Pulse Report

Biweekly overview of information manipulation & interference in Kenya

*This **PULSE Report** is a biweekly analysis of coordinated online hate speech, cyberbullying and trolling, information manipulation, and other online harms, as well as the deliberate abuse of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies to target vulnerable communities or subvert public discourse in Kenya. It also identifies weaponised narratives and the key actors undermining Kenya's information integrity. It analyses the tactics or techniques used to subvert or polarise local audiences.*

1.   Executive summary

This report provides an overview of Kenya's recent political and social developments, highlighting key incidents shaping the country's socio-political climate. It examines the resurgence of political tensions surrounding the former leader of the Mungiki gang, Maina Njenga, whose perceived alignment with president William Ruto has sparked concerns about the group's renewed influence in the Mt. Kenya region. Additionally, the abduction of Tanzanian activist Maria Sarungi Tsehai in Nairobi has raised questions about the safety of foreign dissidents in Kenya.

The report also explores broader political dynamics, including tensions among Somali leaders, allegations of marginalisation, and the public backlash against Ruto's comments on the use of AI-generated images to bash politicians. At the county level, the report covers incidents such as the crackdown on the Panga Boys gang in Mombasa and the arrest of nurse Grace Njoki Mulei following a healthcare protest in the Ministry of Health offices in Nairobi.

Notable narratives
A narrative is a technique for presenting or understanding a situation or series of events promoting a particular viewpoint. Information manipulators develop 'persistent' narratives that play on emotions, fears, or pre-existing beliefs to inject an ideological spin on the facts, manipulate public perceptions, and exploit cognitive biases that shape public opinion.

1. **Mungiki is back and supports Ruto's administration**: From December 2024 to January 2025, Njenga's support for Ruto and his disruptive actions sparked concerns about the Mungiki militia's resurgence in Mt. Kenya. Social media discussions raised fears of political manipulation and regional instability.
2. **Safety and rights of asylum seekers under threat in Kenya:** Sarungi's abduction in Nairobi ignited outrage. This incident adds to a pattern of political abductions involving asylum seekers, fuelling fears of increasing hostility towards those critical of political regimes.
3. **Rising anti-Somali rhetoric**: Accusations against Somali leaders and business elites have driven rising anti-Somali rhetoric in Kenya. Public service cabinet secretary Justin Muturi's claim linking Somali intelligence officials to his son's abduction sparked ethnic tensions, with some framing Muturi's criticism as anti-Somali. Additionally, a campaign against Somali business elites accused them of exploiting the economy, leading to calls for boycotts against their businesses.

4. **Ruto's government is hostile to dissenters:** Images of Ruto and other leaders in coffins circulated online, amplifying frustration with his administration. Ruto's warning about using these images sparked widespread backlash, with many interpreting it as a threat to kill those who create such images.

Key actors
An actor is a person, group, company, or nation-state that acts with deliberate purpose. Information manipulators are considered bad actors who purposely and repeatedly engage in manipulative or disruptive behaviour, which is usually to radicalise, polarise, or subvert the public.

1. **Individual actors:** These actors spread disinformation by manipulating translations of Ruto's statements and inciting targeted campaigns against Somali businesses in Kenya.

Noteworthy tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs):
TTPs describe the behaviour and strategies used by threat actors, focusing on the structured frameworks or infrastructure they use for executing cyberattacks. Using TTPs to diagnose information manipulation allows investigators to develop early warning systems. It also allows watchdogs to identify vulnerabilities in influence operations that can be used to disrupt the attack.

1. **Deceptively label or translate:** This tactic involves mislabelling or mistranslating content to mislead audiences, as seen when the X account Dictator Watch provided an incorrect translation of Ruto's statement.
2. **Develop AI-generated images:** This tactic uses AI to create falsified media, such as AI-generated images of politicians in coffins, to criticise Ruto's administration.

County radar: The notable emerging incidents or campaigns from county level
This section provides a concise overview of notable incidents, campaigns, and insights into emerging trends and issues in the information landscape within the focus counties (Busia, Homa Bay, Lamu, Mombasa, Nairobi, and Nakuru) in Kenya. It aims to inform readers about the emerging conversations shaping public discourse in these counties.

1. **Mombasa:** The Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) has intensified efforts to dismantle the notorious Panga Boys gang, resulting in multiple arrests across coordinated operations.
2. **Nakuru:** Governor Susan Kihika's Christmas hamper initiative involved celebrations and gift distributions to thousands but was overshadowed by a tragic stampede that claimed four lives. Allegations of poor event management and media suppression have sparked criticism and public concern.
3. **Nairobi:** The authorities arrested Grace Njoki Mulei, a 61-year-old nurse, while she was seeking medical treatment at Ladnan Hospital following her peaceful protest against healthcare inefficiencies at the Ministry of Health. Authorities released Mulei, who described the arrest as an abduction, on a KSh 10,000 ($77) cash bail with support from former Nairobi governor Mike Sonko and lawyers. Her case has sparked public outrage over the treatment of citizens advocating for better healthcare services.

2.   Weaponised words: The narratives shaping public discourse

This section highlights the 'meta' narratives amplified, citing specific examples. The section lists a selection of the most noteworthy incidents or narratives.

a. **Mungiki militia is revived and supports Ruto's administration**

Between 05 December 2024 and 23 January 2025, 'Maina Njenga' and related terms such as 'Mungiki', 'boys', and 'matatu routes' were mentioned ~53,922 times on X . These mentions generated ~275,000 engagements, ~11.4 million views, and an estimated reach of ~55.4 million. Additionally, 94 TikTok videos linked Njenga to the resurgence of the Mungiki and discussed his recent public appearances. These videos collectively received approximately ~2.89 million views.

Njenga has sparked fears of a revival of the Mungiki gang through public appearances and media interviews in which he pledged support for Ruto's administration, particularly in the Mt. Kenya region, popularly referred to as 'Murima'. These developments follow the impeachment of former deputy president Rigathi Gachagua, who hails from the region. The Mt. Kenya region was a vital voting bloc for securing Ruto's presidency in the 2022 general elections.
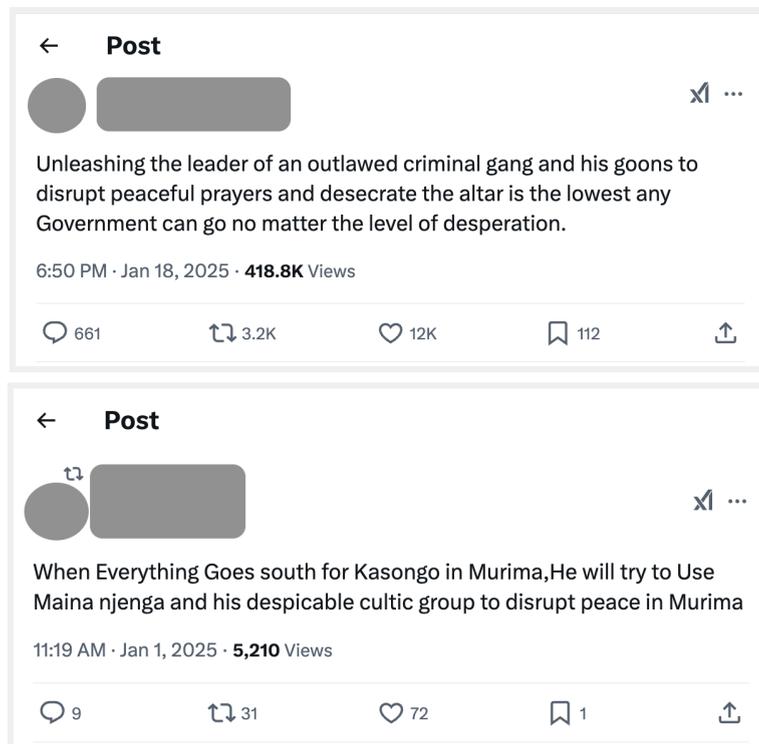
On 31 December 2024, Njenga declared his support for Ruto's Kenya Kwanza government during the national prayers held in Nyeri in what was labelled the 'Kabiruini Declaration'. In his speech, Njenga downplayed Gachagua's influence in the region and instead called for Mt. Kenya residents to rally behind current deputy president Kithure Kindiki. Njenga also responded to accusations of leading a youth gang by stating that his close associations with former presidents Moi, Kibaki, and Uhuru and his current collaboration with Ruto demonstrate his commitment to uniting the youth. He emphasised that his 'boys' now operate organised public service vehicle (matatu) saccos and route management networks. Njenga's statement triggered an uproar on social media.

Screenshots of X posts mentioning the resurgence of Mungiki (left, right) (Source: CfA via Meltwater)

On 18 January 2025, Njenga disrupted an interdenominational prayer meeting at Kamukunji grounds in Nyeri, which former deputy president Gachagua was expected to attend. The unexpected arrival of Njenga and his supporters forced the evacuation of Gachagua's spouse, pastor Dorcas Rigathi, and other attendees, including Nyeri deputy governor David Waroe. Upon learning of Njenga's presence in Nyeri, Gachagua decided not to attend the meeting. During the event, Njenga dismissed claims that his presence was politically motivated, stating that he attended as a bishop to join others in prayer. However, this claim faced scrutiny after a video surfaced online showing one of Njenga's followers questioning why Gachagua had not shown up.

In a post on X, Gachagua criticised Njenga's attendance, accusing the government of '*unleashing the leader of an outlawed criminal gang and his goons to disrupt peaceful prayers and desecrate the altar*'.

Screenshots of X posts claiming that Ruto was using Mungiki to coerce the Mt. Kenya region after Gachagua's impeachment (top, bottom) (Source: CfA using X)

Social media users and politicians from the region have raised concerns over Njenga's recent statements. Some users have accused Ruto of leveraging Njenga to disrupt peace and suppress dissent in Mt. Kenya following Gachagua's impeachment.

CfA will continue monitoring conversations around the resurgence of the 'Mungiki' and other gangs.

b. Safety and rights of asylum seekers under threat in Kenya

The safety and rights of activists, asylum seekers, and political dissidents are increasingly under threat, especially of abductions, forced renditions, and government hostility.

On 12 January 2025, armed men abducted Tanzanian activist Sarungi in Kilimani, Nairobi. The incident, partly captured on video as the assailants fled with Sarungi, sparked an uproar on social media, with users and human rights organisations like Amnesty International and The Coalition For Women In Journalism calling for her immediate release. The authorities held Sarungi for nearly four hours before releasing her at 7 pm. The hashtags #FreeMaria and #EndAbductionsKE were used on X to demand her release and raise awareness about other individuals who have been abducted in Kenya.

Screenshots of a [Facebook](#) post and news [article](#) on Sarungi's abduction (Source: CfA using Facebook and Kenyans.co.ke)

Sarungi fled to Kenya in [2020](#) after receiving threats during late Tanzanian president John Magufuli's administration. She has continued to criticise the Tanzanian government under president Suluhu. Sarungi's abduction has raised concerns about the [safety of foreign dissidents](#) and asylum seekers in Kenya. Her abduction occurred less than two months after the [abduction and rendition](#) of Ugandan opposition politician Dr Kizza Besigye in Nairobi on 16 November 2024.

Other instances of abductions, renditions, and repatriations in 2024 include:

i. [The arrest of 36 Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) party members](#) on 23 July 2024 in Kisumu and their handover to Ugandan authorities, who later [charged them](#) with terrorism.
ii. The abduction of [seven Turkish asylum seekers](#) on 18 October 2024, with [four of them](#) being handed over to Turkish authorities.

There were ~32,480 mentions of Sarungi's abduction on X during the scan period. The mentions generated an engagement of ~139,000 and ~ 4.43 million views. [Thirty-five TikTok videos](#) mentioned Sarungi's abduction, with a combined ~1.35 million views.
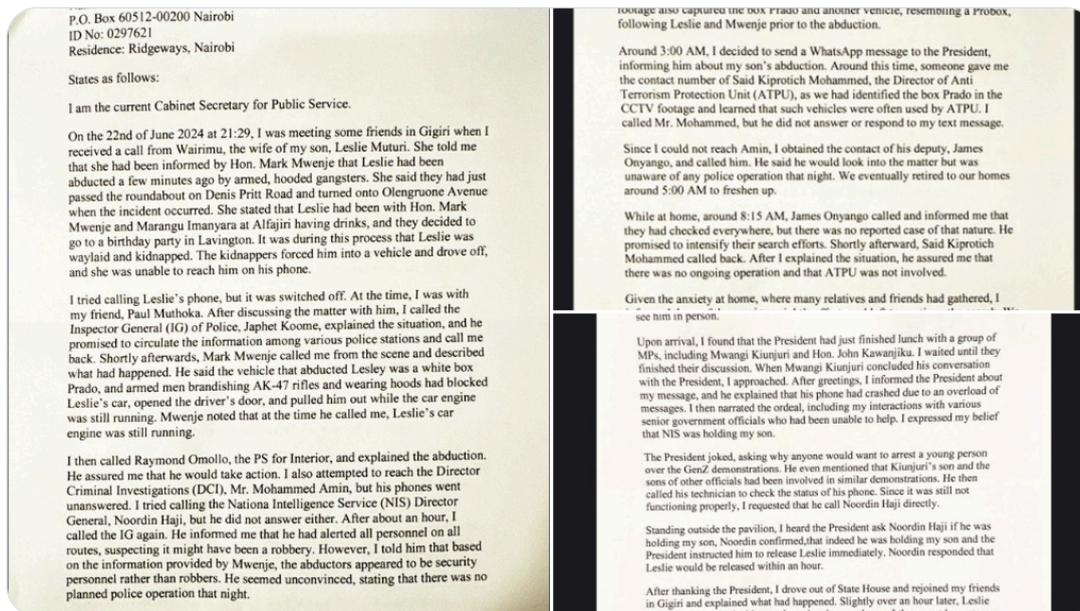
c. Rising Anti-Somali rhetoric

The accusations against the NIS and Noordin Haji sparked intense ethnic and political tensions in Kenya, with anti-Somali rhetoric flourishing online. Social media discussions amplified resentment towards Somali business elites and their influence in security and the economy.

● **Somali state security bosses are complacent in abductions**
Muturi's [public accusation](#) about the involvement of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) in the alleged abduction of his son set off a wave of political and anti-Somali rhetoric in Kenya. In the press release, Muturi [implicated](#) Ruto and NIS director-general Noordin Haji in the abduction of his son on 22 June 2024. Between 13 and 17 January 2025 on X, there were ~9,940 mentions related to Muturi's statement. The mentions generated an engagement of ~56,000, ~1.83 million views, and a total reach of ~34.1 million.

Sample X post containing Muturi's statement (Source: CfA using X)

Some political leaders and commentators framed the accusations against Haji, who is of Somali ethnicity, as an extension of anti-Somali rhetoric:

i. On 14 January 2025, Suna East MP Junet Mohammed argued on X that the campaign against Haji stemmed from a refusal to accept a Somali as the director-general of the NIS. He claimed the campaign started with Gachagua's press conference in Mombasa on 26 June 2024, in which Gachagua criticised Haji, arguing that the NIS failed to provide timely intelligence regarding public opposition to the Finance Bill 2024, leading to protests. Mohammed also accused Mt. Kenya politicians of orchestrating the attack.

ii. On 14 January 2025, a political commentator, Abuga Makori, claimed in an X post that dissatisfaction among Mt. Kenya leaders fuelled the targeting of Haji, framing it as ethnic bias against Somali leadership.

iii. On 14 January 2025, the deputy governor of Isiolo County, Dr Abdi Issa, warned against the divisive rhetoric targeting Haji in an X post, describing it as discriminatory and a threat to national unity.

iv. On 16 January 2025, in a Citizen TV interview hosted by Trevor Ombija, Mogotio MP Reuben Kiborek claimed that Haji had become a soft political target due to his ethnicity. He criticised Muturi for remaining silent when other people's children were abducted, implying hypocrisy in Muturi's response.

Screenshots of X posts (left and right) highlighting ethnic tensions surrounding Haji's role (Source: CfA using X)

Between 13 and 17 January 2025 on X, there were 858 mentions related to MPs from northeastern Kenya – which is predominantly inhabited by the Somali community – coming to Haji's aid, arguing that he was being attacked for his ethnicity rather than incompetence. The mentions generated a total engagement of 8,500, 2.45 million views, and a total reach of 2.45 million.

- **Somali business elites exploiting Kenya's economy**

Between 13 and 27 January 2025, there were ~6,230 mentions of the phrase 'Somali oligarchs' on X. The mentions generated a total engagement of ~52,000, ~33.1 million views, and a total reach of 33.1 million.

On 18 January 2025, a political commentator and former Thika Town parliamentary aspirant, Francis Gaitho, who has 201,200 followers on X, posted an open letter accusing Somali business elites of exploiting Kenya's economy. He also called for boycotts of Somali-owned businesses and products.

Dear Fellow Kenyans,

I am Francis Gaitho, and I stand before you today with a message of urgency regarding the economic landscape of our beloved nation. It has become increasingly clear that the pervasive influence of Somali oligarchs in key sectors like real estate and sugar threatens the very fabric of our economic sovereignty.

Real Estate:

The real estate sector in Kenya, once a bastion of opportunity for native entrepreneurs, has been significantly infiltrated by Somali oligarchs. These individuals possess vast resources, often derived from dubious sources, allowing them to outbid local investors and monopolize lucrative markets. Their presence has led to an artificial inflation of property prices, making homeownership an unattainable dream for many Kenyans. This market manipulation not only stifles local economic growth but also erodes the potential for wealth accumulation among our citizens. It's imperative we recognize this and act judiciously.

Sugar Industry:

Similarly, the sugar business in Kenya has been co-opted, with these oligarchs gaining disproportionate control over importation and distribution, often at the expense of local producers. This has led to market distortions where local sugar mills struggle to compete, facing closures that jeopardize the livelihoods of countless Kenyan farmers and workers. The recent proposal by the Kenya Sugar Board to increase taxes on sugar, suspiciously coinciding with strategic appointments within the industry, further underscores the manipulation at play. Such actions not only undermine our agricultural heritage but also our national food security.

A Call to Action:

It is time for us to divest from the greed that has blinded us. We must boycott businesses run by these Somali oligarchs in both real estate and sugar sectors. By doing so, we are not only protecting our economic interests but also advocating for a fair market where Kenyan entrepreneurs can thrive.

Let us not be swayed by short-term gains or the allure of seemingly unending wealth. The long-term repercussions on our society, our culture, and our economy will be far more detrimental if we continue to allow foreign oligarchs to dictate our economic narrative.

The Path Forward:

I implore each of you to make an informed choice; choose to support local businesses, to invest in Kenyan ventures, and to uphold the integrity of our economic framework. Boycotting now might seem drastic, but consider this: the damage these oligarchs could inflict on the fabric of Kenyan society is immeasurable if left unchecked.

Let this boycott be our declaration of economic independence. Let it be our stand against those who would exploit our nation for their gain. Together, we can ensure that Kenya remains a land where opportunities flourish for Kenyans, by Kenyans.

Stay vigilant, stay united, and let's reclaim our economic destiny.

Yours sincerely,
Francis Gaitho

Screenshots of Gaitho's open letter Gaitho (Source: CfA using X)

Gaitho further alleged that Somali oligarchs are exerting undue influence across various sectors, describing them as 'dangerous people'. He pointed to individuals like prominent lawyer Ahmednasir Abdullahi, accusing them of attempting to hijack and weaken the judiciary.

He outlined controversial steps he claimed could address the economic dominance of 'Somali oligarchs'.

Screenshots of [controversial steps](#) Gaitho suggested to curtail the influence of 'Somali oligarchs' in Kenya (Source: CfA using X)
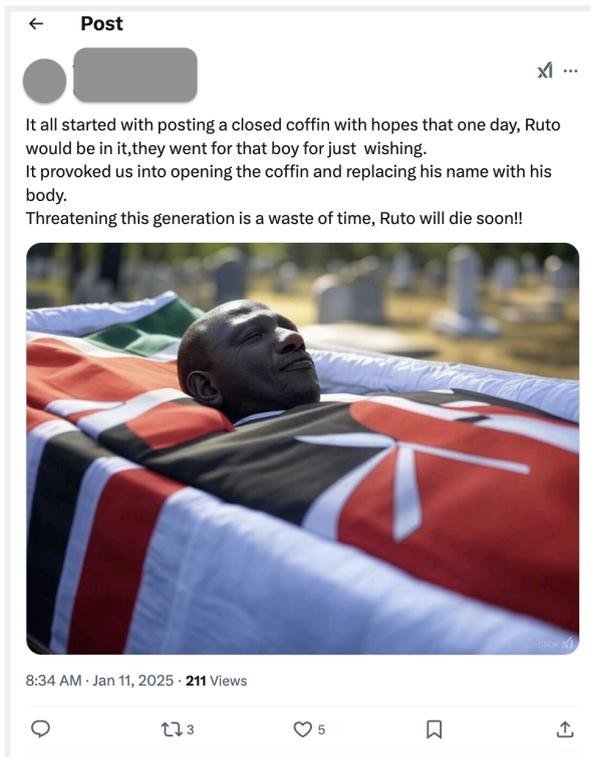
In defence, Ahmednasir [highlighted](#) the historical dominance of Kikuyus in Kenya's politics and economy, arguing that the current backlash against Somalis is an attempt to retain power and suppress their growing influence in business and government.

On 20 January 2025, a TikTok [video](#) by the account [@nocountryhere](#), which gained 2,382 views, featured the speaker supporting Gaitho's call for a national strike and boycotts. The speaker also criticised efforts to frame these actions as attacks on the Somali community, clarifying that the focus is on a small group of oligarchs allegedly involved in illegal activities, like sugar smuggling through the Somali port city of Kismayo, and holding disproportionate economic power. The video received four comments, all supporting its message.

d. Ruto's government is hostile to dissenters

There are evolving dynamics of political dissent in the digital age, where AI technology and social media platforms empower citizens to challenge authority but also provoke strong reactions from the government.

The [trend](#) of AI-generated images emerged on 19 December 2024, following the [release](#) of a new model of the chatbot Grok, code-named Aurora, which allows users to create highly photorealistic photos (and, in the future, even edit them), on 10 December 2024. These images were widely shared, driven mainly by growing [frustration](#) and [resentment](#) among Kenyans towards Ruto's administration, fuelling calls for his resignation.

Screenshots of X posts showing AI-generated images of president Ruto in a coffin and his burial, respectively ([left](#), [right](#))
(Source: CfA using Meltwater)

After Sarungi's abduction in Kenya, [similar](#) AI-generated [images](#) of Suluhu began circulating. This was partly due to [suspicions](#) raised by Sarungi's husband, David Tsehai, and other [Tanzanians](#) that the Tanzanian Intelligence Services (TISS) played a role in her abduction.

Screenshot of an [X post](#) containing an AI-generated image of president Suluhu in a coffin
(Source: CfA using X)

During the opening of Turbo sub-county offices in Uasin Gishu county on 10 January 2025, Ruto made remarks in his native Kalenjin language that sparked strong reactions online. Many social media users interpreted his comments as a threat to kill those creating or sharing AI-generated images of politicians in coffins.

Ruto's statement translated to: '*Any youth who depicts someone in a coffin might as well be the first to enter one themselves. Are you listening? Young people, are you paying attention? Don't fool yourself into thinking it's okay to put someone in a coffin. Take this as advice.*'

This statement gained traction across social media platforms:
   i.   There were ~2,671 mentions of Ruto's statement on X between 11 and 16 January 2025, peaking at ~1,760 on 14 January 2025. The mentions generated an engagement of ~7,550 and ~164,000 views. One of the most widely-shared posts on X included an inaccurate translation of part of Ruto's speech, claiming he said, '*If you place me in an imaginary coffin online, I'll put you in a real coffin in the ground*'.

Screenshot of an X post mentioning Ruto's statement. (Source: CfA via X)

   ii. Nineteen TikTok videos mentioned Ruto's statement, with a combined ~876,045 views. Some of the comments on the TikTok videos include: '*ICC another evidence gather here,*' asking people to save these statements and posts to be submitted to the International Criminal Court (ICC) and '*corruption ikiisha izi pia zitaisha mkuu rais*' translating to *when corruption stops, people will also stop posting images of politicians in coffins*.

Screenshot of a TikTok video mentioning Ruto's statement (Source: CfA via [TikTok](#))

iii.   Forty-eight Instagram [videos](#) mentioned 'Ruto' and the term 'coffin'.

Screenshot of an Instagram video mentioning Ruto's statement (Source: CfA via [Instagram](#))

Other government officials also criticised the use of AI images depicting politicians in coffins, such as the cabinet secretary of interior and national administration, [Kipchumba Murkomen](#) and the leader of the majority in parliament, [Kimani Ichung'wa](#).

3.   County radar: Notable emerging incidents or campaigns from the county level

This section provides a concise overview of notable incidents, campaigns and insights into emerging trends and issues in the information landscape within the focus counties (Busia, Homa Bay, Lamu, Mombasa, Nairobi and Nakuru) in Kenya. It aims to inform readers about the emerging conversations shaping public discourse in these counties.

Mombasa
A. Panga gang arrests

The Panga Boys, a [machete-wielding](#) gang operating in Mombasa, has committed [assaults](#), [violent robberies](#), and other criminal activities. Known for its brutality and intimidation tactics, the gang has instilled [fear](#) in the city's neighbourhoods. In response to the gang's escalating violence and growing threat to public safety, the DCI launched a concerted effort, arresting multiple gang members ([1](#), [2](#), [3](#)).

On 09 January 2025, the DCI reported that a security operation had led to the apprehension of three suspects: Sande Kalama Kitsao (24), Shaban Munga Ali (26), and Shebani Charo (34). This was also posted on X, receiving 75 mentions, 149,496 views and 747 interactions.

On 14 January 2025, the authorities arrested four more individuals: Ali Swalleh (19), Ali Yusuf (24), Said Hamisi (23), and Siajabu Bakari (19). This crackdown followed reports of an attack on two individuals heading to the Kongowea market in Mombasa's Kisauni sub-county. The reporting post had about 235 reposts and Quoted posts, a total of 627,257 views and 7,783 interactions on X.

On 19 January 2025, the most significant operation occurred when authorities apprehended 14 gang members. The suspects include Ayub Koech (18), Benjamin Dickson (24), Clinton Nyaga (25), David Nyaga (25), Hamisi Dzombo (25), Juma Safari (20), and Rashid Lugwe (25), among others. On X, this post got ~42,800 views.

During our scan period, conversations around these arrests received a total engagement of ~9,670, 646 mentions and ~852,000 views on X.

CfA and Siasa Place will continue monitoring the narratives surrounding the attacks of local armed groups.

Nakuru

a. Governor Kihika's Christmas hamper initiative

On 22 December 2024, Nakuru governor Kihika organised a Christmas hamper event where she and first gentleman Sam Mburu Kiongozi participated in the initiative to give foodstuffs and gifts to thousands of families. However, reports emerged alleging that four individuals lost their lives in a stampede and two pregnant women gave birth during the event, with one infant passing away.

These allegations have raised concerns and criticism, prompting questions about the event's management and the gift distribution process. One X user speculated about sinister motives, questioning where the ' blood of Kenyans' was being taken, while a Facebook post alleged that media houses were paid to suppress coverage of the incident. The overall sentiment around this incident is 99.9% negative, with an engagement of ~16,500, ~4,200 mentions, and ~187,000 views. Kihika has been a target for online attacks on several occasions. CfA will continue monitoring any arising issues that might result in Kihika being targeted.

Nairobi

a. Nurse Mulei's arrest after healthcare protest

On 15 January 2025, 61-year-old Mulei participated in a protest at the Ministry of Health offices in Nairobi, highlighting inefficiencies in the Social Health Authority (SHA). On 23 January 2025, while seeking medical assistance for knee surgery at Ladnan Hospital in Eastleigh, individuals identifying themselves as officers from the DCI arrested and forcibly removed her from the hospital. She was charged with creating a disturbance in a government office and denied bail, contrary to Article 49(1)(h) of the Kenyan constitution, which guarantees the right to reasonable bail terms pending trial.

On 24 January 2025, authorities released Mulei on a KSh 10,000 ($77) cash bail, with former Nairobi governor Mike Sonko and a team of lawyers facilitating her release. Following her release, she described the arrest as more of an abduction, recounting how officers, who failed to identify themselves, manhandled her and denied her the opportunity to contact her family or legal counsel.

Civil society organisations, including the [Kenya Medical Association](#), the [Law Society of Kenya](#), the [National Gender and Equality Commission](#), and the [Police Reforms Working Group](#), [condemned](#) and [criticised](#) the arrest, emphasising that advocating for improved public health services is a civic duty, not a criminal act. They called for respect for citizens' rights and urged authorities to focus on addressing the causes of healthcare inefficiencies rather than criminalising concerned citizens.

The DCI [stated](#) that Mulei was apprehended for allegedly causing a disturbance at the Ministry of Health boardroom during the protest. They claimed she was [tracked](#) down and arrested on Hombe Road, off Juja Road; however, [reports](#) and [surveillance camera footage](#) from the hospital indicated that she was picked up from Ladnan Hospital on Chai Road, off Juja Road, and taken to Upper Hill police station pending her court appearance. This incident has sparked widespread [concern](#) regarding the treatment of citizens advocating for their rights and the state of healthcare services in Kenya. It had a balance of neutral (66.8%) and negative (33.2%) sentiments, which gathered ~8,360 mentions, ~3,712,000 views, and an engagement of about 105,000.

CfA and Siasa Place will continue to monitor and document any such instances of government overreach and violations of citizens' rights.

4. Actor spotlight: The people and organisations amplifying toxic content

This section highlights the key accounts, entities or actors involved in amplifying toxic online content in Kenya and provides an in-depth assessment of their identities and motivations.

a. Individual actors

During this scan period, we identified two X accounts, one spreading a deceptive translation of Ruto's statement and another targeting Somali influence in Kenya, calling for boycotts of Somali businesses.

I. **@DictatorWatch**
This [X account](#) was created in March 2017 and has 61,000 followers. It regularly posts critical content targeting the Kenyan government, especially Ruto's administration. The account habitually shares sensational and often misleading posts, such as a [deceptive translation](#) of Ruto's statement about AI-generated images of leaders in coffins. Additionally, @DictatorWatch critiques Kenya's foreign policy, accusing Ruto of [endangering](#) the country's stability by aligning with NATO and engaging in military actions.

II. **@FGaitho237**
The X account [@FGaitho237](#), created in May 2022 with 201,174 followers, frequently posts content accusing ' Somali oligarchs' of manipulating Kenyan politics and economy through [corruption](#) and [illicit practices](#). The account advocates for [boycotting](#) Somali-owned businesses, alleging that these individuals engage in state capture and destabilising activities. Posts often focus on the perceived influence of Somali elites in Kenya's [financial and governance systems](#), accusing them of [smuggling](#) and [obstructing corruption investigations](#).

While Gaitho frames his rhetoric as a call for transparency and [anti-corruption activism](#), critics argue that his focus on Somali individuals risks fuelling ethnic tension and divisiveness. Supporters, however, view his critiques as a [legitimate pursuit of justice](#) against corrupt figures.

5.   Tactics and techniques: Unveiling the actors' modus operandi

This section outlines tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) used by information manipulation and interference actors in the identified narratives. It focuses on strategically disseminating content and coordinating its online presence.

1. Deceptively labelled or translated

According to the DISARM framework, this [tactic](#) involves taking authentic content from other sources, adding deceptive labels, or translating the content deceptively to other languages. The X account [Dictator Watch](#) provided an [incorrect translation](#) of Ruto's statement on AI-generated images of leaders in coffins, which he made in his mother tongue during the official opening of Turbo sub-county offices in Uasin Gishu County on 10 January 2025.

While the account posted Ruto's translation as '*If you place me in an imaginary coffin online: I'll put you in a real coffin in the ground*', the correct translation was '*Any youth who depicts someone in a coffin might as well be the first to enter one themselves. Are you listening? Young people, are you paying attention? Don't fool yourself into thinking it's okay to put someone in a coffin. Take this as advice.*'

2. Develop AI-generated images

The DISARM framework's [develop AI-generated images (deepfakes)](#) tactic refers to using AI-generated falsified media to depict an inauthentic situation by synthetically recreating an individual's face, body, and physical gestures. This tactic was used to criticise Ruto's administration and governance using AI-generated [images](#) of Ruto and other politicians in coffins. Other photos [depicted](#) Ruto as the culprit behind the abductions and murders of young Kenyans and the hypothetical repercussions of the said actions.
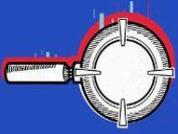
6.   Conclusion

This report highlights the significant impact of weaponised narratives on Kenya's political landscape, where online conversations are strategically shaped to advance specific political and ethnic agendas. The incidents discussed, from Njenga's revival of Mungiki to the ethnic tensions stirred by allegations involving the NIS, showcase the power of social media in amplifying divisive narratives. The strategic use of AI-generated content and disinformation demonstrates how certain actors manipulate public discourse to fuel political unrest and ethnic hostility.

Given the high engagement surrounding these divisive topics, a public awareness campaign focused on educating social media users about the dangers of manipulated content and the importance of fact-checking could help curb the spread of disinformation. Encouraging responsible online discourse may serve as a proactive strategy to counteract some of the negative effects outlined in this report.