil to you our Number 5, the one who will fly the NASA flag, our NASA presidential candidat and he is The Rt Honourable Raila Amollo Odinga).

(Crowd sings)

MAURICE: After Raila Odinga being declared the presidential candidate for NASA, it was now time to face off with Uhuru Kenyatta in the August 8 elections.
Next, was the NASA manifesto launch to lay bare their plans, their grand plans for Kenya.

(Advert: Road to the Kenyan dream. A rolling down of the years from 1963 to 2017).

At the dawn of a new era, the inception of a new nation, we stood at the victory line watching as the Union Jack was brought down to pave way for the symbol of peace, love and unity. This was the first liberation a chance at rebirth and the reparations of all past transgressions.
At the time, we accepted hope. Hope is not just that of expectations, but also that those expectations will come alive in our lifetime. Hope is what ties us together as we danced in unity and prayed: Oh God of all creation, Bless this Our land and nation.
Hope was seated amongst us as we discussed the new opportunities awaiting us. And hope did not abandon their children but was their shield and defender at the time when she was all they had.
Our great land flourished and our fight for independence was now part of a story, part of a rich history that will mark the nation of Kenya. We stood on the shoulders of great men and women that made it possible for us to enjoy the peace and plenty was found within our borders.
This was Kenya's time for an upward turn, a time to make a journey what it.
Let all and one arise, they said. It was not to be as the country led into a period of social stratification that led to many problems that have plagued us until today. The dark days cast upon us were now once again hanging over our heads when we found new ways to ensure that we were further divided than when our colonisers left us.
An era characterised with political repression and terror was to hoard the great nation of Kenya, and many fallen heroes to go down with its tumbling walls draped in fear and uncertainty. (Mboya, JM, Mutula, Orwa, Saitoti, Jacob Juma, Ouko).

We all recalled a time when we sang and our homeland of Kenya, heritage of splendour, firm may we stand to defend but the joy of that song had long left the ones for whom it was intended thrown into a whirlwind of bad governance and corruption.

The country was at standstill with everyone seeking answers and once again looking to the promises of those early days when our country was born. (Images of Jaramogi).

The second liberation happened (Images of James Orengo) when some brave leaders took it upon themselves to fight the good fight. They stood up for Kenyans who could not do it for themselves. They fought for an open democratic space and to start the trend of demanding accountability from sitting governments. We all remember SabaSaba as the time that started this dialogue. These brave leaders suffered at the heart of power along these lonely corridors of justice that favoured only but a few. Some were detain, tortured and (Images of newspaper cuttings on the arrests, detentions), forced to renounce their mission but they continued to fight for the freedoms we enjoy today.

Freedoms we cannot take for granted. Freedoms that govern how we leave our lives today, and the comfort we enjoy. Freedoms that bind our lives together like that promise made in those early days.

Today, we celebrate 54 years of self-governance and independence. We have never been closer to swear one. We have gone back (**Images of starving children**) in history to a time filled with fear and uncertainty (Waiguru on Uhuru office), corruption is at an all-time high (Chicken gate Hassan), ministries being robbed clean of public funds (Afya House), major development funds missing (Kenya ranked third most corrupt state), misappropriation of tax payer's money is nothing new (Raila: Water another scam) and our leaders (Furious Uhuru roasts officers over holes in graft war) in power have openly told the public that they do not know what to do with corruption in their government (Waiguru, Mailu, NYS). Dear Kenyans, don't you want answers? Isn't it time your government started working for you?

We as NASA promise to work with you into the future. And deliver you into the third liberation that we all so desperately seek. A future where each Kenyan can contribute to a greater good for the country. A future with a clear development agenda complete with accountability measures. A future where the economy grows not just in figures and jargon but its impact felt by all. A future where we build cohesion so that each man, woman and child would feel included in this development we speak of because as we have seen in the last few years, growth without re-

distribution is not development and progress is not reserved for a few special people in our nation. It belongs to you.

One man will lead us into this time that will see reforms in education, revolutionise ICT, upgrade our agricultural systems and welcome development in infrastructure so that we put Kenya on the map to compete on a global platform with other leading countries for better opportunities.

Amkeni ndugu zetu. (Awaken, my brothers). We are heading to 8/8. On the 8th of August 2017, our country deserves a change. Our country deserves a makeover and it starts tonight. Fellow Kenyans, you have been led off course long enough and now our man the Hon Raila Amollo Odinga will get us back on track.

Sit back, relax and let us lead you to Canaan.

RAILA: We would like to unite the people of this country to create one nation, one people. To give people opportunity, everybody who is born in our country. We want to reconcile our country.

MUDAVADI: NASA wants to make sure that what we call basic education which is right from the kindergarten level, the nursery, through to Form Four is genuinely free and accessible to all Kenyans.

We want to be very clear that we can save the resources if we seal the loopholes of misappropriation and wastage. And we have costed that to carry through this challenge up to the Form Four level can cost this country between 60 and 70 billion Kenya shillings additional to what the education budget is today. And I can tell you that can be achieved so that we can have our children in schools.

ISAAC RUTO: In Agriculture, there are Kenyans who are ready to re-discover production. They are doing it on their own, but they are feeding the country.

From a country that had surplus foods to one of deficits. Even as we talk now, we have no ugly on the table. And that is for sure.

Our priority is to re-discover productivity. We must go back to the farmer. The one we just saw in Kisii. We can produce food in our farms and we can only do that if we eliminate the medium of middlemen in between marketing and production.

WETANG'ULA: We know that the challenges that face security in this country are borne out of bad governance, poor leadership. Our police force is demoralised, demotivated, and sometimes end up vetting anger on the very people they areas supposed to protect. We as NASA are going to ensure that 1. That we have an adequate population: police ration to cater for our security. We will continue with the reforms that the Constitution 2010 envisaged would be necessary to turn the police force into a police service that is going to serve the people of this country.

MAURICE: And in this particular event, Raila Odinga made a grand entry into the Ngong RaceCourse in the specific dome where the event was being held with the rendition of the track "Iam all the way up" to sound like Raila Amollo

WOMAN: The next president of the Republic of Kenya (People rise from their seats).
Anaitwa Joshua. Anaitwa Baba. Anaitwa Rao. Anaitwa Raila Amollo Odinga.

SONG: Nothing can stop me. Amollo Raila. Nothing can stop me. Amollo Raila.
(Raila enters as he greets people).

MAURICE: After the manifesto launch, it was time for campaign proper and the first stop for the NASA brigade was Bukhungu Stadium in Kakamega.

(Song as an aerial shot of the crowd is shown. Pictures of leaders dancing on stage).

ORENGO: *Nataka nione kwa mikono ni wangapi wanapeleka Uhuru nyumbani? Kwa sababu tunasema 10 million strong. 10 million strong. Ebu nione 10 million strong kwa jukwaa.* (I want to see by a show of hands how many people want to ensure that Uhuru goes home? We are saying that we are 10 million strong. Let's se the 10 million strong here at the stadium).

MUDAVADI: *Mnataka muone ishara yetu? Mnaijua? Mko tayari? Haiya. NASA hawa! NASA hawa! Kakamega NASA hawaw! Magharibi NASA hawa! Raila NASA hawa! Kalonzo NASA*

hawa! Wetang'ula NASA hawa! Oparanya NASA hawa! Khalwale NASA hawa! (Do you want to see our rallying call? Are you ready? Okay. Catch them!).

KHALWALE: *Ni siku ya kihistoria kwetu Bukhungu Staidum. Ni siku ya kihistoria kwa sababu wasomi husema history repeats itself.* (This is a very historic day for us at the Bukhungu tadium. T is historic bcause as historians say, history repeats itself).

RAILA: *haiya. Haiya. Vijana hoiyeee. Abandu ha khoingo, mirembe? Mirembe handi. Mulimwoyo. Ahsanteni sana. Nimeona dalili Kakamega. Dalili ya mvua ni nini? Mawingu. Nimeona dalili ya mvua Kakamega. (*Oh yes. Oh yes. How are you all? Thank you. I have seen the sig in Kakamega. The signs of rains to come is in the clouds).

MAURICE: After Bukhungu staidum, the NASA collectively went to the Jacaranda Grounds. Many people only heard of the Jacaranda Grounds for the first time because of this rally, and believe you me, it was one rally not to forget.

(Helena Ken sings as aerial shots show the extent of the crowd as the leaders ride in. National anthem as NASA principals hold their hands to their chest. Raila and Kalonzo dancing).

RAILA: *Haiya. Haiya. Vijana hoiyeee. Wakenya hoiyee. Anaye macho na atazame. Anaye sikio na asikie. Nataka kutoa shukrani kwenu. (*Okay. Okay. How are you doing, the youth? He who has eyes should see. He who has ears should hear. I want to thank you all today).

MAURICE: There were some tense moments. The first tense moment we look at is in Turkana. In the red corner, Turkana governor Josphat Nanok. In the blue corner, Uhuru Kenyatta. And the war of words was unparalleled.

UHURU: *Mtu akisimama hapa aseme eti Uhuru ako na haja na mafuta ya wengine ashindwe na Mungu. Shetani. Shenzi. Mimi watu wasiwe watu ambao wanakuja kudanganya wakenya. (*When someone takes the podium here and says that Uhuru wants to steal other people's oil, I condemn him in the name of God. The devil. Stupid. Let people not lie to Kenyans. It should stop)

NANOK: *Pingamizi yangu mzuri. Sisi hapa tuna uwezo unaweza kutusaidia hiyo uwezo tushike hiyo pesa na tuweka hazina ambayo ni ya kesho na kesho kutwa. Ukikamilisha hiyo, utasikika hapa. (*I am only fighting for my people. Locally here, we have the belief that you can help us to get that money to start a fund that will help our people for days to come. If you do that, people might just be inclined to listen to you).

UHURU: *Wa kufikiria mimi ni mtu wa kutishwa, watafute mwingine. Kura ni kura na tutakuja kuomba kama wengine. Mtupatie, mkose kutupatia, aah, kwani mnafikiria dunia itaisha? Weeee. . . acha story mingi hapa bwana. Ehe. Dunia itaendelea. Ama namna gani? Na ndivyo tunasema kwa viongozi tuheshimiane jameni.* (Those who think that they can threaten me should look for other people. A vote is a vote and we will come asking for it when the right time comes. If you give us the vote or not, no problem, the world will not end. Just stop this nonsense. Aha. The world will go on. And that is why we are saying that leaders should just respect each other).

NANOK: *Tumeweza kupokea kwa miaka minne, bilioni 33, sio hamsini. Na hizo pesa tuliweka mpango ya maendelo tukapanga pamoja na bunge ya kaunti na tukapnaga miradi ambayo ilitembea wadi zote thelatini za kaunti. (*In the four years of devolution, we have received 33 billion shillings, not 50. And we put those money to use to develop our region in the 30 wards in the county).

MAURICE: This was not the only tense moment. There was also a similar tense moment between Mombasa governor Ali Hassan Joho and President Uhuru Kenyatta. No love lost.

JOHO: Uhuru must go! Uhuru must go! *Mimi nataka niwaambie Nairobi mimi ndio adui 001 ya Kenyatta. Na nataka niwaambie hapa msikie mambo ya kutishana ni mambo ya zamani. Tunasimama hapa mchana ndani ya Nairobi na tunasema mwizi ni mwizi (*I want to tell you Nairobi that I am Uhuru's enemy number one. And this things of trying to scare people are just of the past. We are here in Nairobi in broad daylight saying a thief is a thief).

UHURU: Yastahili tutofautiane maendeleo na siasa.

(Joho shown greeting people)

JOHO: *Watu walisema mradi huu unafunguliwa na ni mradi wa zamani toka tuje Mombasa. (*Those saying this is a new project in Mombasa should look at the past plans).

UHURU: *Mimi sitishiki na siogopi kutembea kila corner ya Kenya. kuendelea na yale ambayo tunafanya. Na wakati wa siasa ukija tutatembea pia kila pande ya Kenya tukiomba kura kama wenzetu pia.* (No one is going to threaten me not to go to any part of Kenya. And when the time comes for campaigns, we will go to every part of Kenya asking for votes, just like our competitors).

JOHO: *Huu mradi umeanza mwaka wa 2010. Jubilee haikuwa imeingia hapa. Pesa imeletwa na World Bank. (*This project was started in 2010. The Jubilee government was not in power then. The money is from the World Bank).

MAURICE: There we go. That brings us to the end of 2017, The Year That was Part 1. Make sure you join us for Part 2.

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MAURICE: Thank you very for joining us once again. This is 2017, The Year That was Part 2.

(The intro plays).

OPINION 2017 BANNER

People carrying Kakamega senator Boni Khalwale on the shoulders.

Man with plastic orange on his head.

Banner of Raila.

A burnt tyre in the middle of the road.

A flag similar to Kenya's.

Police car, people throwing stones.

A large crowd of people.

Mombasa governor Hassan Joho with the mic flanked by Aisha Jumwa.

Ford-Kenya leader Moses Wetang'ula.
Musalia Mudavadi.
Kalonzo Musyoka.
Raila after he was unveiled.
2017 The Year That Was . . .
[00:00:30.20]

MAURICE: Now Isaac Ruto by this time was an integral player of the NASA team and his political outfit Chama Cha Mashinani and there was a major campaign stop in Bomet Stadium.

IMAGES of a large crowd signing, and waving NASA colours. Principals ride into the stadium.

RAILA: *Wananchi wa Bomet, chamgei Tugul. Chamgei kokeny. Ahsanteni. Sasa ni zaidi ya miezi mbili tulipokuwa hapa hapa Bomet* (Good people of Bomet, how are you? Thank you. It has been over two months since we were last here).

MAURICE: After this mega, mega rally at Bomet Staidum, it was also scandal season it typical Kenyan fashion, one scandal after the other.
And the scandal of the moment was the Mexico Maize scandal and at the Eldoret 64 stadium, it was all laid bare.

(Images of Eldoret rally).

ISAAC RUTO: *Ala! Ala! Iko namna gani? Ebu salimia mimi na ile yangu ya Mashinani. Tunataka pesa itiririke. Tunataka watu wanyeshewe na pesa ata kama umekonda ama umenona. Wewe pata haki yako mahali wewe unakaa. Hiyo ni ukweli ama uwongo? Uasin Gishu tulikuwa na mahindi, milolongo ya magari kwa ceraals board. Hii silos ilikuwa imejaa chakula. Tulikuwa tunalisha Kenya mzima. Sahii ni aibu sana kwa Jubilee tunaimport mahindi. Baadala ya kusaidia mkulima hapa Uasin Gishu pamoja na TransNzoia na Nandi ata Nakuru, wewe unaacha hawa unaenda toa mahindi mahali ingine huko.*

Alafu unapeleka mahindi kwa bahari alafu urudishe. Wacha kutudanganya bwana. Sisi tunakuelewa. Akaenda akalipa 4,600 huko Mexico. Sijui Mexico iko wapi. Sababu hiyo Mexico yake iko katikati ya Mombasa na Mauritius.
Niliuliza hii Mexico iko wapi, akasema alisema Maize iko.
Wewe wacha hiyo story.

(Alas! Alas! How is it going? Can we just wave the CCM sign? We want money to flow to the people. We want people to get their money whether they are fat or thin. Let everybody get money where they are. True or not true? In Uasin Gishu here, we had a lot of maize, lorries lining up at the cereals board. The silos were full. We were feeding the whole country. It is such a big shame that Jubilee is now importing maize. Instead of helping the farmer here in Uasin Gishu and in TransNzoia, Nandi or Nakuru, you leave them here in poverty and import maize. You take our maize to the ocean, and bring it back saying it's imported. We know you. You paid Sh4, 600 for a bag of maize from Mexico. I do not even know where Mexico is because his Mexico is somewhere between Mombasa and Mauritius.)

MAURICE: There was also a strange turn of events when the NASA leadership appeared to be drumming up support for Jubilee gubernatorial candidate Mr Mandago.

RAILA: *Nimeona dalili hapa Eldoret, dailli ya mvua ni nini? Mawingu. Tumeona mawingu imetanda Eldoret. Ni ishara kwamba kutanyesha? Sio.* (I have seen the signs of the rains here. The clouds are towering above Eldoret.)

KALONZO: We cannot campaign for any other candidate. *Ningekuwa na kura yangu hapa ningempigia Mandago. (*If I was a voter here, I would vote for Mandago).

WETANG'ULA: There is nothing that can save Uhuru and Ruto and their surrogates including here in Eldoret. I did not have much love for Mandago but I always stand for the oppressed people. *Kwa hivyo wananchi wa Eldoret, mkitoka hapa peleka salamu za Wetaa kwa Mandago. (*I am asking you today to take my greetings to Mandago).

ISAAC: *Ata mimi nataka kuambia yeye wewe huwezi ukatueleza viongozi wetu ni nani. Huko Bomet wamejua watachagua nani. Hapa Uasin Gishu mmejua? Mmejua? Mtapatia rafiki yangu Mandago?* (I want to tell him that you cannot tell us who our leaders will be. In Bomet, they know who they will elect. Do you guy know here in Uasin Gishu? Do you know? Will you vote for my friend Mandago?)

MAURICE: Sometimes in 2016 after a massive rally, after a charged rally in Bungoma, there was one Bukhusu man who earned the title James Bond after clutching on to the helicopter of NASA leader Raila Amollo Odinga. Now in Lare, Meru County, it was the turn of a local Meru man to pull the same stunt after a massive rally at the Lare Grounds addressed by His Excellency Raila Amollo Odinga.

(Video of a chopper taking off. People waving it goodbye. It ends as the man, clinging in onto the chopper)

MAURICE: One major event that defined 2017 was the presidential debate.
First, Jubilee candidates William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta pulled out of the debate.
So Raila Odinga had to debate by himself for 90 minutes. We are not going to go into the details of the debate, but we look at the fun moments of the presidential debate
[00:08:10.10]
Just for Laughs with Baba #DebatesKE
1. I didn't know you are not Joe
2. You said you look alike
3. I would have done Magufuli style. i would have Magufuli-d her.
4. We said we will have a tallying centre in Kenya, in Kenya, and in the clouds
5. When I am elected, I will not be watching the Formula 1 in Dubai. And note the word when, not if
6. I don't remember ever saying Uhuru ameanguka na amekunywa nini
7. That basically means then that the kitchen is too hot. So if the kitchen is too hot, get out!

MAURICE: Well, that is it for 2017 The Year That was Part 2. Be sure to join us for Part Three.

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PART THREE

INTRO

OPINION 2017 BANNER

People carrying Kakamega senator Boni Khalwale on the shoulders.

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Mombasa governor Hassan Joho with the mic flanked by Aisha Jumwa.

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Musalia Mudavadi.

Kalonzo Musyoka.

Raila after he was unveiled.

2017 The Year That Was . . .

[00:00:30.20]

MAURICE: Finally the 8th of August came, Kenyans voted, and according to the results in the server, Raila Amollo Odinga won.

Unfortunately, Uhuru Kenyatta was declared as the winner and the contest ended up at the Supreme Court. Justice Maraga made one of the most monumental decisions ever witnessed in Kenya's judicial history by nullifying the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as the president of the Republic of Kenya.

MARAGA: Now before I read the determination, I want to say this.
The greatness of any nation lies in its fidelity to the constitution and adherence to the rule of law and above all respect to God.
Having carefully considered the above issues, the following is the majority decision of the court with two Judges (J.B Ojwang and N. S. Ndung'u SCJJ) dissenting).

As to whether the 2017 Presidential Election was conducted in accordance with the principles laid down in the Constitution and the law relating to elections, upon considering inter alia Articles 10, 38, 81 and 86 of the Constitution as well as, Sections 39(1C), 44, 44A and 83 of the Elections Act, the decision of the court is that the 1st Respondent failed, neglected or refused to conduct the Presidential Election in a manner consistent with the dictates of the Constitution and inter alia the Elections Act, Chapter 7 of the Laws of Kenya.
2. As to whether there were irregularities and illegalities committed in the conduct of the 2017 Presidential Election, the court was satisfied that the 1st Respondent committed irregularities and illegalities inter alia, in the transmission of results, particulars and the substance of which will be given in the detailed and reasoned Judgment of the court. The court however found no evidence of misconduct on the part of the 3rd Respondent.
3. As to whether the irregularities and illegalities affected the integrity of the election, the court was satisfied that they did and thereby impugning the integrity of the entire Presidential Election.

MAURICE: After the nullification of the presidential election, fireworks erupted. Uhuru was furious.

UHURU: Fellow Kenyans, let me begin by wishing you a great afternoon. I personally disagree with the ruling that has been made today.
(Later at a rally) *Wajua uzuri wa sheria. Hapo awali nilikuwa Rais mtarajiwa. Si Maraga na watu yake hawa wakora wamesema baas, hiyo uchaguzi ipotee. Sasa mimi tena si rais mtarajiwa. Mimi ni rais ambaye amekalia kiti.* (Roars of approval) (You know the beauty about the law is that before this ruling, I was the president-elect. And now Maraga and his crooks have nullified the election. Now I am no longer a president-elect. I am the president, firmly in the seat.)

MAURICE: Well, the political temperatures by this time were extremely high and other leaders followed suit. First in line, Embakasi East MP Babu Owino.

BABU OWINO: *Kama Gadafi alitolewa na wananchi, kama Gbagbo alitolewa na wananchi, kama Yahya Jameh alitolewa na wananchi, wewe ni nani? Wewe ni mtoto wa mbwa! Vijana tibim. Ukikuja na bunduki, ukikuja na teargas, tunakuja na nyuki. (Crowd roars) Tunasema ya kwamba Chiloba asipoenda, Chebuakti asipoenda, commissioners wote wasipoenda, returning officers wote wasipoenda, presiding officers wote wasipoenda, basi hatuendi uchaguzi. Ahsanteni sana. (*If Gadafi was removed by the people, if Gbagbo was removed by the people, if Yahya Jameh was removed by the people, who are you? You are a son of a bitch! If you come with guns, tear gas, we will come with bees. We are saying that if Chiloba does not go, if Chebukati does not go, if the commissioners do not go, if all the returning officers do not go, if the presiding officers do not go, then we will not go for elections.)

MAURICE: Babu Owino was consequently arrested and arraigned in court.

Cleophas Malala , Kakamega senator.

MALALA: (Comes running into the stage). Nataka kuwasilisha salamu yangu. (I want to pass my greetings).

[00:07:00.14] ADVERT
Haba na Haba Tusaidie Baba. Lipa na MPESA 991444 Co-ooperative Bank 011200006511102

MALALA: *Nikisema Harambee, mnasema mtoto ya mbwa. Harambee! Crowd: Mtoto ya Mbwa. Harambee! Crowd: Mtoto ya Mbwa.*
Mimi nashangaa eti tangu (When I say Harambee, you say a son of a bitch).

MAURICE: Well, Johnstone Muthama is not a stranger to being arrested or being taken to court especially for hate speech.

MUTHAMA: *Huyu kijana kwa sababu akakuta pesa iko na picha ya baba yake akakuta baba yake amemwibia mashamba ambayo ata hatujui ni acre ngapi anaamlka na kututisha tisha. Mimi namwambia ata kama umeiba mashamba, na ata kama pesa iko na picha ya baba yako, kijana nakwambia hii nchi sio ya mama yako na baba yako.*
(Crowd roars). Nitoboe, nisitoboe? Nitoboe, nisitoboe?
Saa nne asubuhi amekunywa pombe na anavuta ile kitu ingine. Na anatokea meble ya wakenya anafikiri wakenya ni watu wa kuchezewa?
Wananchi niwaambie? Akiona hao askari wetu, bunduki zote, silaha zetu, anafikiri ni mali ya baba yake. Mimi namwambia Uhuru wewe sio rika ya Raila. Na kama unataka kushindana , eti anaona yeye ni mwanaume anaambia Raila na Kalonzo watoke nje wamenyane. Mimi nataka kumwambia ninaalika Uhuru Kenyatta na Mheshimiwa Ruto pale Uhuru Park bila askari na mimi na Orengo tutafireee (Crowd raises their fists in the air).
Nasa hao! Tukutane Uhuru Park tuwaonyeshe kilichomotoa kanga manyoya.
Kwani anaweza kutisha Raila na bhangi yake?

(This young boy because he grew up seeing the image of his father in money, and they have many acres of land we don't even know how much, now he comes and thinks he can threaten all of us. I want to tell him that even if you have stolen all the lands, even if money has the image of your father on it, young boy, I tell you, this country is not your mother's or your father's. *(Crowd roars).* Should I go on?
At 10 in the morning, he is drunk and has smoked the other thing. And he comes before Kenyans like he thinks we are a joke. You wanna hear some more? When he sees our army, the guns, the arsenal we have, he thinks they are his father's wealth. I have told Uhuru that he is not the same age as Raila. And if you want to fight, now that you see you are a man daring Raila and Kalonzo for a fight. I want to tell Uhuru Kenyatta that I have invited him and his deputy William Ruto for a fight at Uhuru Park, with no security at all. *Crowd raises their fists in the air).* Catch them! Let's meet at Uhuru Park we show them. He thinks he can threaten Raila with his bhang?)

MAURICE: Hassan Omar found himself on the wrong end of things with the fiery women of coastal politics, Aisha Jumwa and Mishi Mboko.

MISHI MBOKO: *Sasa Hassan Omar kazi zetu zote sisi kina mama. Na ukitaka kujua amechukua kazi hiyo, juzi alipokuwa na Uhuru, alishindwa kuongea, oh, Aisha Jumwa, Mishi Mboko. Njoo tukufundishe mirindimo uwe mwanamke kamili.*
Njoo tukupe rindimo uwe mwanamke kamilil.

Mombasa hi (Crowd: hi). Mombasa hoiyee (Crowd; Hoiyee). Sisi tunataka wanaume waliokazana kama Hassan Joho, Junet. Hao wote si wamekamilika? Lakini yule jamaa ni nini? Apeleke kistobe chake Jubilee. Apeleke kistobe chake Jubilee huko.

(We have decided as the women to focus on Omar Hassan because he has taken our jobs. And if you want to know that to be true, the other day when he was with Uhuru, he could not even talk. He kept saying oh Aisha Jumwa, oh Mishi Mboko. Come we teach you how to dance with you waist so that you now become a full woman. Mombasa hi (Crowd: hi). Mombasa hoiyee (Crowd; Hoiyee). We want hardened men like Hassan Joho, Junet. They're hardened enough right? But what about the other guy? Let him take his big ass to Jubilee.)

AISHA JUMWA: *Sasa mimi nataka niwaambie. Niliambia Uhuru Kenyatta juzi alikuwa hapa na team yake. Anasema eti ako na wapwani, sisi tuko na madondo. Alafu akachukua chukua akafikiri amewini. Kumbe zingine haziko. Na mwingine ni Hassan Sarai. Hassan Sarai akae kama mwanaume.*

(Let me tell you: I told Uhuru Kenyatta the other day when he was here with his team bragging that he has people from the Coast. But it's just hot air. Look at Hassan Sarai. Hassan Sarai should start looking like a man).

MAURICE: Gladys Wanga came up with a new term altogether, Murkomeno. As days went by, slogans came up day and night.

And the new slogan was No Reforms, No Elections.
(Crowd chanting No Reforms, No Elections).

MAURICE: After a while, Raila Odinga made another monumental decision, pulling out of the October 26th elections with the tagline: October No Elections.

RAILA: After deliberating on our positions in line of the upcoming elections, considering the interest of the people of Kenya, the region, and the world at large, we believe that all will be best served by NASA vacating its presidential candidature in the elections scheduled for 26th of October 2017.

RAILA: Today we are changing our clarion call. From NO Reforms, No Elections to October, No Elections. October? No Elections. October? No Elections.
October? No Elections. And we must agree on creating an enabling environment.

MAURICE: There you go. That is the end of Part Three of 2017, The Year That Was. Do join us for Part 4.

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PART FOUR

OPINION 2017 BANNER
People carrying Kakamega senator Boni Khalwale on the shoulders.
Man with plastic orange on his head.
Banner of Raila.
A burnt tyre in the middle of the road.
A flag similar to Kenya's.
Police car, people throwing stones.
A large crowd of people.
Mombasa governor Hassan Joho with the mic flanked by Aisha Jumwa.

Ford-Kenya leader Moses Wetang'ula.
Musalia Mudavadi.
Kalonzo Musyoka.
Raila after he was unveiled.
2017 The Year That Was . . .
[00:00:30.20]

MAURICE: Well, thank you for joining us. You are watching 2017, The Year That was.
In a rather unfortunate circumstances, Uhuru Kenyatta was declared president by Chebukati and his counterpart Chiloba Ezra and that decision was upheld by the Supreme Court and what followed were massive protests and massive police brutality.
Images of police with anti-riot gear, people throwing stones, gunshtos, police with horses, teargas, people lying on the ground, a man lying down as people wail. He is not moving.

MAURICE: Earlier in the year, days to the August 8 election, the IEBC ICT manager Chris Msando disappeared and was found murdered, murdered in the most brutal fashion.
Images of Chris Msando's mum crying, wailing for her son.
Woman: Why not sack him? Why? Why?
More people shown crying. Image of Chris Msando and a picture of his car, KCB 262 Q.
Peter Msando: Last Saturday, we were looking for this guy yet he'd already been killed on a Friday. The body was brought here on Saturday about 11 something in the morning and therefore what the police were saying about doing further investigations and creating a special squad was neither here nor there.

MAURICE: As Uhuru Kenyatta was being declared president, another baby was born, NRM. The National Resistance Movement with another tagline 'RESIST.' And particular companies' found themselves on the resist side of things.

MPS: Safaricom? Resist. Bidco? Resist. Brookside Dairies? Resist. Bidco Industires? Resist. Jubilee? Resist. Uhuru Kenyatta? Resist. William Ruto? Resist.

Raila: We are transforming the NASA coalition into the resistance movement. We will embark on a national campaign of defiance of legitimate governemnt authority and non-cooperation with all its organs.

MAURICE: Yes, Raila Odinga ported his line and many Kenyans in their thousands moved to a new home in terms of telecommunication namely Airtel and other service providers (Images of Raila and other NASA leaders during the switch are shown as Maurice speaks).
Raila Odinga returned from a three-week visit in the United States and the United Kingdom was dubbed the One Million man march to welcome the people's president and the police made sure his coming back was bloody.

Images of people singing as they kneel, stand up and Singing continues. Images of cars on a busy road with teargas.

MAURICE: Many were maimed and were killed on that fateful day, but the NASA leadership was unwavering.
Another meeting was set up for the Jacaranda Grounds on the same day that Uhuru Kenyatta was to be sworn in. Jacaranda Grounds was a no-go zone and this was another bloddy day that ended up with the death of a 7-year old boy, Geoffrey Mutinda.

Images of people demonstrating. Gunshots.

MAURICE: With several people dead, uncertainity reigned in Kenya. NASA chair of the technical committee and political strategist David Ndii was arrested on allegations of treason, being accused of dividing the country and promoting secession. He was arrested in a dramatic fashion in Mombasa, arraigned at the CID headquarters. He was finally let out with no chrages. (Images of Ndii at the police station).
Another slogan came up ' Wakiapisha, Tunaapisha.'

MUTHAMA: *Na Jubilee na kidomo domo chao wakijaribu kuapisha Uhuru na sisi tutaa . . .* (Shouting)

(Jubilee is making a lot of noise around here. If they attempt to swear in Uhuru, we will . . .)

MAURICE: This was one campaign season and one year that Kenyans will never forget. I leave with images of very interesting moments particularly when musicians entertained Kenyans. Helena Ken, Onyango Olembo with his hit song Tibim. Mishi Mboko that's why she is called Mishi Mboko. Nairobi Woman Rep Esther Passaris can have a jig too. Gladys Wanga was not left behind. Millie Odhiambo, her time to dance even between the demos. Kakamega senator, the bullfighther Dr Boni Khalwale, and the principals themselves, Baba and MaDvd, Kalonzo, and Wetaa, and finally the all-time hit song by Aisha Jumwa.

UHURU: *Watu waelewe kumeza mate sio kula nyuma. Kwa hivyo nyinyi endeleeni kumeza mate sisi tunakula nyuma.*
(People should know that salivating at the corner isn't eating the meat. So keep salivating as we eat the meat).

AISHA: Lazima tuwashinde hawa maanake wamepora vya kutosha. Walimu wanalia, madaktari wanalia, NYS wamekula, SGR wamekula, aah!

(We must defeat this government because they have stolen enough. The doctors are complaining, the teachers are complaining, they have looted NYS, they have looted SGR, aargh)

(Singing): Salama salama Jubilee Crowd: salama salama Jubilee times three

ADVERT: For inclusion and opportunity, vote for Raila Odinga. Pigia Baba kura. Mambo yabadilika.

MAURICE: Well, there you go. That was 2017 the year that was. We look up to 2018 as the year where we will witness the change we have all been waiting for led by one man, this one rare gem, Raila Amollo Odinga. Thank you for watching. Goodbye and God bless you.

LIVE COMMENTS IN FACEBOOK FEED

Wuod Nyachieng III · 0:32 R

Tina Love · 0:56 Secession or Democracy

Tina Love · 2:02 Tibiim

Donvan Muir · 2:23 bure kabisa!

Tina Love · 3:22 Raila my president period

Reen Nyamoita Omburo · 3:03 OK ok

Mohamed Yarrow · 4:12 OK OK Ralia

Washington Ondijo · 3:43 Tibiim

Son Jackson · 4:08 Tiibim

Evans Onwonga · 5:05 Tell us the trueth

Mohamed Yarrow · 6:17 NASA ok

Irene Ayub · 7:08 NASA Tibiim

Beatie Atie · 9:52 Tibim Baba Odinga & kalonzo

Washington Ondijo · 11:21 My president

Godfrey Nyadimo · 13:14 Raila shouldn't waste our time trying to negotiate anything with kiuks they will never allow any credible process in this country. Seccesion FULL STOP

Nick Odore · 10:32 Next prezida

Tina Tina · 15:01 we need jobs we got papers but nothing pls baba get us the chance

Cheraisi Samuel · 15:56 Raila says we want to unite people and advocates for seccession

Otieno Daniel · 18:05 Ndiyo baba

Tina Tina · 18:13 i have two orphans who might not go back to school due to lack of school fees pls NASA take over to see this kid's go through their education

Munga David · 18:32 Tibim

El Abdullahi Elhassan Elabdikadir · 24:46 Am fed up

Kassu Abuuaisha · 26:37 KABISA DUNIA ITAEBDELEA ...

Kassu Abuuaisha · 27:09 UHURU ANAENDELEA BAKINI NA VITANDAWILI

Jecque Awiti · 0:00 NASA!!!! Are you aware uhuru is still ruling?please do what is necessary coz we are fed up with this government..

Kassu Abuuaisha · 0:00 Kwisha nyie

TOp fan

Pendo Dalima · 4:02 Tibiim

💎**Top fan**

Pendo Dalima · 8:09 NASA tiibim

Abdul Mohemed · 7:43 Raila my resident

Isma Jam · 0:09 1

Isma Jam · 0:45

Mohamed Yarrow · 2:24 NASA RAILA OK

Nuuhu Kato · 3:59 Power

Ibra Wider · 5:30 Ndio baba

Isma Jam · 0:11 1

Ocom Al-sadiq · 1:19 Go on

Kind Rose Flower · 2:26 Canaan tunafika lini

Evarlyn Kavaya · 4:20 Canaan real

F Shish Kabibia · 9:37 When r we starting to remove uhuru?

Diminic Oyieke · 11:46 Tumaini inarudi

Hosea Rotich · 12:34 Kenyan 2017 political history.

Gulnar Khan · 12:41 Waiting

Decky Jude · 0:00 It's my prayer God is going to bless us with miracles get His excellency the rt. PM recover his stolen victory back early this month. What God can do no man can judge. Period.

Jessy J Cajes · 0:00 Nothing new, what happened na kuapisha?

Dolphine Onyuna · 8:23 Caanan tiibim

Abu Hasan Molla · 0:00 I think there's contradictory view between religion and science. I can explain it by the theory of science.

Damian Brown · 0:00 Always #Resist..

Odhiambo Eliud · 0:00 NASA was a mirage. utugo kodwa.

Beatrice Mulwa · 14:21 Okay

Tanaya Tash Phillips · 0:07 Mumeanza kuenda achieves

Kaka Saidi · 0:56 sawaa

Sir-Desmond DeDesmodiumda Ngwili GoodNews · 0:51 Happy New year

Emma Gee Oluoch · 0:58 When is the wearing in

Hilda Munyasa · 1:20 Tell us something sensible!!! Eishhh

Saratuki Sella Nakitang'a Oogst · 1:46Struggle continues

Saratuki Sella Nakitang'a Oogst · 1:57 Happy new year

Riek Machar · 2:39 #Resist

Meshack Mesh Kyalo · 2:34 Justice must be served

Fidelis Okeyo · 2:51 Whats. Rong

Nyar Alego Boro · 5:22 F

Mogoi Dan · 7:56 After all this shit.... They still want us to accept and move on!!!! NEVER!!!

Riek Machar · 8:33 Onyii Jalamo, not Onyango aLEMO bwana

John Ombati · 7:51 Wow

Babyloves Totoh · 2:12 Kenyaaa hii

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 5:15 Mmmmmmmh angoma timore koro to babauno noseweyo telo nkt

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 8:52 Not Onyango Alemo

Vive Kich Kore Tek · 10:31 Onyii jalamo

Maurice Nyongesa · 2:23 Happy new year NASA friends

Samson Buluma · 0:20 Haha

APPENDIX 7: OPINION 2018. FEBRUARY 19, 2018

01:25:25: The views and opinions expressed by the host do not necessarily state or reflect those of the National Super Alliance (NASA). Furthermore, the views and opinions of the guests do not necessarily reflect those of the host, the show or the National Super Alliance (NASA).

OPINION 2018 TAGLINE: Picture sequence: An old woman, dressed in Maasai regalia casting their ballot, a man in a demonstration with a lit fire behind him, NASA leader Raila Oddinga with a bundle of documents in a picture taken when the coalition filed a Supreme Court petition that overturned the August 8, 2017 presidential election results. People lining up to vote on voting day. Image of Kenya in white with the colours of the flag: red, green, and black splashed across it as if in paint.

Maurice: A very good afternoon and welcome to Opinion 2018. This is Monday the 19th of February 2018. And today we are having a look at Politics 101. And in the studio we have a guest, and what a guest! None other than Joseph Simekha, who is a social analyst, and is also a political governance trainer, a political analyst, and a popular face on television too breaking down these political issues. Simekha, karibu sana

Simekha: (Shaking hands) Ahsante sana

Maurice: Very good to see you sir amd karibu to NASA TV

Simekha: It's a pleasure, ahsante sana

Maurice: So on this day that His Excellency Raila Amollo Odinga has left for Zimbabwe to attend the burial of Morgan Tsvangirai. Well, Morgan Tsvangirai is a man who fought for the democratisation of Zimbabwe. It is unfortunate that he has died just when Mugabe has been ousted from power. We do pray that his soul rests in peace, and his efforts are not in vain. I mean, Tsvangirai gave his all

Simekha: Absolutely. I think it is, it should be a good sign for us, that some people have to begin to make some effort, and ultimately, they bear fruit. Because Tsvangirai began when it was unthinkable than anybody could oppose Mugabe.
Maurice: Yeah, it was unthinkable

Simekha: Absolutely unthinkable. You saw what he went through, the brutalisation and so on, but he stayed the course. He never at one point said let's stop and negotiate. He stayed the course and Zimbabwe, I believe, is changing. For us, I think it should be a lesson, we should reflect upon the death of Tsvangirai. It should be a reflection for us: What lessons do we learn from Zimbabwe and how can we use these lessons for this country?
Maurice: Something very interesting, the West had tried for a long time to kick Mugabe out. But when Zimbabweans decided, it was bloodless, it was effortless, and I know some people still do not believe Mugabe resigned.
You know some people argue that oh, it is the same system, Mnangagwa presided over the killings, and whatnot, but you know what? Any cracks, any change in the system is not in vain. That would not have happened, if not for the pressure from the Zimbabweans, as we said starting from Tsvangirai, MDC, and generally all Zimbabweans putting pressure on the military and the system until internally, they begin to eat themselves.
Grace Mugabe decides that even I can be president because she is worried that in the event the people push her husband out.

Maurice: So she would rather be the better option?

Simekha: Yes. So you cannot discount the role the Zimbabweans themselves played in assuring that there is some kind of change. and I believe that change has opened avenues

ADVERT: 04;55;03: Message of Support NASA TV comes on screen, with the Airtel Paybill Number 555155, with scrolling names of people and their contributions towards supporting the TV station.

Simekha: . . . The building, the stakes like the ones made in this country in 2002/2003, and particularly 2007/08, we allowed for the rebuilding of this autocracy and we are where we are. So there beautiful lessons to learn from Zimbabwe.

Maurice: Zimbabwe seems to have been a catalyst of sorts, of a chain reaction, now in Ethiopia, the prime minister has resigned, as well as in Togo. What is happening in Africa generally?

Simekha: I think this is good for us. I think this is the beginning of another wave of what happened in the 1990s when you remember what was then called wind of change, wind of second liberation in Africa. I think we are probably seeing another wave of Third Liberation in Africa as a direct consequence of the people's actions. Look, the people who are taking over, even in South Africa, Zuma, people pressure. It is not ANC that got him out of power. It is the pressure of the people of South Africa led by the opposition and they make it so precarious for ANC, just like in Zimbabwe which was also . . .

Maurice: So it was a case of survival for ANC?

Simekha: Absolutely. And that is good enough. That is good for the people. The moment you taste a success like that, you know that you can get more success. This wave we have seen in Ethiopia, one of the most brutal dictatorships in the continent

Maurice: That was quite a surprise

Simekha: Absolutely. A very effective, brutal machinery, military, intelligence, police, and so on, but a determined people, poor as they are, particularly the Oromos and the Tibeians, they just persisted, and look, casualty number one they have at the highest level.
Togo right now, you'll be surprised, one of the oldest brutal military dictatorships, the citizens are out on the streets almost on a daily basis.
They have been brutalised, killed, and son, but they are out there, and the race is beginning to shape. So this is good for us as Kenyans, who are feeling this oppression, and who are beginning to go against the government to fight for liberation. We just tell these guys: Give us liberty, or give us death.

Maurice: What should be going through the mind of those who occupy the seat of power in Kenya right now?

Simekha: They better know. I hope they are watching, that there are Kenyans, millions of them who will not give up. And you know you don't have to persuade 90, 80 per cent of the population. Barely five per cent is good enough of the population when it decides we are tired and stop this oppression. So I hope the leadership, the people who are oppressing us, I am addressing Jubilee specifically, are actually watching what is going on in this African continent, and knowing that we are preparing ourselves and that their fate will actually be the same.

Viewer's comments (08:13:48) Meanwhile, let me go through some quick comments.
If you are just joining us, we are here today with Joseph Simekha who is a political analyst and governance trainer, a popular face on television.
Mim Otieno is saying Vihiga's brand.

Simekha: Those are the people from my county.

Maurice: Yes. Philip Makini watching from CBD. True leader. Long live NASA.
Very well. Let's come back home. We are going to look at the state of the leadership. But before we get there, there was an incident on the weekend. Kithure Kindiki. I mean it's been all over the internet, It's been all over the news. He went in a chopper to build a school and pictures of him

participating to build a mud walled school. It is a stark contrast of exuberance of affluence on one end and extreme poverty on the other end by the same people and celebrations at the same time.

Simekha: That is what Jubilee represents. One couldn't have put it better. That was a beautiful representation of what Jubilee represents. That you have a small elite that have captured the state, that is making the state to do their advantage and they'll even operate and then they fly in, jet in like Superman to bring some 'maendeleo'. So they fly in like superman to bring development and this development is crap, it is mud. Is that mud, those mud-walled that you saw, that is the development they are telling us? And that we should accept, let us not talk about politics. Let us talk about development.

Maurice: Yes, that has been the narrative so far.

Simekha: That picture represented Jubilee so well and that is what they are trying to impose on the entire country when you see them jetting in helicopters, and bringing you mud, do not question how they arrived there, do not question how they got that helicopter. It is none of your business. Yeah, of course, because they are milking us dry and that is our resources.

Maurice: I doubt if the senator owns a helicopter. But let's assume he hired it. It cost maybe 200,000. to hire the chopper for the entire day. Let's attach other costs that are there. He probably spent half a million on that trip. That could have gone to better infrastructure.

Simekha: Even half of that. You can imagine if you gave that to a rural primary school half a million shillings. It could put up a classroom or two or three classrooms, using local raw materials and so on. Put up like two, three pummel classrooms. I say this based on my experience watching MPs working in Vihiga County. It is possible but they prefer to show that opulence, associate themselves with that opulence and leave the rest of us down, and say you wait, or cheer us on with it. And that is the thing we are refusing in this country.
For me, it was a magnificent depiction of what we must fight in Jubilee.

Maurice: It has reminded me of a time I went to a place called Barwessa in Baringo. It is one of the most inaccessible places I have been to in Kenya. It was difficult to believe that a man who comes from that place was president of Kenya for 24 years. What does that speak to this fact that Kenyans say that we are in government? Our man is in charge, what does that show for it?

Simekha: I am assuming you travelled to Baringo from Nairobi. You just need to go to a place called Gatundu in Kiambu. I am saying this because I have been. Look at the state of roads, find and actually see with squatters with your own eyes. See people with jiggers. But these are the people who will meet you and tell you that: "Serikali ni yetu." "The presidency is ours." I use these exampes deliberately to show that the fights we have in this country is not Kikuyu vs Luo. It is not Kenyatta vs Odinga. It is not Luhyia vs Kalenjin. No. It is oppressors vs the people. It does not matter where someone comes from. And I have said many times I come from Vihiga. And if, just for an example, Musalia Mudavadiw as president, and he was doing what Uhuru Kenyatta and Ruto are doing, I will fight his government in exactly the same way I am doing now.

So that is something people need to realise-- to disabuse themselves from this ethnic gang that is put on them, on their face, and then they accept anything, 'because it is ours'. People of Baringo went through that for 20 something years, people of Central, particularly Kiambu have gone through it from independence,and they are going through now.

Maurice: Why do they defend it?

Simekha: It is so difficult to understand that when you are kept in ignorance, and this I do not mean people who have not gone to school, meaning ignorance and their political decision making is just us vs them, that their thinking is mostly driven by emotion, and you are kept in that and you do not question, you do not examine your life, you do not examine the ideas you hold, you end up with that kind of situation. And there are millions of people in Kenya, unfortunately, who accepted that kind of thing.

Maurice: While you are at it, I just saw a story about issues of water in Murang'a. If you remember, about two years ago, His Excellency Raila Odinga raising the red flag over some

water project and he was labelled anti-development, and he was told to mind his own business. Now there is no water in Murang'a. And it is not supposed to be one of those places. It is supposed to be a catchment area.

Simekha: Exactly. Murang'a is not supposed to be water deficient, but because of that politics we are talking about here, they labelled Hon Raila Odinga, they insulted him. Same thing as it happened in the Mau. I am sure you will be seeing in the media streams of the river drying up, parts of the Mara. But those days they told Raila to shut up, saying that rain comes from up, not from trees.

Maurice: Not from trees. (Both laugh). 14:12:24. If you are just joining us, this is Opinion 2018.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

Comments: We need NASA way forward. The journey is not over.

Maurice: Okay, we will get into that.

Akinyi Amollo: I am so happy with that they started demos against foreign diplomats. I would like it to continue.

Titi Oyando: Choices have consequences. Murang'a people trek and terk for water

Comment: (In an accent) Laila will never be president.

Maurice: Oh oh. (Both laugh). You just didn't like that. That's what they used to say. Ah! Okay. Some part of that message is applicable but it goes to what you are saying, which paints a really bad picture about our political situation.

Let us go to another issue. Keter Alfred. He was arrested the other day. I think he has been charged in court today with 11 counts of trying to defraud the government, and others. I understand he has been released. On bail. The same Keter was hounded out of a parliament committee. And one is that he is supposed to be a Gideon Moi man, and the Ruto axis is saying that they are taking care of the Gideon Moi men. And I am thinking, if he is a Gideon Moi man, that should be a Uhuru man. It is a bit confusing.

Simekha: This is like the fight of the hyenas. When the fight starts, the hyenas do not discriminate between their children, and their sisters. It is just those you need to cut down to survive. The strategy is based on you cut down, and then you survive. So when we watch, that is the analogy that comes to mind. I love to watch it, wildlife documentaries. Sometimes they fight as a clan but then they sometimes turn within the clan and cut each other down for survival. That is what we are witnessing in Jubilee. Right now, it is about anyone who they perceive to train on the interests within that Jubilee, because you know they have a hierarchy even within that Jubilee. So even though yesterday you were fighting together, today if they perceive you to have trodden on their interests, they cut you down viciously. So you can imagine that attitude within their own coalition, and imagine how they would be towards other Kenyans, particularly us who are in NASA. **([00:17:34.02]**

Maurice: If that is one of their own . . .

Simekha: Absolutely. And I am saying it was unfortunate for Keter. Even let's imagine that actually he did what they are saying he did, there are much better ways, if you really are concerned about the rule of law. That is someone who should have been summoned to the police, write a statement, probably go with his lawyer, they process him and then they take him to court. But no, they must stage manage this. Make sure there are TV cameras there, make sure they humiliate him as much as possible.

Maurice: So that in the court of public opinion you are guilty.

Simekha: You are guilty and they cut you down. Again, unfortunate as it is, that is exactly what Jubilee is. I was in quote particularly impressed to see Kutuny and the MP for Moroto whose name I just forget . . .

Maurice: [00:18:33.07] No, he is the MP for Moiben Silas Tiren

Simekha: No there is another one as well, one of the MPs criticised Uhuru Kenyatta and really lament about Jubilee is being dictatorial and how a government cannot be just about projects but

how you treat people and I remember last year being on television and this guy was defending Uhuru to the point of being emotional, almost jumping at me. I actually want to have a chat with him again to tell him remember that day we were on NTV and you almost jumped at me? Because I would like to show what is wrong with Jubilee, what is wrong with Uhuru and Ruto, and now that it is pinching them, just a little, they can come out and lament in public? That is good for Kenya. It is unfortunate for Keter as an individual, it is bad for the rule of law, but actually on the flipside it is good for Kenya, it helps us to to expose what we are fighting,a nd what we are trying to expose in this country.

Maurice: BREAK: [00:19:40.10] Well, we want to go for a quick break. When we get back, we are going for people's voices. When we come back, this discussion continues with Joseph Simekha.

PEOPLE'S VOICES

[00:19:53.11]

Question: Whom do you recognise as President of Kenya?

William Ratemo, motorist: In my view as a Christian, I believe in three things: Right, Fair and Just. And according to me, I recognise Raila Odinga as president because accordign to the last election, there were no people in the polling stations compared to the previous election. This means that Raila Amollo Odinga was elected by the people in their majority. And based on the confusion going on now, it means that there must be something wrong concerning the elections. What I am advising Kenyans is to try as much as possible to be transparent, honest and fair. What is wrong with Kenyans is that we are not ready to accept the truth, and as long as that is true, we will always be in these problems.

Question: What do you think of foreign envoys?

[00:21:16.29]

Concerning the Americans telling us to debate and dialogue after the elections, this is quite impossible for something that is not right. For as much as Kenyans do not want to be right, fair and just, this cannot be rectified. And no, this is not the time for dialogue. Raila has been sworn in as president. So this is not the time for dialogue. If the Americans were at all for the dialogue,

I think this is the wrong time because Raila has decided, Uhuru has decided. They are both sworn in. They should speak of a referendum or a re-election again for the right person to be chosen for this time, I am not saying Uhuru is wrong. No. He is in this seat. What I am saying is for as much Kenya is to look for a solution, these three things must be there: Fair, right, and just.

Maurice: Once again, we want to thank you for joining us. This is Opinion 2018 and what a discussion we are having with Joseph Simekha who is a social policy analyst, a governance trainer and also a political analyst

VIEWER'S COMMENTS

[00:23:01.07]

Emmanuel following from Nandi, thank you very much.

Junior Omar watching from Abu Dhabi.

Fredrick you are saying we don't want dictatorship in our country. These people don't like the truth.

They are now harassing Alfred Keter because they don't like how he has exposed them for how they are wasting public resources. They are using the courts to intimidate Babu Owino as Embakasi MP. Lastly, they are plotting to remove Chief Justice David Maraga and replace him with Githu because he made directions that they must go home.

Maurice: Wow! These Kenyans. (Both laugh) Well, we were just winding up the Keter issue and let me draw your attention t a clip by James Aggrey Orengo, a statement he made last year in Parliament that governments eats one of their own.

CLIP COURTESY OF KTN JAN 5, 2017:

[00:23:56.17] to [00:24:52.12]

Maurice: Wow! James Aggrey Orengo. In another one year, you will be coming to my office crying that I represent you.

Simekha: Absolutely. Very prophetic words he was using in the Senate, actually advising Beth Mugo that even if it is your nephew or cousin, if he is dictatorial, in fact you are in the best

position to stop it,and tell him what you are doing stop. But if you don't, it will come back and bite you. That is what we are starting to witness when you see MPs from Jubilee, MP from Moroto, the one from Moiben, Kuttuny, and so on. Can you believe that is them standing and complaining and lament?

Maurice: Unbelievable! I could not believe that that was Joseph kutuny.

Simekha: Absolutely. It is just only beginning to scratch. It has not even gone anywhere near the brutality that has been meted on NASA supporters. And that is the general thing because those who were brutalised were not necessarily NASA supporters. They are just Kenyans.

Maurice: We have a young boy called Geoffrey Mutinda shot from the balcony of their house

Simekha: Precisely. Baby Pendo who knew nothing about NASA, Jubilee and whatnot and many others. They have not gone to that level with their supporters, but that is the nature of autocracies. They are like hyenas, they will eat each other up, but then the people must demonstrate because they have been shown, like we said when we discussed about Africa, when you have people who refuse to be lampooned and be told that this fight is about this individual or the other or this community and the other. But when people realise this is a fight about their own liberty and human dignity, then they join the fight.
So I encourage people to pull a wall over your face when they tell you it is Raila vs Uhuru, or Kikuyu versus Luo. Please refuse refuse that thing completely. Because if Raila Odinga wanted to stop this and leave a comfortable life, he can do it. He doesn't need to fight.

Maurice: True.

Simekha: He doesn't need to fight. He is not fighting for himself. He is providing leadership for those people who are complaining, including Kuttuny, to join this fight and stop the establishment of an autocracy in this country.

Maurice: But what is disturbing me is the dissonance. I mean, did it have to get to one of their own? I mean, we had children like you rightly said, Baby Pendo. Nobody raised their voice about from those who were directly affected and it does not have to get to you for you to say this is wrong. If this did not happen, Kuttuny would still be quiet?

Simekha: Yes, I won't be surprised. And you know they fell into the strategies of autocrats and dictators the world over, they divide society because they can't deal with society as a whole. So eitehr you are Luo, Luhyia, Kamba or whatnot, if not, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhists, if not, educated, not edcuated, if not, rural, urban. They will always find something. Even when they come to the same ethnic community, they will find something to use and they will say those ones of the lower region verus these ones, or River Chania, or those ones from . . .

Maurice: That is Mt Kenya. Central Nyanza, South Nyanza.

Simekha: Absolutely. Autocrats will always find something to use to divide people and especially those people in the immediate nature. Their benefits are very shallow but the immediate: positions, money and so on, they fall into this trip, and they think, 'Well, it is time to eat. Why should we destabilise this when we are eating?'. That's why the advisors just keep calm, let's keep the peace so that they can eat in peace. My political philosophy is that for as long as there is no justice, you must make sure that there is no peace.

Maurice: For as long as there is (Both speaking) [00:29:12.13] no justice.

Simekha: In fact, we have a duty to be as disruptive as possible. And that justice is not just for you. For as long there is no justice, say for Baby Pendo, there must never be any peace for anyone especially those who are responsible for public authority.
Those who are in charge of public authority, whether they are there legitimately or not, [00:29:31.23], but for the time being they are, we must be as disruptive as possible so that they must listen, we stop and dialogue as Kenyans and force change- progressive and positive change.

Maurice: Someone is saying that these arrests appear to be happening on Friday

Simekha: Yes, it is deliberate.

Maurice: So MPs in some list somewhere, wanted list, maybe need to go incommunicado on Fridays

Simekha: It is common when they want to use, unfortunately, you know, these are institutions of state which are supposed to serve all of us equally. The police is an important institution of state, but they have captured it and have really destroyed the Police Service. So now it is used as an instrument to punish people and since they know that there are still a few brave judges and magistrates who will stop in their tracks because of that rule that 24 hours you must be taken to court after arrest, they use Friday because they can always use the excuse that courts are not working on Saturday and Sunday. And by the way, if it is something so critical, believe you me, there is nothing that stops the prosecution that is the police and Director of Public Prosecutions Office, from requesting the Judiciary to have a court sitting on Saturday.

Maurice: That was a discussion we brought before, and maybe by our legislators. Maybe we need to just have our courts work throughput then these basic rights are not infringed.

Simekha: But we have seen them work before, haven't we? We have seen courts work even up to midnight during elections disputes and so on. We have seen courts work on Saturday. I remember immediate former Chief Justice Willy Mutunga saying that there is no law that stops from working on Saturdays and Sundays.

Maurice: If that matter is urgent.

Simekha: Exactly. If that matter is very critical then a court of law, the Judiciary can be requested, the Chief Justice can be requested, and they put up a court on a Saturday morning for example to listen to an extremely critical matter which cannot wait until Monday.

Maurice: Because it appears these Friday cases are to do with politicians.

Simekha: Yes, this is deliberate. It is meant to punish people politically. This is political thuggery really. Police are just being used to harass people. And it is not like we are making this up. Boinnett, the Inspector General of Police, said this himself, he called them rogue leaders that they will continue to go for and against rogue leaders. What does he use to define and determine rogue leaders?
Do the police have something, some manual that they look at and say and say, 'Mbaggy, you are a rogue leader, we will come for you.'.
(Both laugh)

Maurice: Well, we are hearing terms like orders from above so maybe it is above that determines so and so is rogue. So unfortunate.

Simekha: Yeah, unfortunately.

VIEWER'S COMMENTS
[00:32:33.07]
Bob Ondieki, you are watching from the USA
There is a host of team watching from the United Kingdom. Thank you.
Julius Randich watching from Australia. Keep up the fight, Simekha.

Maurice: Well, let's get to another point of our discussion. CJ Maraga. Lawyers made it clear during their match, their yellow ribbon match, to protest the disobedience of court orders by the Executive that CJ Maraga is a target. At the same time, Githu Muigai did resign as the A.G. There is information that he is being propped up to replace Maraga as Chief Justice. There are changes in the JSC. Where do you see this going?
[00:33:16.14]

Simekha: Let me first of all start by saying chairman of Lawyers Society of Kenya in Nyeri who refused to participate in this . .

Maurice: Oh, they refused?

Simekha: Yes, it was all over the news that they refused in the LSK-sanctioned protests saying it is just NASA politics. But look, disobedience of a court order is disobedience of a court order whether it is by a NASA person or a Jubilee person or a Thirdway Alliance Person, it is disobedience of court orders. But now, what they need to look at is that it's worse when done by someone in a position of power, a government authority, state officer or public office is different. You cannot compare a state officer or public officer with people like ourselves who are private citizens whom when we disobey, the police can come for you anytime, anywhere and make sure you are punished for that. So, shame on those lawyers

Maurice: That's really unfair

Simekha: They are the ones who turned this into very petty politics when this is really just about the rule of law.
Now, coming to what you are saying, I am of the same view. [00:34:23.01]
There was a promise that we will revisit.

Maurice: Yo, yo. We will revisit.

Simekha: There was a promise, actually a very chilling warning that we must revisit when the Supreme Court had just made a decision, in my opinion, based on merit of the petition and they made the decision that this cannot stand for an election. I believe the revisiting is now happening, this re-arrangement so that they can get a pliant chief justice, and pliant judges who can fit into their schemes. Judges who can convenes panels at night. Those are the people they are looking for. Look who they are proposing to be Attorney General. Someone who is facing a live case going on just now at the Judicial Service Commission.

The case is filed by Apollo Mboya against Justice, what is his name? Kihara. For what he did on the 25th of October.

Maybe you can just refresh the memory of our viewers around that. [00:35:28.19] case

There was a case. A petition filed by NASA, actually this was prosecuted by Willis Otieno if I remember well. It was to do with the manner in which IEBCs had appointed returning officers and presiding officers.

Justice Odunga, and this was on the 25th of October, I believe, found that it had been illegal, irregular, unprocedural. So all the returning officers we had, all the presiding officers IEBC had that were purporting to be there to conduct the so called 26th of October elections, their appointments were null and void.As decided by the High Court

Maurice: On the 25th

Simekha: On the 25th. On the 24th, sorry. The 25th which was the next day happened to have been a public holiday. And on that 25th when no court of law could sit without the express authority of the Chief Justice, in the night, well after 8pm, supposedly the Court of Appeal sits, a panel of Court of Appeal put together, empanelled by Justice Kihara who was based in Nairobi, but ironically, very curiously, picking another judge from Kisumu, another one I think from Malindi, and yet we have Court of Appeal judges in Nairobi, apparently they form a panel, a Bench, and they apparently consider that matter

Maurice: At night

Simekha: At night. And they give orders suspending Justice Odunga's declaration in courts that the appointments were null and void. Now that is the man whom Uhuru Kenyatta is saying should be the next Attorney General and therefore he becomes automatically a member of the Judicial Service Commission. There is a matter currently in which the JSC found that there is merit in those accusations. The case was filed by Counsel Apollo Mboya. The JSC found that there was merit, so they formed a committee to investigate further.

Maurice: To investigate further

Simekha: And delve now into that matter so that Justice Kihara and whoever else can come and defend themselves. That man has been picked now to become Attorney General and given what we've seen, before you go for that charade called vetting, the names have already passed. So you can take this to the bank, he will be Attorney General that is until the time we remove these people from power.
He becomes a member of the Judicial Service Commission. Of course his matter dies there and any other matter they are not happy with.

Maurice: And what happens to Maraga then?

Simekha: we do not know. We can only speculate based on what we heard about revisiting and so on.
Once they have a majority in the JSC, it is not difficult to bring a case. You have the MP for Nyeri Town, Wambugu Ngunjiri saying where is my petition, the one I brought before the JSC to remove Maraga? Any such thing can be revived or a new one can be brought and once you have a controlling majority as they do regardless of how they get there in Parliament, Jubilee, the government will get whatever it wants.
You have seen them have the audacity to address the Chief Justice in such an insulting manner. Look at the . . . Even if you disagree, as ordinary human beings, regardless of our status in society, we would disagree with decisions of the court. It will happen. But look at the arrogance. The political arrogance

Maurice: The Tuju letter. it was a dress down

Simekha: To have this man dress the Chief Justice down like that. You know, it is part of their revisiting that they promised.

Maurice: And you know, this is just the SG of a party

Simekha: But you know when he speaks like that in that letter, he is not just him speaking. He is speaking on behalf of those represents. Those on whose behalf he leads that party. He was put

there by someone or by some people. Those are the people he represents when he pens those kinds of letters to the Chief Justice. And follows them up unfortunately with very arrogant media interviews justifying that letter and the contents and tone of it. We must brace ourselves that this is the revisiting they talked about.
This is part of the war that we are faced with. This war is forced on us. We didn't choose it. People tell us, oh, 'just accept and move on'. No, we didn't choose it.

Maurice: And you've heard people have been flying around our faces saying, 'oh, move on. Our people are in government. For about six months, there was only half the Cabinet in place

Simekha: Because they thought that some of us in NASA will ply and accept that kind of scam. I think if you have watched carefully the political the political scene, power has shifted from the leaders who would very easily sometimes cut deals, to the people.
Maurice: It has shifted from leaders?

Simekha: To the people. And moreso, in NASA in fact, in our coalition, it is extremely difficult for any leader to say, okay, let's cut deals. [00:40:45.21] Give us half the Cabinet or anything. I don't even think they will be able to go back to their home. (Both laugh)

Maurice: Simekha, you are saying some very controversial things

Simekha: Coz this is true. It is true.

Maurice: Are you saying there are some leaders in NASA who are out of touch with their base or their bases?

Simekha: Generally it happens. In the politics of this side of the world, it happens that you get a mix of leaders. You get leaders who are so committed and determined to fight for the liberation of their country for the good of the people, but you also get leaders who are there for their own personal interests. And we are part of this society as NASA. No surprises when you find that some of our leaders who disappoint us now and then. But now I am saying we do not have to

worry anymore because a majority of the citizens will take up the stick themselves and whip these people

Maurice: Wow! **[00:41:41.09]** Well, if you are just joining us, this is Opinion 2018. We are in the studio with Joseph Simekha who is a social policy analyst, a governance trainer, and a political analyst. We are at the tail end of the show, I am just doing quick comments and then we will wrap up

VIEWER'S COMMENTS [00:41:55.02]
Mohamed Zubedi watching from Canaan part of Kenya
Johanes Mugabe watching from Canada where Kenyans are deported
(Both laugh)

Maurice: Well, your final comments as you touch on the foreign envoys issue. I mean, i did not realise we are so pressed for time. Your final comments as you touch on the foreign envoys issue.

Simekha: These foreign envoys, Godec and the others. Again, these are people that must be resisted. They don't necessarily by the way represent the interests of all America, the UK, and so on, no. They also represent partisan interests which have coincided with local interests here and is normally about commercial interests, our resources, opportunities to make money, rent seeking, to exploit us and so on. For as long as there is a party that is willing to go in bed with them, to be a part of them to exploit us, they band with them. But let's not mistake that that's what represents America.

Maurice: Okay, so that is not the official policy of the United States?

Simekha: No, there are other voices in the US, there are other voices in the UK who will think completely differently. That is why we need to isolate these envoys and alert the young people, and even the old people like myself who have protested against what these people are doing. We

must expose them for what they are. We must remind them that this is our country, and we make decisions for ourselves.

My very last comments is that how do people perceive this war. And for me it is a war. People must not perceive this war in a very narrow lens.

[00:43:26.05]

For me, it is liberty versus slavery, enslavement.

It is a free society versus dictatorship.

It is either we all develop together or we have an elite group that jets in helicopters and brings you mud and calls it development.

People must not accept that. We must insist that whatever the cost, we will fight for liberty so that our development, human development is about all of us developing.

Maurice: It is collective.

Simekha: It is collective. It is not Superman bringing in mud, and telling you, okay I have brought you your classroom. The word I was struggling to find is dignity. So that we develop together in dignity.

You enjoy your dignity, I enjoy mine as equals.

That is what we must fight for and what is how we must see this fight.

Maurice: Very well. Thank you very much Joseph Simekha. (They shake hands). Social policy analyst, a governance trainer. Well, it's been a discussion and a half. I hope we can do it again next Monday.

There is [00:44:27.14] demand that we make Joseph Simekha our resident analyst.

Well, who am I to refuse? Well, thank you for watching. This is Opinion 2018 and goodbye.

[00:44:35.06]

PEOPLE'S VOICES

QUESTION[00:45:21.12] : Whom do you recognise as the president of Kenya?

Kanduwa Anthony, Mechanic: To be honest with you, Raila is my president. Yes. Because he won the August 8 General Election and that is what we stand by, that is what we know as far as our our concerns are.

QUESTION: What do you think of the foreign envoys?
Anthony: Whatever it is, whether they are ambassadors or not, Raila has is the best for us. Because those envoys they could not intervene for the August 8, last year's General Election. They were not there. We needed their help. It is now too late. And our president has been sworn in, and that is what we stand by.

QUESTION: What is your message to Raila Odinga and other Kenyans?

ANTHONY: Raila should soldier on. He should parade his ministers, the envoys. We are looking forward to see him working. As the president of Kenya, taking office.
The government has the machines, the government in place that is not eligible, even if Raila is arrested today, he will still remain to represent us as our head of state.

[00:46:55.19] OPINION 2018 Banner

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Timothy Munene · 0:09 1
Arnest John · 0:14 1
Ogero Mokaya · 0:16 2
Felix Okoth · 0:19 3
MO SE · 0:23 Zimbabwe ama
Nyamwesh Nyam Ntabo · 0:25 Ee
Wuod Aggy · 0:38 Aluta continua
Elijah Mazacar Nyoli Jr. · 0:29 Locked
Samira Eshiemi Samira · 0:49 5

Yvette Razzolla · 0:49 6

MO SE · 0:59 Take us to zimbabwe

Chwanya Dan · 1:06 So ....go ahead

Michael Wadhare · 1:06 Watching

Paul Da Blue Tole · 1:14 tunaenda canaan lini

George Herman · 1:26 Niko ndani

Geoffrey Mose · 1:07 Watching

Jojes Currently Mjamaa · 0:55 Locked

Reen Nyamoita Omburo · 1:42 Niko ndani sema yote

George Odhiambo · 1:52 watching

MO SE · 2:05 Sound

Henry Njagi · 2:04 Wheb

Victor Gayah · 2:48 nasa NRM Member

Washington Moi · 2:57 Watching from Jordan

Mike TJ Omeri · 3:08 watching

Farouq Owuor · 3:13 Sound is byad

Hashmax Kasweswe · 3:14 Following

George Ndege · 3:28 Mdomo Baggy !! since ajoin Hii ODM ameendelea sana

Sammy Kachungo · 3:40 Tell kalonzo musyoka,,,,,,,,,, Owen biedo nwa

Olale Marcelo · 3:52 Nrm member

Ephraim Ochieng · 3:00 Watching from cosy garden guest house kisumu

Japeth Ekidor Maestro · 4:11 Tell Kalonzo to be sworn in.Nkt!

Timothy Makili · 4:37 watching from c bd

Shilwatso Mod · 4:35 True Leader long live Nasa

Maureen Atichi · 5:24 Vihiga's brand!

Arone Okal · 5:52 Watching from cbd

Enock Ogwora · 7:01 Watching

Mutua M. Mwengi · 8:07 Watching from Birmingham, England, U. K.!

Kepha Nchore · 8:24 Jubillee will fall

Omari Don · 8:59 Don omari from machakos .....nasa tibim

Akinyi Amollo · 9:19 Watching from New Jersey

Kevin Tendwa · 8:59 Baggy hi

Kevin Tendwa · 9:53 From cargen house cbd

Carolyne Joan Amimo · 10:28 Watching from Denmark. Go go go Kenyans don't give up resist

Terry Buvi · 10:57 Watching live from UK

Dutch Humphriz · 11:17 Watching from Riruta satellite

Micah Mabeya · 11:46 watching from Ngong Road

Timothy Makili · 12:02 I like the talk ..But tell Nasa principals to break the silence we need the way foward the journey is not yet over

Peter Ochieng · 12:21 Resist

Akinyi Amollo · 13:06 I am so happy with what they started, demos against the foreign diplomats, i would like it to continue.

Opiyo Justus · 13:55 very forcussing talks

Justus Shalom · 13:57 Following keenly

Stephen Sande · 15:33 Baba akisema sijui kupinga yeye

Connie Sigei · 17:51 What you plant is what you reap watching from Bomet

Emmanuel Greenhouse · 18:11 Following from Nandi

Titti Oyando · 18:46 The ROUGE regime is now eating it's own children..How ironic?

Jess Anyango · 18:59 Whatching from nrb

Oumar Evans · 19:03 Watching from Abu Dhabi

Fredrick Meja Jenerali · 20:09 We don want dictatorship in our country. This pple don like truth. They are now frustrating Alfred Keter because he don like how they are wasting public resources, they are using courts to implicate Babu Owino's win as Embakasi M.P is ilegitimate, lastly they are plotting to remove Chief Justice Maraga and replace him with Githu simply because he nullified the elections. They must go home!

Stephen Sande · 20:30 Tumbilee are economic BANDITS wezi tupu riswaaa!!!!

Phi Auta · 21:56 The case of keter senior council Hon James orengo told them. It as reached the time the government as started eating there own.

Akinyi Amollo · 23:03 The road to Canaan I can see is still getting more and more smoother, let Baba not give up please

Kepha Nchore · 23:13 Watching from London

Lavender Achieng Onyango · 23:55 Laila □go Lear how to call baba .Puga

Richard Ouma · 24:37 We want to know how is Babu's case of recount

Jerono Chebo Kipsach Ingor · 29:37 Ndio

Akinyi Amollo · 30:03 Raila is fighting for the good of us and the Kenyans well being and yet autocorrects do want to eat from the people despite which tribe.

Bob Ondiek · 30:02 Watching from usus

Fredrick Meja Jenerali · 29:49 The so called despots are now panicking

Kennedy Odhiambo Ayuka · 30:42 Watching

Augustine Muia · 31:31 Watching

Ramadhan Maende Siebera · 32:50 Following from muscat oman

Abdul Ole Dere · 33:10 Watching from somalia



Pevans Jaramba · 33:29 Watching from Milan Italy

Evans Livanze · 35:04 Watching

Manywele De Mirina · 35:49 Watching from CANADA

Kollo Muganda · 36:17 Collo Mbuyu Mugandawatching from Kisumo

Samuel Dodge · 36:26 Watching from Australia

Tina Love · 37:11 Secession now man

Johness Magabe · 37:50 Watching from Canada where kenyans are deported

Mohammed A Zubeidi · 39:29 Watching from Canaan part of Kenya..

Rouze Dee · 40:03 Tuju is an embarrassment to society ..they r using him for stupidity

Frank Oyoo · 41:12 Mwalimu Mutemi Wa Kiama Jaramogi Shakhalanga Garang

Don Carlos · 41:47 Watching from canada

Mahamud Idiris · 42:06 Watching from G S A

Johnty Ekiru · 41:52 Watching from Nairobi

Rispah Oduwo · 42:09 Watching with much love from Nairobi.

Athman Muhammed · 42:21 Watching from kakamega

Titti Oyando · 42:25 Godec and his UK/EU cohorts are the Economic Hit-men! They destroy many cultures as they race toward greater domination, but they forget that, no country can thrive in the long term by exploiting it's people! Demonstrations should be heightened to drive them out of our country!

Akinyi Amollo · 42:41 I love the talk, keep it up.

Joshua Ogwagwa · 42:56 Jos watching From New England

Athman Muhammed · 43:19 Watching from kakamega

Akinyi Amollo · 44:23 That's right we must demonstrate against the tumbocrats diplomats

Japeth Ekidor Maestro · 44:26 Godec should be told openly. Dictatorship can't bring liberty and sanity in this country. We are supper as the owners of the land.

Achie Paula · 45:48 Yep Diaspora represented

Johness Magabe · 0:00 Is the channel regustered?let the jubilee regime not joke with NASA Tv...we wil skin them a live

Caroline Noonaishi Chemayiek · 0:00 Present

Cyprian Lukol · 0:00 Which from TZ

John Osumba · 8:32 Jubilee must fall.

Mwende F Mutambuki · 0:22 Oops missed this!

Fredrick King Okero · 0:00 Our president to apoint cabinet, show us the white house of H.E. Raila, call mass action we storm statehouse Nairobi. we want is justice&democrancy not killers &thieves in this land.

Meydin K Updullaxi · 10:59 Watching from Mombasa

Hashmax Kasweswe · 0:00 Mass action Mara that that

Titti Oyando · 14:06 Choices have consequences!!! Murang'a people, trek trek trek for water. Laira wiro nefa be plesident. Let your gods flash their toilets with your water!!

Shita Oab · 0:20 Listen UP!!!!! Urgent!!! Nasalites.. Jubilee Blogger Robert Alai is now Spreading rumours on all other Blogs that H.E President Raila Deported Miguna..Miguna... this is a blatant lie, and Robert Alai should not be allowed to weasel his way out of it!! Let him show Kenyans the proof or else face the consequencies from Nasalites.. this arrogant and ignorant jubilee Paid for Blogger is crossing the line abusing the Peoples President.. 😂😂did you see him being pinned on the badge of Honour by the Illegitimate duo looking like a .....!!!! I rest my case :) Robert Alai has the Blood of the 100s of Innocent Kenyans killed after August 8th 2017 elections by the fact he is in support of the rogue regime tha committed such henious crimes using Rogue cops and Mungiki Murderous Business community, When they finally come for him like they Did with Chris Msando.. Nobody will be around to stand up for these arrogant

excuse of a human being..... He will only be remembered as the Tumbocrate that drank too much free cool Aid offered by Jubilee illegitimate Duo.. God won't let him get away with the blood on his hands .. Bure Kabisa.... yeye....

Edward Omungu · 0:00 Our NASA leaders have failed us,wait for 2022!!!what is the effective swearing in of our président Raila???

Shita Oab · 0:02 Go peddle your igorance else where .. you sound like a Jubliee bot send here to peddle lies.. H.E Presidnet Raila Odinga clearly stated in order to be within the constitution the Nasa principals have to do things within the law.. He was legitimatly sworn in because he won the August 8th 2017 elections, if anyone in Kenya deems his swearing in unconstitutional then all they have to do is to OPEN THE DAMN SERVERS for the people of kenya to see for themselves who won the 8th August elections.. Nasa is working carefully to avoid more unnecessay blood shade.. all Nasalites understand what is being worked on by the Principals.. only Jubilee bots are confused about this process.. either you follow what our leaders are advising in regards to the way forward to Cannan or you are a Jubilee bot.. peddling falsehood on here...

Revseth Ochieng Oriri · 16:54 Please , fow how long are we going to wait for Raila to apoint his cabinate?

Shita Oab · 0:02 Nothing rushed gets a good outcome, slow and sure is the Nasa Motto... Cannan is finally here :)

Alphonce Oroma · 33:46 Watching from Kampala

APPENDIX 8: OPINION 2018. MARCH 8, 2018

Maurice Ochieng: Very well if you're just joining us, this is Opinion 2018, and we are now joined by Homa Bay Woman Representative, the Iron Lady, Gladys Wanga live from Mombasa. Mheshimiwa Gladys Wanga, how are you?

Gladys: I am fine, Maurice, I am fine.

Maurice: It is very good to hear from you, and thank you for speaking to NASA TV

Gladys: It's really my pleasure

Maurice: Today is the International Women's Day. And we do celebrate you as one of those women who are in the frontline of fighting not only for women's rights, but women in general.

Gladys: Thank you

Maurice: Just to get into it, how significant is the International Women's Day for you?

Gladys: The International Women's Day is really a very, very important day in the calendar of the women and country in general because it is the day we take our time and bring global attention to the matter of gender parity. And this year the theme for International Women's Day couldn't be more appropriate, Press for Progress. We are really looking at how much we have done so far, but I am sure however much we have done is not enough, so we are pressing for progress into the future

Maurice: Very well, Pressing for Progress into the future. Taking you back a bit, how has your journey been, perhaps in summary, how is your journey so far in office and your current political status, how has the experience been?

Gladys: I think the journey is very challenging as you know for women and for me particularly, I hold an affirmative action position. I am grateful to the women who fought to create more space for women so we have the County Women Representative seat, which I hold. But even in holding this seat, I have fought many other battles, for example the chairperson of ODM in Homa Bay County. And that was not easy.

Maurice: That was bruising

Gladys: There is a lot of discrimination, chauvinism that comes into display. And I saw a lot of chauvinism face to face you don't really belong to Homa Bay, go back to Kisumu. And if I had gone to Kisumu, they would have told me, you don't belong here, we have given you to Kisumu. And if I did not have anywhere to go, then I'll just be in the middle there. So those are some of the issues women have to deal with on a day to day basis. You being your own, going to another place, and competing with people for political space. It is not easy. We witnessed a lot of violence.

But I really would want to thank our president and our party leader His Excellency Raila Amollo Odinga for really putting his feet down for women. I think he has put his foot down, he has said over and over again that women must have their space, and people like myself are really the products of his goodwill and his strong conviction that women must have their space.

In Homa Bay County for example, we have met the two-thirds gender rule as a county because we have three out of the eight MPs are women. Dr Eve Obara of Kabondo Kasipul, Dr Lilian Gogo of Rangwe, and Hon Millie Odhiambo of Mbita, and including me, we are now four. I think that is really no mean achievement, coming from a point where we had only one elected woman MP from ODM to six now, and three actually come from Homa Bay in addition to Hon Mishi Mboko of Likoni, and Hon Aisha Jumwa of Malindi.

Maurice: Very well put. If I come back to you, Mheshimiwa, you recently had an experience that was not pleasant, when you were hounded out of the Parliamentary Service Commission. In terms of unity of purpose, we did not see, or perhaps it was not reported, we did not see women coalesce around you during this trying time. Is there unity of purpose in terms of women parliamentarians at this time?

Gladys: I think probably it wasn't reported, but the women in NASA were very firm. They were very very firm on position and support of myself and every other difference was put aside, and every other woman came together to support my candidature for the PSC. As you know the forces that were really coming together to oppose my selection to the Parliamentary Service Commission were much greater, because you had none other than Uhuru Kenyatta sitting with his MPs and telling them to oppose Wanga.

Maurice: So you were singled out specifically by Jubilee?

Gladys: Yes. And I was really paying the price for my steadfast position in the struggle, my bravery and courage in telling off Jubilee, and telling it as it is really. That is what brought me to that position. But I have no regrets. Aluta continua! The struggle really continues. And there are casualties in the struggle and we have to take this in our stride.

Maurice: Very well. Lastly, Mheshimiwa, moving forward, what does the future of women look in the Kenya political space? We now have two governors.

Gladys: We have three.

Maurice: Three actually. Do you see these numbers increasing? Do you see women getting more space in our political environment?

Gladys: Definitely. I think the first thing is the law, the two-thirds gender law, and this has already been brought to Parliament for first reading, a constitutional amendment to look at how to increase the numbers of women in the National Assembly and the Senate because we are not at the constitutional threshold. So we are going to be asking everybody to support it, and our

point, really, is that two-thirds is not really about women. It is a constitutional issue. It must be adhered to by every person who has sworn to protect the Constitution.

In terms of the question you asked around whether we'll see women rising, definitely. Now we have three women governors, three women senators, and we are looking at in the future having many, many more. We are not looking at that number going lower, we are looking at it going higher, and we have women who have the capacity to sit in those positions.

And I think we will be encouraging people to really move to these positions so that women are seen to be taking their rightful place in the management of our national issues.

Ends . .

Music plays, pictures of women in Maasai dressing, and one of Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai before a last picture with the words Happy International Women's Day.

FACEBOOK COMMENTS

Abeid Karama Hongera Mama Aisha na Mishi Mboko.

Hellobi Obi Love happy Women's day

Mariam Ashisinde Safi (Gif of ‘Never forget how special you are”).

Juliana Oloo Happy women's day mheshimiwa.

Albert Lemein Congratulations happy woman day Hon