MEDIA DIPLOMACY INFLUENCE ON KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS AT IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

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DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources and support, and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

Signature.. Date………………………….

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CDR/LG/01-55149/2016

CERTIFICATION BY THE SUPERVISOR

The undersigned certifies that he has read and hereby recommends for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a thesis entitled "Media Diplomacy Influence on Kenya's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process at Implementation Phase".

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DEDICATION

To my late father, Josiah Odiemo Niniah , for his relentless encouragement that made my rise on

the education ladder possible up to this level.

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ABSTRACT

The media's diplomatic function has been studied in relation to the advanced communication technologies that have led to the allocation of a more far- reaching role to the media in the conduct of diplomacy. The main research gap that this study aims at covering lies in the actual media diplomacy influence on the foreign policy decision making process. Despite the attention given to the media's potential to affect foreign policy decisions, their involvement is still confined to a largely instrumental role and more importantly, one that influences the process of decision making, rather than the decision outcomes. This study analysed media diplomacy influence on foreign policy decision making process in Kenya at implementation phase. The general objective of this research was to evaluate the role of media diplomacy influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. As a case study, this research set out to determine the role and impact of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya. This study applied Theory of Decision Making and Liberalism Theory to analyse the link between the media and foreign policy as the study relates the liberal values informing the foreign policy objectives of many countries. The liberalism theory argues that people prefer peace to war. Public opinion is facilitated by the media and hence the media is important in policy decision making. Additionally, as the main tool of communication, media is crucial in projecting the values of a given country internationally. This study therefore analysed the role of media in projecting Kenya's values. This research focused on Kenya's application of the media in foreign policy complementary role to diplomacy in foreign policy implementation strategy. The study employed historical and explorative research designs and utilize both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The data were collected at the ministry of foreign affairs as well as selected foreign diplomatic missions based in Nairobi. It was aimed at establishing whether the media plays a complementary role to diplomacy in foreign policy decision making process and in shaping the outcome of foreign policy in Kenya. The target population included government officials from the Ministry of Foreign affairs, and officials from selected foreign diplomatic missions. The research instruments included questionnaires, interviews and document analysis from relevant publications. Data analysis was done using selected qualitative and descriptive statistical techniques, that is, it was done using SPSS software to obtain descriptive statistics particularly frequencies and percentages; excel spread sheets to obtain graphs and charts and chi square to show the associations among variables and for inferential analysis. Secondary data were analyzed through content analysis where relevant information was sifted through noting patterns of issues that relate to the subject matter. Data presentation was done using table, graphs, and charts. The findings of this study have both academic and policy implications to the government in addressing the complex nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya. It is established that media plays a complementary role to diplomacy in foreign policy implementation and hence shapes the outcome of foreign policy in Kenya. The study concludes that media diplomacy can play a significant role in the foreign policy implementation. The study hence recommends that Kenya should establish a strong regional media network, an effective diplomatic strategy to bridge the gaps in foreign policy process and train diplomats on effective media relations. The study further recommends research into the new media impact on diplomatic engagements and an inquiry into the effective ways of strategic requirements needed to integrate media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation by government.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM   Africa Mission in Somalia

AU   African Union

CAR   Central African Republic

CNN   Cable News Network

DRC   Democratic Republic Of Congo

EAC   East African Community

EEC   Eastern European Commission

EU   European Union

FDI   Foreign Direct Investment

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

ICC   International Criminal Court

IMF   International Monetary Fun

KANU   Kenya African National Union

KDF   Kenya Defence Forces

KNBS   Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

MFA   Ministry Of Foreign Affairs

MPLA   Movimento Popular De Libertacao De Angola

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Union
OTP	Office of the Prosecutor
REC	Regional Economic Commission
SADC	South African Development Cooperation
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Developments
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WBG	World Bank Group
WTO	World Trade Organisation

DEFINITION AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

Modern media is that which has the current capabilities available to them to prosecute timely, effective and accurate coverage of a global event from anywhere on the planet. This could be seen as *immediacy*, which may be further defined as, instant, instantaneous, speedy or swift. For this research, the author will review some of the changes that have occurred in the area of information technology which have contributed to an improvement in the immediacy of media reporting in Kenya. The relative immediacy of the media will be addressed within this research.

Media diplomacy is the use of the mass media by Kenya policymakers in specific cases to send signals and apply pressure on state and nonstate actors, to build confidence and advance negotiations, as well as to mobilize public support for agreements.

Foreign Policy for the purposes of this study is the policy of Kenya outlined in national or foreign policy actions that can and is influenced by the employment of the instruments of national power. Examples of the employment of the instruments of power will be confined to the employment of, or change in, force posture or even geographical position of the military from events in recent history.

Probably the most important issue for clarification is that of the definition of the term **"CNN effect," "CNN curve," or "CNN factor**. A term, which is used randomly and often incorrectly by both the media and the military. The definition of which, lies in the fact that the media now have the capability to produce, broadcast and prosecute the publication of a news story faster than ever before. This has a possible commensurate effect on the political decision-making process and on the public as a whole. Warren P. Strobel puts the definition of the CNN effect in a succinct manner when he says:

Where television's instantly transmitted images fire public opinion, demanding instant responses from government officials, shaping and reshaping foreign policy at the whim of electrons (Strobel, 1996). The CNN effect for the purposes of this paper, is defined as: the effect produced by the speed of media reporting being capable of reaching a target audience as events occur anywhere in the world.

Non-state actors are individuals or organizations with significant political influence but have no alliance to Kenya.

Media is the means of communication in Kenya whether radio and television, newspapers, magazines, internet among others that convey information and influence people to act or not act.

New media refers to the content available on-demand through the internet and is accessible on digital devices that have interactive user feedback and creative participation in Kenya. Instances include websites such as online newspapers, blogs, wikis, video games and social media.

Developed state is a state that is economically advanced with large industrial and service sectors, politically sovereign, has advanced technological infrastructure and a sizably large GDP

Developing state Kenya as a state that is characterized by process of achieving a high degree of industrialization, infrastructure, and other capital investment, sophisticated technology, widespread literacy, and advanced living standards among their populations as a whole.

Diplomacy: the art and practice of conducting security and economic negotiations between Kenya and other states with regard to issues of counterterrorism, peace-making, counterradicalization and human rights.

International community: the broad group of people and governments, including international organizations working on a common point of peace and security and involved in the management of transnational security and economic measures in Kenya.

Intelligence: Refers to processed, analyzed and validated information that comes from various sources in Kenya that is produced to aid the government and security agencies better place to manage transnational affairs in Kenya.

Globalization: refers to the process in which Kenya and other states' governments interact and integrate with each other, driven by a combination of economic, technological, sociocultural, political, and biological factors. This interaction and the spread of technological advances and dynamic entrepreneurship may bring about a threat to human security.

Terrorism: the use of force or violence against persons or property in violation of the criminal laws for purposes of intimidation, coercion or ransom between Kenya and Somalia.

Security-based diplomacy: diplomacy between Kenya and other states to counter transnational terrorism where coercive force is used in counterterrorism between Kenya and Somalia

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The chapter gives background information about media diplomacy influence on foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. It states the problem statement that was investigated. It also provides objectives, corresponding research questions of the study. It deleanates the scope of the study and ends with a summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

The media has in recent history especially towards the end of the cold war been a key factor in foreign policy decision making process by states. The media can influence decision making as well as set the environmental conditions that states as actors consider while making foreign policies. The complex interdependence in modern day international system and the rise of non-state actors in international politics has brought forth powerful actors such as the media which influence primary interests of states in one way or another (Robinson, 1999). The media has provided an arena for contestations of political, economic and social cultural issues by states. Its coverage has surpassed the territorial limits of states and specific aspects such as the internet have revolutionized how information is collected, framed and distributed in regions and internationally (Srivastava, 2009).

The role of the media especially in influencing state action in recent global history has been witnessed in the humanitarian interventions in Somalia (1992), Bosnia (1995) and Ethiopia (1984) and to a large extent the American wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Interventions for instance during the Libyan civil war one again put the media on the spot as it raised questions regarding the media's role. Also the coverage of the Syrian conflict and the possible armed

intervention by US and French brought back the power of images and media to condition policies of states. Currently, the issue of the role of media in terms of driving political responses and foreign policy remains a considerable academic endeavour especially having in mind the developing and developed states dichotomy (Robinson, 2002).

There are many pluralities that characterize Africa as a continent. Africa has the highest number of states (54) compared to the six continents. Africa is characterized by varying political maturity as a result of the different number of years these countries have been independent except Ethiopia and Liberia which were not colonised. Africa is couples with ethnic diversity such as Arabs and Negros subdivided into Bantus and Nilotic. The states in the continent ideologically differ in terms of political –economic development; they are neither fully socialist nor pluralist. Economic indexes of these countries also vary widely. Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone for example are of mixed economies. Language diversification also makes up part of Africa. Geographically, Africa is divided into Anglophone and Francophone countries (Akiyemi, 1982). All these diversities reflect individual states foreign policies and hence no common interests.

The formation of OAU in 1963, which is a result of pan African movement, has not made things any better for Africa in terms of foreign collective national interests in international scene to inform her foreign policy objectives. Article II of the AU Charter, however, articulates the collective interests put in five points and which summarily comprises of unity, and solidarity, cooperation to achieve improved life for African society, sovereignty, territorial integrity as well as independence (Akiyemi, 1982). Ironically Africa is criticized for acting contrary to these objectives such as desecration of human rights and protecting those in leadership from the international community actions. Many countries in Africa are also not yet fully independent in

their foreign policy making and since they are still bonded by views of their respective former colonial master, mostly the European nations (Akiyemi, 1982).

The AU seeks to promote objectives of regional ties, democratisation, peace and security and enhanced economic progress in her foreign policy. Diplomacy is a key tool of foreign policy implementation. Diplomatic engagement, however, has become gradually technical in nature, necessitating additional capabilities in variety areas such as parliamentary diplomacy environmental diplomacy, health diplomacy, development diplomacy, economic diplomacy, science diplomacy as well as media diplomacy. For African countries, establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations is neither easy nor cheap (Jhon & Ospine, 2017). Thus, African countries have not achieved all of their foreign policy objectives and they will not in the near future (Sule, 2012).

Since the late 1960s, Kenya has experienced a growing dynamism of its inter-state relations with increasing diversification of economic, political, and military relationships. According to Lenczowki (2010), in the same period, the internationalization of the economy has accelerated, through the crucial role of financial and industrial transnational capital in the productive structure. Most analyses of Kenyan foreign policy have focused on either one or the other of these two processes, to arrive at quite distinct outcomes as far as Kenya's international behavior is concerned. The Renouvin (2011) guiding standards of the policy are: Peaceful existence with neighbors and other countries; Resolution of contentions by quiet means; Promotion of regionalism; Respect for the balance, power and regional integrity of states; Respect for international standards, traditions and law; Adherence to the rule of non-alignment; and Justice and equality in the conduct of worldwide relations. The conduct of Kenya's foreign relations is guided by variety of sources, including authority official documents and declarations. These

include: The Constitution of the Republic of Kenya (1963); The Sessional Paper No. 10/1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya; The Sessional Paper No. 1/1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth; Manifestos of the governing parties; The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007); National Development Plans; Kenya Vision 2030; and Executive Pronouncements and Circulars (Mazrui, 2007). This study focuses on the media diplomacy as an issue area of engagement and hence as a key tool of foreign policy decision making process.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The role of the media in regard to influencing public policy has been a subject of scholarly debates with scholars such as Cohen (1994) argues that the media is of immense influence in foreign policy while other scholars such as Mermin (1997) arguing to the contrary (Cohen, 1994; Mermin, 1997).There is a challenge in implementation of foreign policy objectives in Kenya. African countries face the challenge of reconciling principles with decision making of foreign policy (MFA, 2014). Therefore there is continued lack of peace and insecurity in Africa and hence human rights violations continue to happen in various states such as Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, South Sudan and Central Africa Republic (CAR). Human suffering as a result of hunger and poverty continue to affect a significant population especially in the horn of Africa. This means that African countries must put in place effective foreign policy decision making techniques and strategies to ensure that the goals are archived. With the 21st century globalization come rapid communication and an increasing inter-dependence among states as the world inflates into a global village. Various forms of diplomacy have sprung up to complicate all these challenges that negatively affect implementation of foreign policy. Media diplomacy is one of the forms.

Previous studies have failed to demonstrate using a holistic and comprehensive approach how states can utilize the media as a positive tool for diplomatic practice and foreign policy decision making. The overall research problem addressed in this study is that despite the various attempts by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to implement efficient and favourable foreign policies, the concept is not yet well articulated although it is promoted at different levels with fragmented agencies (Potter, 2004). This has been compounded by uncoordinated approaches of the Economic Diplomacy between Ministries of Trade, Foreign Affairs, and the Presidency. The power of media in Africa and other states is indeed of great concern not just for states but other actors in the international system. Reliable and effective measures such as well-established media structures can be key in ensuring that states have the backing of its citizens through real time communication. Indeed, countries are now learning to employ various media diplomacy tools in order to achieve their goals and interests.

Kenya having embraced media development such as Information Communication Technologies (ICT) through the different forms of internet practice (email, websites, twitter, Facebook and other social-websites, video conferencing, etc.), it has also attempted to use it to cultivate its public diplomacy in different aspects. Which brings us to the question: How has Kenya adopted media to cultivate its public diplomacy and how effective has this adoption been in achieving her goals? As a result of this, the country remains in need of a centralized foreign policy approach and especially as far as the pursuit and promotion of external trade is concerned. This study analyses the extent to which media diplomacy, as an element of public diplomacy, contributes to foreign policy decision making process at implementation in Kenya. In particular, this study centres on the role of print and electronic media in shaping public policy and action.

1.3 Research Objectives

The general objective of the Study was to evaluate the role of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were to:

i.   Examine the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

ii.   Assess the effects of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya.

iii. Evaluate the challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

i.   What is the nature of media diplomacy influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya?

ii.   What are the effects of media diplomacy influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya?

iii. What are the challenges of media diplomacy influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Ocitti (1999) argued that a state's level of development is critical in dictating its institutional capabilities and by that fact their influence on the states foreign policy. The developed states' foreign policies have been influenced by the media but the same has not been recorded in developing states. It has been pointed out that developing states Media have had little or no

influence on the foreign policy of states and according to existing literature, their impacts on the states foreign policy remains remote. This study therefore, sought to explore the relations between the Media and a state's foreign policy using the case of a developing state. It tried to establish the connection and further show how the two relate.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

In foreign policy analysis, there exists a knowledge gap in addressing the foreign policy decision making process. Though scholars of foreign policy have exhaustively discussed about decision making. Little about the decision making in relation to media diplomacy is evident from the available literature. The existing knowledge in particular lacks a comprehensive coverage of the role media diplomacy has played in the decision making of foreign policy. Although many scholars have focused on public diplomacy in regard to foreign policy process, they have failed to meaningfully address the role of media diplomacy (Sofer, 1988).

This study then sought to fill the knowledge gap in analysing the role of the media diplomacy in the process of foreign policy decision making in Africa states. To academicians and students of International Relations, this study presents the kind of influence and challenges encountered in adopting media diplomacy in foreign policy decision making. This study therefore sought to contribute to knowledge of foreign policy decision making process and outcome.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

This study was expected to provide relevant and scientific based evidence to show the importance of effective use of media diplomacy in projecting a country's image internationally as part of foreign policy implementation. This study critiqued the current foreign policy decision making mechanism in order to understand why Kenya have not been successful in foreign policy

decision making through the use diplomacy. To bureaucrats, this research provides valuable lessons learnt in adoption of media diplomacy. The lessons learnt on how the Kenya government ministries manage the challenges brought about by e-diplomacy will be invaluable to other East African countries and organizations which may be contemplating to adopt and implement similar Information Systems. This study documents and evaluates the efforts of media diplomacy in Kenya with a view to serve as a record about the insights that can be extracted from their work and so as to provide a reference point for similar or related projects. With the above in view, it can be rightfully assumed that access to the internet through devices such as the mobile phones and through the emergence of the fibre optic has created a potential game changer in the field of media development in East Africa and Kenya in particular. This digital emergence manages to change the principal instrument within international relations, that is, diplomacy. The recommendations will assist policy makers Kenya especially at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to formulate more effective policies for collaboration between the government and international media with a view to strengthen foreign policy decision making tool.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study in time perspective covered the period since 2014. This was informed by the fact that this period marked some land mark events in the relation between the media and foreign policy especially for Kenya, where Kenya had its first foreign policy documented. The turn of the century is followed by events such as terrorism and the build up towards the Somali peace operations. Such events are key in showing the relationship between the media and foreign policy. The study was conducted from March 2019 to June 2019.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides background information on media diplomacy as an issue of engagement and as a key tool of foreign policy decision making at the international and national levels. Full understanding of the nature, origins and impact of media diplomacy is necessary if they are to be taken into account in the strategies formulation in utilizing media as a positive tool for diplomatic practice and foreign policy decision making. As noted, diplomatic interventions are still not as strategic, systematized, well documented or supported as they should be, hence prompting the need for this study. In the next chapter, critical review of relevant literature is undertaken in order to identify the underlying gaps that will be filled by this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter adopts a thematic approach to review and analyse various literature and written works related to the research topic including text books, journals and other relevant publications. This chapter also discusses theory that will guide the study. The chapter is organised in the following sub-topics: The Nature of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making; The Effects of Media Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Decision Making Process; The Challenge of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making Process. The Chapter has also discussed the theories that guided the study. The chapter ends with a summary.

2.1 The Nature of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making Process

In the international politics studies, there an increasing debate about the impact of media in the conduct of diplomacy. This has introduced a scholarly debate in regard to theorizing and classifying the diverse influence of the media in diplomatic conduct, either as a backup to mediation or as a hindrance. One of the analyses explains for example three models of practices and effects in the techniques of media application as a tool of foreign policy and global intercession, public diplomacy where both state and non-state actors utilize the press to influence public opinion of foreign citizens, media diplomacy –where state officers use media to communicate with other international actors and in dispute resolution and thirdly media-broker diplomacy where media practitioners become temporary intermediaries in transnational negotiations. The experimental conclusions in this field of study attempts to explain the way media, particularly the live television news, influence foreign policy making (Cohen, 1975).

The shortcoming with this scholarly discussion is not so much about the lack of explanations in the kind of consequences of the changes in the technologies in the political process. The debate is also not about the difficulty or weather it does not contribute to our understanding. The discussion illuminates the intricate connection between media and political processes in in the view of direct transnational communication. However, the debate does not elaborate the dependent transformation of how technology impact on diplomatic practice of particular countries in regard to social, political and media situations. Even the documentations that tries to describe the circumstances of cogency of an operational hypothesis, for instance establishing conditions under which the CNN effect occurs or does not, results in broad explanations on the link between media, public and government. Researchers in this area of study that focused in particular case studies have a tendency of examining disasters within a given country only (Robinson, 2002).

2.1.1 The Relationship between Media Diplomacy and International Business

International business researchers has regarded diplomacy as a concept used to advance global market entry and expansion of investment in multinational corporations as well as dealing with foreign market situations. Diplomacy is therefore key n international business success or failure. Around the globe, however more nations are pulling their efforts closer due to the fast changing ways of international business conduct and dynamic global economy to professionalize economic diplomacy. Global business requires diplomacy and diplomatic competences so as to effectively operate as classical envoys become redundant whereas international business begins to demand diplomatic actors (World Bank Group, 2016). State officers work with corporate leaders to gain access in new global markets while utilizing diplomatic activities to improve

interactions with foreign governments and NGOs and other participants. Economic diplomacy primarily symbolises a state –driven tactic to use the networks and practices.

Globalization of the modern media domain has created a new face of power which can be called the invisible image of power. This is mostly possible through two elements of speed and complexity. Media power in contrast to the physical power has a long lasting and gradual effect. They can improve the image of society and people by providing a proper condition. So, they can reduce the oppositions of the local powers. Having more access to media means having more access to powers. Media diplomacy uses this invisible power considering the area and comparing these indexes with the present condition, makes the diplomacy of mass media more clear and important than before. Looking at the changes of the last two decades clearly show that the global and local conditions have been completely transformed at present and so, the past equations and their nature have been changed and are going towards the new international system to establish multi-dimensional system relying on the foreign relationship to improve tourism industry (China-Africa Research Initiative, 2017).

According to Olatunde *et al*. (2005), one of the main policies mentioned when discussing foreign policy formulation, are the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). These trade agreements between the EU and the ACP countries (African, Caribbean and Pacific) are and have been negotiated for over eight years now, and only in 2008 the first full EPA was signed between the EU and CARIFORUM (group of Caribbean countries). The EPAs are meant to replace the existing trade relations under the Lomé nonreciprocal system of trade preferences, which was set up under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The Lomé conventions were no longer compatible under the new World Trade Organization's (WTO) rules (considered as discriminatory in relation to non ACP developing countries), and thus the WTO required the EU

to set up new WTO compatible trade agreements with the ACP countries. These new agreements were decided upon in Cotonou in 2000 (Bernard, 2002).

Okoth (2010) argues that the EPAs were designed as long term partnerships to promote poverty reduction and sustainable development by fostering the smooth and gradual integration of six regions into the world economy. The progressive elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, both between the ACP countries and between the ACP regions and the EU should eventually result in the establishment of regional free-trade areas. Despite possible benefits resulting from this trade regime, EPAs are claimed to be incoherent to the EU's development policy in many different ways (Bell, 2009). Where multilateral negotiations had to lead to better regional integration, now bilateral negotiations are taking place to install interim EPAs.

According to Zondi (2011) many countries are unable to negotiate with the EU on an equal basis, as they do not have enough expertise to oversee all of the complicated clauses that are included within the agreements. The EPAs include 'WTO+' obligations in areas such as investment, competition policy, government procurement, current account payments, environment, social aspects, cultural cooperation and Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) protection. These are not included in current WTO negotiations and do not necessarily have to be included for the EPA to be WTO compatible. It is often suggested by various factors involved in development cooperation that, the EU is mainly taking into account its own economic interests rather than the well being of developing countries as embraced by Art 208 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) and by the various commitments to for instance the MDGs (Nieuwkerk, 2005).

Spies (2008) assert that foreign policy makers attempt to reconcile domestic interest with external circumstances taking into account of the available means, resources, and institutions for

doing so. Spies assert that it is important to understanding foreign policy at specific domestic and external context and the interactions between these two environments. As major players in foreign policy, elite operate between institutions that continually constrain them, but oftentimes, these policy makers can work around such limits and manage the tension between domestic and international society. Outcomes are interesting because they answer far reaching questions about how elites achieve their foreign policy goals, specifically how they balance means and objectives (Southall, 2006).

Prys (2008) argued that the main challenges for foreign policy lie in its implementation. The proper management of foreign policy and of the diplomatic service is central to the success or failure of the implementation of foreign policy. Foreign policy plus the administration of the diplomatic service and of the policy itself give rise to the implementation of foreign policy. This means that the traditional context of dividing foreign affairs into the policy and administrative aspects needs review. If not, the implementation of foreign policy will continue being held hostage to the turf wars between policy makers and administrators.

According to Muller (1997) the objectives and interests that a state seeks to promote or safeguard as it interacts with other states must be viewed against the background of its internal social structure and the configuration of political power within it. More specifically the class that controls and wields state power necessarily shapes foreign policy and does so, as might be supposed, in accordance with its own class interests even though these might be rationalized ideologically as the interests of the entire nation.

2.1.2 Direct and Indirect Benefits of Media Diplomacy

Global powers have used media to improve the tourism through the regional contracts and this has been followed by the media diplomacy. Other countries consider their tourism potential and try to introduce their policies through their media policies. In the world of today, the distance between the advantages and goals of the countries has been increased so that they can only defend their plans through new contracts and agreements with other countries. In fact, in the period of globalization, tourism and culture have to find new ways and strategies to maintain their power and introduce their goals and advantages of the country to the world; the media diplomacy is one these strategies (Olesya, 2006). Today, the media is not only reflecting the behaviour of the authorities and countries, but sometimes it is an actor in the politics and plays an important role in decision makings. These media are effective positive and negative figures in selecting the governing policies and decision making for implementing the policies through applying the main lines of media diplomacy (Catania, 2009).

2.1.3 Foreign Policy Implementation

Foreign policy implementation is part of foreign policy decision making. It is technical and administrative in nature as well as political. Implementation is an integral part of political course of foreign policy. It is part of governmental process where decisions and policy are sanctioned. Implementation thus occupies an extensive but subtle area of concern in the part of foreign policy that is neither severely technical nor likely to be clearly detailed. Implementation of foreign policy depends on three factors; nature of a particular decision (Cuban Missile Crisis required a highly analysed decision), situation in which decisions are made controls exercised within the political field. Familiar explanations of the "instruments of implementation" or the range of pressure from "pure coercion" "pure persecution" are significant in themselves, but they

do not define the practices of implementation as such: they are linked to the behavioural or organizational content of the strategy as opposed to its application foreign policymaking, unlike domestic policy, usually involves fewer people and less publicity (Clarke, 1979). The heads of states serve as the diplomat and are tasked with executing policy. The chief diplomat/head of state employ three tools to execute foreign policy. Diplomacy, foreign relief and military force. States generally pursue diplomacy either unilaterally (states act alone, minus the assistance or approval of any other state), bilaterally (states collaborates with another state) or multilaterally (the state works in with many other states).

As the highest military and economic muscle in the world, the US has taken an active role in global politics. The US highly regards security and stability, both nationally and internationally, over anything else, and centres on a number of areas (terrorism, nuclear proliferation, unrestricted trade, humanitarianism and environmental issues), to achieve those ends. In 1990s sensitive and often highly critical media reporting of Kurdish migrants fleeing (humanitarian disaster) from Saddam Hussein's armies triggered the virtually unprecedented plan for Kurdish safe harbours angered the world resulting into the Gulf Persian War (Clarke, 1979). In 2002, President Bush contended that US has the right to eradicate its adversaries as the 'Bush Doctrine'. Although preceding heads of state regularly maintained that the US could secure herself by attacking its enemies first, Bush was the first head of state to implement that foreign policy into practise when he unilaterally sanctioned the incursion (use of military force as a tool of foreign policy) of Iraq in 2003 to avert Tyrant Saddam Hussein from unleashing weapons of mass obliteration against the US and its friends.

2.1.3.1 Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Implementation

According to Soroka (2002) Mass media can, and often do, play a critical role in policymaking. The typical view of media is that they matter in the early stages of the policy process that media can help to set an agenda, which is then adopted and dealt with by politicians, policymakers, and other actors. The impact of media is rarely so constrained, however. Our argument here, in short, is that media matter, not just at the beginning but throughout the policy process. Many of the standard accounts of policymaking have a much too narrow view of the timing of media effects. Existing work tells us that media can draw and sustain public attention to particular issues. They can change the discourse around a policy debate by framing or defining an issue using dialogue or rhetoric to persuade or dissuade the public.

Media can establish the nature, sources, and consequences of policy issues in ways that fundamentally change not just the attention paid to those issues, but the different types of policy solutions sought. Media can draw attention to the players involved in the policy process. Further to this it can aid, abet or hinder their cause by highlighting their role in policymaking. Media can also act as a conduit between governments and publics, informing publics about government actions and policies, and helping to convey public attitudes to government officials (Soroka, 2002).

This paper opines that these arguments as propounded by these scholars potentially portray the influence of the media by potentially arguing that it is unlikely to lead to a substantive change in the prosecution of domestic and international politics. Even though they play a pivotal role in shaping the policy externally as with regard to the quest for international allies, they miss a point

in that they are unable to account for the very fact that the media may be an influential player stemming from the fact that due to the vastness of the populace, it acts as the populace's lens while at the same time crediting or discrediting a given foreign policy objective.

Perhaps this gap is better addressed by Bella Mody who presents a systematic analysis of the coverage of the genocide in Darfur by ten news organizations in Africa, China, Europe, and the United States. Mody represents a strongly normative perspective, arguing that an informed citizenry is necessary, although not sufficient, for preventing conflict and humanitarian crises. In her argument, media influence foreign policy by putting issues on the public agenda and by framing them in a way that catches the attention - and sympathy - of a large audience, which then demands action from their elected representatives. She argues, for instance, that both the Somalia humanitarian crisis and the conflict in Darfur were not on the agenda of international politics until the media started paying attention. Mody understands media as "mobilizing conscience," shaming policymakers into reacting to a crisis; creating incentives to act while at the same time raising the risk of not acting (Mody, 2010). It is however important to note that the media are constrained by their own environment. For instance, the geopolitical history, national interest, state ownership of the media, and audience explain almost all of the variation in reporting on Darfur between 2003 and 2004 in the analyzed news outlets.

The impact of media on policy also appears to be contingent on the source of the news: reliable and respected news outlets have more impact than marginal and questionable news sources. Additionally, the possibility that media have a marked impact on the political agenda increases when there is heightened coverage of the same issue, at the same time, by different media outlets. Even with these caveats, the accumulated literature suggests an important (and often independent) role for media in determining which issues are important, when for the public, and

for policymakers as well. Setting the agenda is just one way in which media may matter to policy (Eilders 2000).

The media can also affect foreign policy through framing of public opinion and policy making. In framing, effect is said to occur when, in the describing an issue or event, a speaker's emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. Framing theory is based on the belief that how an issue is characterized to an audience will influence how it is understood (Scheufele and David 2007). Put differently, issue framing refers to the selective exposure of information to an audience with the intent of shaping their understanding of an issue; it is the "selection of and emphasis upon particular attributes for the news media agenda when talking about an object" (McCombs, 2004). To frame a story is to withhold some information or prioritize some facts over others. In fact, most frames are defined by what they omit or obscure as what they include. Frames often influence the direction of policy by pulling values or emotion into the discussion. Stone argues that problem identification often focuses on framing a story in a way that attributes cause and assigns blame (Stone, 1989).

2.2 The Effects of Media Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Decision Making Process

Current observers of transnational matters have raised concerns that have extended their capability to affect the execution of diplomacy and foreign policy. Much of this is attributed to technological advances. For many media practitioners, decision makers and researchers, media has immensely affect foreign policy processes and implementation (Livingston, 1996). The media (often referred as mass media) is indisputably a key communication tool globally. Media aids in communicating the foreign policy decision makers to public and vice versa (Delli, 1990).

It transmits news and public opinion as well as propaganda. As a result it shapes the opinion of both the domestic and international public regarding a certain foreign policy decision. The media also have their own impact on the public opinion. Although not many citizens/public are usually concerned with foreign policy issues, TV coverage of events in Vietnam brought overseas war into millions of American homes each night, as did reporters on Iran after American involvement in Vietnam ended (Delli, 1994).

Media diplomacy in a particular fashion before and after the end of the Cold War era allows government officials to use the media to investigate ongoing or potential international conflict, so they promote negotiations and reach quick conflict resolutions - in contrast to public diplomacy, which uses other channels and media to affect overseas public opinion in the long-term resolution (Gilboa, 2008). For instance, media coverage of the Iranian revolution in 1979 demonstrates an exemplary case of media diplomacy, as the United States used the international media to portray the Iranian protesters against the Shah, who was supported by the U.S. government, as disgruntled religious zealots, and the Iran hostage crisis turned into a media diplomacy war through the international media in which the U.S. and Iran launched media campaigns to label detained people in the embassy as hostages from the U.S. view or spies from the Iranian view. One thing apparent from the crisis is that "Iran established the preeminence of television in instant media diplomacy" (Karl, 1982).

The U.S. media diplomacy in military conflict epitomizes most the effectiveness of the cooperation relationship between media and diplomacy, since communication is one of the key elements in which powers such as troops and weapons use it as a backbone of field operations in a war zone. It is safe to say that the Cable News Network, better known as CNN, pioneered introduction of live coverage of war to the global audience by live broadcasting the Gulf War in

early 1991. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait prior to the Gulf War resulted in disconnecting diplomatic channels between the Saddam Hussein regime and the George Bush administration. Although the means of direct communication for both countries' officials broke down, CNN served as a de facto diplomatic broker that broadcast each side's message by the remarks of spokespersons.

While the tension was the highest, the CNN chairman Ted Turner telephoned his correspondent in Iraq by emphasizing media's diplomatic role in resolving the issue; he said, "Both sides aren't talking to each other, but they're talking to CNN. We have a major responsibility" (Seib, 1997). Both countries and the news company knew that media would function as a diplomatic messenger. The director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, warned in a news briefing, saying, "You [Iraqis] must understand, any commander who uses chemical weapons is going to be held accountable for his actions". Kelly admitted after the war: "I knew they watched CNN in Iraq, and I wanted those guys to hear that" (Seib, 1997). Even though official diplomatic channels are disconnected, countries have little difficulty in communicating with each other as long as media convey intended messages, aimed for national interests. In short, media recognize the engagement in diplomacy, and media diplomacy is spontaneously established.

Another way to conceptualize media diplomacy is to look at the relationship between media employees and government officials when they carry out diplomatic tasks. Journalists obliged to report issues under the pressure of time and space obtain a story from diplomats or officials, sometimes without the chance of checking accuracy. Diplomats under certain diplomatic circumstances are prone to building a manipulated relationship with the media; in return, journalists sink officials' feet into the mire of international conflict (Seib, 1997); sometimes,

journalists deal with the consciousness of being used and lied by their governments, or they have to slant stories in favour of their governments. Such a symbolic relationship can be explained by the fact that, if you push too hard, things will get ugly. In other words, if they are reluctant to find an acceptable and cooperative boundary of forming and handling international conflicts, media diplomacy, supposed to resolve foreignpolicy issues, will never play a role, or even disappear. Symbolically speaking, a holy marriage of journalists and diplomats/officials leads to a solid way of achieving successful media diplomacy.

Currently, media play a significant role in public opinion and public diplomacy, giving rise to another niche in diplomacy –media diplomacy. Media diplomacy is taming the making and implementation of foreign policy and the public understanding of global affairs. Yet the marriage of the media and diplomacy may be an unblessed association. In a democratic society, propaganda for local and external consumption cannot be disseminated without risking credibility and respect with both audience. Media diplomacy is a tool for change management :nation Branding practiced through mainstream media(TV, Newspaper, radio)can serve as an effective tool for image and reputation management and to attain goals it seeks in the international system and aggressively attain its standing and while having a positive image. Media diplomacy may exist in two ways; being used at ministry of foreign affairs or at the diplomatic mission established abroad. By using media in these two ways, states can execute foreign policy objectives and build a positive country image brand. This is done by communicating to the audience abroad the distinctive features of the nation with respect to history, culture, values and traditions, thereby enabling the receipt of their foreign policy and the image they aim to advance. Media diplomacy could help ensure that the image a nation is linked with reality as well as the concrete actions taken by a nation in global arena (Kaneva, 2011).

Kenya and other underdeveloped nations have welcomed the way that the web gives inventive intends to effort to wide open streams, at home and abroad (Matano, 2012). The image carried in the media can influence external economic relations, including trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow. This advances Kenya's image abroad and can influence foreign policies of the foreign countries in favour of Kenya and hence an achievement of Kenya's foreign policy objective.

The strategic geographical location of Kenya and somewhat protected interest of Kenya with other countries provide a vast potential for business, tourism, trade, and intermediation between and among the states and institutions of the world. Therefore, Kenya ought to establish an aggressive media foreign policy to enhance Kenya's image and status on the international arena at sub-region, regional, African continental, as well as global levels (Nanjira, 2010). However, while the East Africa region has an active media guild, many of the media firms do not function as regional players (East African Index, 2016).

2.2.1 US Public Diplomacy in Norway

The US administration, like it happened across Europe after 1945, decided to conduct a public diplomacy in Norway with the aim of reclaiming a favourable perception due to the misconceptions about the US being a an ill-cultured country. The US generated a whole new image portraying herself as a country with wealth and a variety of American lifestyle with a lot of care for the people's well-being. Through this 'soft power', a lot of effort was hence made to construct a positive perspective that created and sustained the US hard power aims. Among the main aim objective that the US sought in Norway was to guarantee government support for US's intrusion to the western Alliance. US also wanted advance her capability and willingness alongside other Atlantic states to support military and ideological risks posed by USSR. Norway

then resolved to work with other western states by participating in the European Recovery Plan in 1947-8 as well as joining the NATO in 1945 and being one of the Chartered members. Apart from that, Norwegian government put up a close bilateral relation with the US in military and strategic collaborations (Helge, 2009). This resulted in the change of Norwegian government's initial policy of non-alignment.

2.2.2 The Coverage of China in the Latin American Press

The type communication medium defines how the message is framed (East African Trade Report, 2014). The Latin America's media channels have attempted to inform and present a modern understanding of the Asian country. Media organisations such as Agenda de noticias, Associated press and Agence France-press have shaped the image prior to China's acceptance of Latin America after late 1970's. The number of Latin America reporters providing media coverage of China is few as compared to the number of other foreign reporters. This portrays two main important issues: first being the reliance of information Latin America's news channels have on the European and American news Channels which results on conveying on the frames of China; and shows the significance these countries are according to the people's republic of China. This means that Latin nations are not yet much concerned in capturing in detail the affairs about these two distant states beyond the shallow information these journalists are able to get. A bigger percentage of the negative frames come from other international media channels (Jhon & Ospine, 2017).

As a result of these media frames, the positive reputation of PRC is gradually evolved in the Latin American press. The reason is that in five Latin American national newspapers the reputation of a foreign government has numerous perspectives and has generated critic opinion underlining the significance of China in the global sphere. This modern complex image of China

produces a distinction with the monolithic communist/socialist perception traditionally held (Jhon & Ospine, 2017).

2.2.3 The CNN Effect

There exists little doubt that greatly impact the foreign policy processes. Media execute an agenda setting purpose by causing policy makers to concentrate on issues they had raised, but eventually have little effect on how policy makers then select to react to those issues. Television news broadcast has a tactical effect occasionally, but not a strategic one; that it works successfully on humanitarian matters than when real security issues. An evaluation of the developing literature offers at more than three theoretically discrete and logically valuable comprehension of media's influence on the foreign policy process; CNN effect as a policy agenda setting catalyst, a barrier to the accomplishment of anticipated policy objectives, and an accelerant to policy decision implementation (Livingston, 1996). CNN effect is realized when critical media exposure offers negotiating power for those looking for an adjustment in policy or makes policymakers feel stressed to react to a policy decision or risk having a tainted national image. As a result, the media can influence policy outcomes (Piers, 2005).

The global mass media has certainly become an increasingly powerful and independent actor on the U.S. political scene, but to what extent does this "CNN effect" actually play an active role in the categorical development and execution of U.S. foreign policy? Government officials, legislators, media professionals, and scholars have certainly voiced a strong and growing concern and anxiety that journalists are exercising an uncontainable control over U.S. foreign policy (Steven & Todd 1995). These concerns are unfounded and that, in most cases, the significance of the "CNN effect" is grossly overstated. The media does not control the direction of U.S. foreign policy – the media's effect on U.S. foreign policy is far more complex than just a simple "cause

effect" attribution suggests and much more subservient to the policy actions of government officials themselves than the case commonly seems. Rather than having an overarching and controlling effect on the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy, the "CNN effect" wields its power in two very specific ways: First as a catalyst-the pervasiveness of "real-time" media reports often contracts the policymaking process, giving officials less time before they must respond publicly and second as a watchdog-if executive branch policy is in flux or is poorly articulated, media reports have a greater role in focusing U.S. public opinion in a given direction. This in turn leads to an impact on policy.

The media's catalytic function has to do with the nature of technology and the ability of modern news media to transmit graphic images almost instantaneously. This speed overwhelms and overburdens the traditional policymaking structures, forcing decisions that might not otherwise be made, perhaps before all the facts are in. "Real-time" reports can also force government officials to spend far more time than they used to explaining and selling their policies to the public and worrying about how those policies will be received. The president and his staff may then try to "fine tune" the policy by making rhetorical adjustments. These adjustments, if left unabated, can potentially force a sharp, impulsive, and almost certainly an unexpected change in focus at the upper levels of government. In short, this catalytic function makes the conduct of foreign policy and the use of military force "more transparent, subjecting diplomats and military officers to a level of democratic review that has little, if any, historical precedent," (Warren, 1997).

This first function of media as catalyst certainly has a great deal to do with the media's second function, of watchdog. No one can deny the fact that the speed at which the global mass media is able to report on events today has thrown open U.S. government policies and actions to more

unrestricted public review than at any other point in U.S. history. As a result, government officials cannot afford to conduct modern foreign policy without explaining it to, and building support among, the American public (Warren, 1997). They can do this through the news media and with the emergence of "real-time" reporting. This gives policymakers a corresponding increase in their ability to frame events and solicit public support, but they must do so responsibly and diligently. If government officials and policymakers are clear, organized and relatively straightforward about their policy, the media can be a powerful tool for garnering public support. However, if government officials and policymakers fail to put forth concrete and well-defined policies, the news media will fill this "policy void" by focusing on the criticisms or the policy preferences of the government's opponents. Also, if policymakers wander from their societal mandate, the news media will "sooner or later make this fact transparent, and those officials will find public opinion in open revolt, demanding, usually without great specificity, a change of policy." In this, they may discover what has been called the "dark side" of the "CNN effect," a force – "as sudden, immediate and powerful as an avenging angel" – that can sweep them along in its path (Warren. 1997).

The media are increasingly a part of process in the communications between governments and publics about international politics. The seizure of US embassy in Tehran   set the stage for one of the longest media –orchestrated sagas in network. During the hostage crisis, debate raged within the American public and the government over the role of the embassy takeover. For a while, half of the United State was pre-empted each night by the latest broadcast by satellite from Tehran. Iran established the pre –eminence of television in instant diplomacy (Karl, 1982). CNN effect, which is a result of government's response to humanitarian crisis due to media coverage, saw government implement foreign policy by intervention in Somalia and Kosovo.

Media reports on Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenyan Coast influenced Western States like United States of America, France and Britain to issue travel bans to Kenya for their citizens. CNN correspondent's decision to brand Kenya as a' hot bed of terror' had a negative impact on the country's foreign policy objectives.

2.2.4 Propaganda, Diplomacy, and International Public Opinion

For a long time military and economic power, applied disjointedly, or in combination, have aided as the pillars of diplomacy (Karl, 1982). They still serve that purpose but the current rise in influence of the masses of the public over government, in conjunction with more consciousness on the part of the leaders of the desires of public has produced a new element of foreign policy processes. Particular foreign policy goals can be pursued by engaging directly with the publics of foreign nations, instead of their governments. By employing current tools and methods of communications it is possible currently to influence large or influential sections of national populations –to enlightened them, to sway their attitudes, and sometimes possibly even to inspire them to a certain course of action. These groups consequently, are capable of applying visible, even decisive, pressures on their government. The design of international affairs was further transformed by the automated communications advancement and the advert of popular opinion as a substantial force in foreign affairs. Foreign policy could no more be executed as it had been during the 19th century, when diplomacy was exclusive domain of professional diplomats who employed (often secret) negotiations to reach consensuses founded on power and interest. Advances in mass communication and the augmented consideration to national audiences in foreign country to international relations meant that the target of diplomacy had broadened to include common view as much, if not more so, than traditional diplomatic undertakings (Karl, 1982).

In other words, effective use of media and propaganda would encourage popular opinion to support a government's policies by appealing over the government leaders directly to public opinion which would therefore put forth pressure on government policy makers. During the course of Cold War, propaganda and diplomacy worked on multiple levels. At the most noticeable level, propaganda as it is usually understood (the utilization of communication skills to influence opinions and actions) was used as a discrete tool of U.S foreign policy. Through the US information Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, and other apparatuses, the US conducted a war of words and of ideas that criticized socialism, supported capitalism and democracy, shielded U.S foreign policies, and promoted the American lifestyle so as to win the Cold War (Karl, 1982).

Public diplomacy and propaganda have argumentative connections, with the main reason being that both manipulation of public opinion and propaganda being one subcategory of public diplomacy. Although propaganda and public diplomacy equally seeks to influence public opinion; they allow a different set of guiding principles. Public diplomacy encompasses a great range of effect, centring heavily on the making of shared understanding by way of unconstructed conversation and improved cultural and educational collaborations. As propaganda exists in various diverse forms both explicit and clandestine, it is in the long run the role of the individual to decide the degree of influence it is capable to bear on public opinion (Neilson, 2001). Support of country's foreign policy is probably the principal task of the national propaganda. Serving in the capacity, it encounters special problem. Unless foreign policy is clearly defined, it is impossible for propaganda to make its aim clearly understood (Neilson, 2001). The infusion of psychological concerns and propaganda approaches into the conduct of diplomacy among the Cold War's most major legacies, but given the advancement in communication technologies of

the late 20th century, it was perhaps expected that the ancient art of diplomacy would become obstructed by the tools of propaganda and public sway. Notwithstanding the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War's propaganda wars, foreign policy remains to be faltered by images disseminated rapidly across the globe. The age of brazen propagandistic populations and broadcast may have faded into history, but the art of propaganda has just advanced to become less explicit methods of image manufacturing and media manipulation. In the same emerge as critical machineries of political strength, the act of posing for public opinion has resulted into more complicated, encompassing such methods as performed media events, created news, coordinated public appearances, and cautiously produced sound bites. The communication techniques that disguise contemporary propaganda have concealed the simple fact that the end of Cold War has brought along more propaganda (Neilson, 2001). If propaganda is fashioned skilfully – if it is plausible and satisfying – it can in many cases function effectively. If it is clumsy and confusing than good. The success of propaganda as a tool of foreign policy demands that those who take part in the making of this policy give careful consideration to the effects of their pronouncements on peoples abroad. A single imprudent statement may in one unfortunate moment destroy the work of months of carefully prepared propaganda.

2.3 The Challenges of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making Process in Kenya

In her foreign policy, Kenya seeks to advance regional integration, democratisation, peace and security and accelerated economic development. However, foreign policy implementation in Africa is characterized by many challenges. Foreign policy-making is as profoundly affected by domestic political setting as by international constrains. The African states are unquestionably aware of the pluralities that characterize their continent. Therefore, do the African states perceive

of these as impediments to the coalescence of mutual interests and the evolution of a common role and a common stand in international affair? More important, have they developed a common personality, have they evolved and articulated shared interests in this arena? At independence and throughout the ensuing years, crucial issues have engendered diverse views, oftentimes so widely divergent as to threaten the polarization of Africa. Yet on each occasion, the OAU, after full debate, reached consensus or a majority decision. This came to be known as "the African position," and its adoption not on influenced events on the continent, but usually had international consequences as well (Akiyemi 1982).

At this point, one could legitimately ask whether we are not seeing here favourable evidence from selected success stories. What about Chad, for instance, or Western Sahara? It can be contested that this country cannot be termed for OAU, for the OAU does not claim to resolve conflicts. The Cuban, not the OAU, provided the military muscle that put the MPLA into power in Angola. Nigeria's military machine, not the OAU, won the civil war in that country. Rather than resolve conflicts, the OAU insulates them from non-African factors, and in doing so, ensures their resolution by sheer exhaustion. Furthermore, in its role as mediator or conciliator, the direction in which the OAU is leaning can often be detected. A careful analysis of the OAU on the Western Sahara shows subtle condemnation of the Moroccan position. On its face, the Chadian civil war is difficult to present as a success for the OAU. Yet the longest surviving government that Chad has known since 1975 was set up In Lagos under the auspices of the OAU in 1979. This government is also the most broadly based one that Chad has had since independence in 1960. Although the OAU has not fully succeeded in eliminating France as a factor in Chadian politics, it has succeeded in fielding a peacekeeping force in Chad. If we were to judge the OAU by the same standards applied to the UN, the EEC, the OAS, and NATO we

could find that it has done just as well, if not much better in handling its problems. We have only to recall Cyprus, the Middle-East, the Indian-Pakistan crisis, El Salvador, and other such critical world problems to appreciate this (Akiyemi, 1982).

Africa has called for UN reform as part of its foreign policy. Policy has been based on the concept that the achievement of the objective requires Africans to develop a structured and adequate response to globalization; to the transformation of the UN (and other multilateral institutions), guarantee all countries in Africa meet the MDGs; and find ways of restructuring of global application of power. Powerful Western countries have pursued their strategies and interests mainly through financial means because any articulate political justification is no longer a direct physical or military involvement. The economic manipulation and isolation of Africa did not end with the Cold War, one way for Africa to finish the influences of ex colonial powers, and new powers with negative conviction and intentions is to promote a strategy of Africans speaking with one voice, and for governments to form strong alliances of external dominance in Africa in the media and other forums (UN Chater, 1945).

For example, part of South Africa's foreign policy is the 'African agenda' –that Africa must not admit globalization in the age of "neoliberalism as hegemon" and "need to put forward a modern economic model that integrates both democratic governance and a reliable and responsible market place; the model need to go past the "anti" in anti-globalization". It has to be a model that articulates the problems of underdevelopment, the irrational international division of labour, the growing unmerited distribution of global wealth, global poverty, the increasing power of multinational corporations and the effects of liberal governance and administration. Although these are supercilious ideals expressed by policy architects, government has regularly found it challenging to implement the African Agenda policy effectively. For example, while government

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has considered its internal and foreign economic policies as a hindrance to neo-liberalism, critics, including civil society within and those outside Africa have often termed the strategy as neo-imperialists (Sule, 2012).

Because of ethnic diversities within African states define foreign policy implementation. Apart from having the annual financial plan ratified by the parliament, Diplomatic nominees are also evaluated and sanctioned by Parliament. By regular conduct of foreign affairs one comes across shortcomings which are often triggered by communication break. In January 2003, a section of the Nigeria's House of Representatives visited Pakistan, ostensibly pursuing to mediate in the row over Kashmir, without informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nigeria's ministry of foreign affairs informed the Chairman of the Committee indicating the jeopardy of such a tour devoid of background understanding of the subtle balance of alliances. The legislatives responded angrily, claiming they are not bound by foreign minister's whatsoever foreign policy strategy (Sule, 2012)." In Tanzania, a committee of the members of National Assembly on foreign affairs was established in 1972 to enable legislative members propagate information about trends in the country's foreign policy. While the purpose of the Committee is largely advice –giving, it has, to discuss and scrutinise strategies for the implementation of foreign policy objectives, and to enlighten the public about what is trendy in the international scene. Evidence shows that the Committee has not been much successful in enlightening the public in regards to what is occurring in global affairs.

In 2013, Kenya, through the MFA formulated a foreign policy document to guide it in attainment of policy objectives. The document explains Kenya's Foreign Policy as it has advanced from the beginning of the post-colonial period. It underlines the fundamental principles, objectives and main priorities, strategies and the implementation agenda. Among the frame works for the

implementation of the policy is public diplomacy. Media and public diplomacy is vital to actively promote Kenya's brand overseas. The Kenya foreign policy style consequently embraces new communication systems and platforms to engage with foreign stakeholders (MFA, 2014).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The study utilized two theories on the analysis of the media influence on foreign policy decision making process namely the decision making theory and the liberalism theory. The two theories complement each other in meeting the objectives of the study. The elements of each theory were be tied together to form a conceptual framework.

2.4.1 The Theory of Decision Making

Researches and studies based on the decision making theory seek to discover: Who within the state makes political decisions, and whether such decisions are rational or irrational. What are the parameters for determining rationality in political decision making? What are the impacts of such decisions on the political system? (Snyder & Diesing, 1977). In Politics and International relations today, three main theories of decision making are current. They are: The Rational actor theory, the bounded rationality theory, and the Bureaucratic politics theory.

2.4.1.1 The Rational Actor Theory

The rational actor theory of decision making, also known as the maximizing of expected utility theory, assumes that: There is a single homogenous good or utility which is present in all actually desired ends, and an increased amount of any end brings with it an increased amount of utility, at a steadily diminishing rate (Snyder & Diesing, 1977). In this case the end or good is subject to the theory of diminishing marginal utility. The decision maker is faced with a set of

well-defined and mutually exclusive alternatives from which he can choose. That being a rational educated and skilled actor, the decision maker is able to estimate the outcome and calculate the expected value or benefit of each outcome. Given these assumptions, the decision maker calculates the expected value of each alternative, compares all alternatives, and chooses the alternative that maximizes expected utility, or in the game perspective chooses the strategy that maximizes utility and minimizes regret. He can also calculate the cost of new information, compare it with the expected returns, and estimate how much time or effort he must expend in getting new information (Snyder and Diesing, 1977). Cross' version of the maximizing model thus depends even more on the assumption of remarkable calculating ability since the calculations are done not once, but continually. (Snyder & Diesing, 1977) That the decision maker has access to limitless information concerning all the options connected with the alternatives under his consideration. That the maximizer is an institutionally designated actor empowered to act in a democratic or popular participatory political context, which is inherently stable. That the decision maker is able to rise above personal prejudices and biases in order to be unyieldingly objective and rational. It is however just in these assumptions that the limitations of this paradigm lie. Furthermore as has been stated under ecological framework, the decision making environment must manifest openness and popular participation. This not being always the case, the decision maker's sense of objectivity and responsibility cannot always be guaranteed.

2.4.1.2 The Bounded Rationality Theory

The bounded rationality theory may be seen as a complement to the rational actor model. Dropping some of the assumptions of the latter such as homogeneity of goods and outstanding calculating ability, it comes closer to empirical practice without necessarily losing theoretical

simplicity. The bounded rationality theory assumes inter alia, but most fundamentally, the heterogeneity of goods, as against the homogeneity of the rational actor. It acknowledges the great difficulty associated with making comparison between incomparable ends which are mutually exclusive, or nearly so, such that achieving one may undermine if not completely sacrifice the other. there is an assumption of greater dynamism and mobility in the availability of alternatives and information concerning available options. Thus not all alternatives are known or available at the start of a decision making process. However, the main distinguishing feature of this model from the earlier one, is the fact of heterogeneity of goods. This eliminates completely the idea of the "best possible alternative", which in this context has no operational meaning, as there is no way of "maximizing" choices. "A simple decision/problem under this paradigm is one in which there is a single goal to be achieved and two or more evils to be avoided, and in which an acceptable alternative is one that achieves the goal and avoids the evils. In another kind of problem, one must prevent one evil while avoiding still others (Snyder & Diesing, 1977).

However, "achieving a goal" is not an absolute concept, since goals are achievable in stages and to vary degrees. The criterion which specifies what degree of achievement is acceptable to the decision maker is what is known as the level of aspiration. For example, if the United States of America could not "take out" Saddam Hussein and install a new government in Baghdad as was the main objective, it could at least contain and neutralize Iraq under Saddam as an effective military threat in the Gulf region. The latter being a reduced but acceptable (even if temporarily) level of aspiration vis-à-vis the initial goal. America had to be satisfied with this reduced level of aspiration for now in order to avoid the greater evil of losing the support of its allies in the event of its going ahead to overrun Baghdad and arrest Saddam in person. Besides it needed to avoid the risk of a more determined opposition from the Soviet Union and China, in addition to

international condemnation, instead of applause. The level of aspiration could be reviewed upwards on downwards in the course of development of events, and is by no means static. But since the term "level of aspiration" cannot be used in reference to negative constraints, which concerns protection of something already achieved, the term level of acceptability is used to describe the protection of existing values or avoidance of evil effects or better put, "negative constraints". From the theoretical viewpoint the level of aspiration and level of acceptability represents the maximum and minimum levels respectively to changes in aspirational level. Initial aspiration level may be set at maximum level at the onset of bargaining, although the decision maker normally does not expect to achieve his full initial bid, and would be satisfied with a bit less. As the bargaining progresses, there may be successive lowering of levels but usually never as low as the minimum, but this varies according to the nature of available alternatives. But in none of these procedures for raising or lowering levels of aspiration or acceptability is complex calculating ability required. Bounded rationality and maximizing theories are not as incompatible as they may appear to be. They can indeed be combined with one as a supplement to the other.

The bounded rationality can provide solutions where the shortcomings of the maximizing theory become an obstacle. As for instance, in the process of searching for the best alternative, it is impossible to consider all alternatives. Thus the decision maker may use constraints and levels of acceptability to eliminate and narrow down the alternatives to a few obvious reasonable and promising choices. Nor can one consider all possible consequences. When a particular bad consequence appears, one can eliminate the alternative or modify it to reduce the likelihood of that consequence recurring by using the levels of acceptability to screen alternatives. Thus whereas maximization equation represents the ideal limits that a good decision approach, through its potential for greater exactitude, the bounded Rationality procedures are however

more descriptive of actual decisions. Conversely, the maximizing theory, by focusing on the ideal limits ignores the actual difficulties of comparing goods, (especially such goods as are not comparable). The bounded rationality theory by providing a practical way to deal with the problem, however loses sight of the ideal goal of the entire process. Both of these models are necessary and complimentary. Finally, in order to properly position the bounded rationally theory in its true perspective, the view of Snyder and Diesing (1977) quoted herein is most germane. One can approach this combination by considering why crises occur at all. They occur because the normal conflict of interest between great powers has become so intense as to produce an intolerable situation for at least one power. The bounded rationality theory focuses directly on this central point. Crises decision making is a search for a strategy that will correct the intolerable situation, that is, a strategy that will preserve or achieve all endangered goods at an acceptable level. It is a search for an acceptable strategy. When a decision maker cannot find or construct even one acceptable strategy, he does not choose the best of the unacceptable strategies, that is, he does not maximize, and he stalls if possible postponing action and search for a way out of the intolerable situation (Snyder & Diesing, 1977). Whenever the need arises to find an immediate solution to a crisis situation and where there are no acceptable choices, there is little opportunity to maximize. The bounded rationality model of decision making theory becomes imperative.

2.4.1.3 The Bureaucratic Politics Theory

Unlike the preceding two theories of decision making which are essentially problems solving the decision maker as a unitary actor, the bureaucratic politics theory drops the unitary actor paradigm and looks at the political processes occurring inside the decision making unit. Here the decision maker is the institutions of government, being composed of a set of bureaus with

different resources and responsibilities, quite different information sources and also differing largely in the influence they each wield over the central decision maker. Within each department information is sourced and operationalized, conclusions reached and recommendations made in the process of development of policy decisions that are meant to contribute to the national interest. The various ministries/departments compete amongst themselves for opportunity to influence decisions using its political authority, contacts and expertise to develop and implement strategies. Decision making in this theory is a process of getting one's government officially and actually committed to some bargaining strategy or tactic, and this involves getting the approval of those officials whose approval is needed officially and actually. In game terms, decision making here is a process of building a majority coalition. The strategy is the coalition agreement (Snyder & Diesing, 1977). The strategy for building coalitions may include persuasion, bargaining, lobbying key officials and departments in a piecemeal fashion. It may also include trade-offs between departments that are natural opponents. This system of alliances and coalition in the struggle for influence in the decision making process seems to have a strong parallel with the theory of balance of power in a multi- polar, and bi-polar world that is ideologically polarized. Here the process is the same as when independent states form coalitions to resist a dominant power or to enforce a principle or a decision upon another independent state, as the U.S. was able to do in the case of Iraq during the Gulf war.

In concluding this theory, reference has to be made also to the cybernetic theory of decision making, which sees the demands of the system through information gathered from the system as inputs into the decision making process(Snyder & Diesing, 1977). The policy decisions that emerge from the system are the output which is delivered into the society. The output further elicits reactions which are returned to the system as feedback. The feedback forms a new input

for further analysis to produce a fresh output. Basically however, the three theories of decision making discussed in this study, and which forms the basic cornerstones of decision making theory are complementary. The bureaucratic politics theory supplements rather than competes with the rational actor and the bounded rationality theories. It focuses more on the institutional framework for decision making and the internal political imperatives of maintaining and increasing influence and power, rather than on the problem of choosing a strategy to deal with external opportunity or threat (Snyder & Diesing, 1977).. The bureaucratic model may be seen as the basic machinery through which the first two theories operate within the state. Therefore one can conclude that the same decision making behaviour can be described as a process of forming and changing coalitions, or as a process of testing alternatives against constraints, lowering aspiration levels estimating costs, and raising levels of acceptance.

2.4.2 Liberalism Theory

This study also applied Liberalism theory. As a theory of international relations, liberalism centres on the rules and norms that have advanced between countries. Fundamental to this theory is the conviction in, and commitment to, developing a rule –governed conduct between countries that consequently can result in greater levels of collaboration and a reduced levels of conflict. This theory assumes that general public in a country commonly desire for peace rather than war and public opinion act as a powerful check on elected leaders and hence on the external behaviour of that particular country (Piers *et al*, 2012). The processes through which these opinion affect government policy include the media. For this to occur both public opinion and media should control foreign policy making and implementation and that the media are autonomous of government when covering international affairs.

In a democratic state, public opinion ought to reflect in the state's domestic policy, including foreign policy because democratic governments are thought to be responsive to the public. This is because, in democratic states, the media are expected to facilitate full and open discussion on important matters and represent the opinion of the public. Thus, news representations such as current affairs reporting ought to serve to educate, inform and advance debate. In other words, the media disseminated news should at the agenda for the public's attention to the minor cluster of concerns around which public opinion forms (McCombs, 2006). While doing this, a collective agreement can be reached which can then affect government policy.

At the global arena, liberalism assertions about free speech and global free movement of information, in particular the media communication, have been linked with the enlightened spread of liberal values. The media then becomes a main tool of soft diplomacy; a means of realizing your international objectives attracting and convincing other countries to wilfully accept your goals instead of forcing them to (hard power) (Nye, 2004). Soft power emanates from the desirability of a state's governance system. When others view your governance system as appropriate, soft power is boosted. This, as broadcasted by the media, will advance liberal values especially on cooperation among states.

Liberalism, unlike realism, puts far better analytical importance on the purpose of public opinion and the media in foreign policy making and implementation. Realism, on the contrary contends that media and public opinion are appropriate in foreign policy since foreign policy is the product of inter-state power struggles in international politics. Realists' contents that policy is made by foreign elites who outline and pursue the national interests under the influence of an anarchic international system but not under the influence of domestic media and publics (Nye, 2004). In solving the problem of foreign policy implementation, liberalism thus provide

analytical platform to assess the role of media in shaping public opinion which in turn influence foreign policy decisions. This theory is applied in this study by demonstrating how the media, as a form of soft power, can be used to promote liberal values such as international cooperation in various aspects of development such as peace and security, democracy, trade and human rights.

In a model involving media and foreign policy decision making process, presented among others, is Robinson's Media – Policy Interaction Model. In his study about the CNN effect, Robinson (1999) searches where the initiative that "triggered" action on behalf of the government came from, the media or the administration itself, and the answer supports Livingston and Eachus research's result.

Robinson's analysis reaches the issue of media pressure itself by suggesting that certain arguments are "loose speculations about 'complex systems', 'fluid interplay' and a 'rich and diverse relationship' between media coverage and policy outcomes – all of which sounds reasonable enough but does little to clarify things or prove a direct casual relationship between media coverage and policy outcomes" (Miller, 2014). However, there is no outcome in Robinson's work answering to the question of what pressure is and how it is observed. So, without trying to avoid doing so, Robinson highlights the key epistemological problem of this field. "Unfortunately, influence cannot be observed in any obvious or straightforward fashion. We cannot see inside the minds of policy – makers and directly observe media influence at work", he writes. However true that might be, there must be a way to see, identify and even measure pressure and influence, argues Miller – and suggests that indeed there is; "to do so however, requires that we build an assumptive base, offer a theory about media pressure, and then devise a coding system to make that theory testable. This can be done by listening in a very particular way to what people say, and how it evidently affects others". Supporting traces of

evidence can be found in the very actions of officials on a matter that has been publicized, or of journalists toward a certain policy. By that it means that, if a shift of position on a planned action of foreign affairs by the officials after a certain point of view or new clues on the case have been publicized, can be assumed, having no other action that would evoke such a shift, that this was an act of influence by the media towards the government. Robinson suggests that this model shows the possibility of media 'taking sides' during elite debates over policy formulation (Robinson, 2000). Thus, the media can only play a significant role when the members of the government are on a debate or disagree about the policy that is being drawn. He suggests that by promoting one of the options suggested (by some officials) to be followed, the media can cause a shift in policy. It can only be speculated that, of course, Miller argues, for there is no actual proof that any other initiatives have been taken on behalf of the government, that the media workers might have not been informed of.

Figure 2.1 shows the synthesis of the theory as well as the concept used in this analysis. It assists in identifying the media influence on Kenya's foreign policy decision making at implementation phase. In the scenario where government policy line is uncertain, news media coverage is extensive and critical as direction of influence is opposite, media influence occurs. In the absence of a clear, well − articulated policy line, the government is vulnerable to critical and extensive media attention. If news reports are critically framed, advocating a particular course of action, the government is forced to do something or face a public relations disaster. Here, media can significantly influence the policy process. When the government has clear and well-articulated objectives it tends to set the news agenda. Coverage might become critical if there is elite dissensus. With the executive decided on a particular course of action, media coverage is unlikely to influence policy.
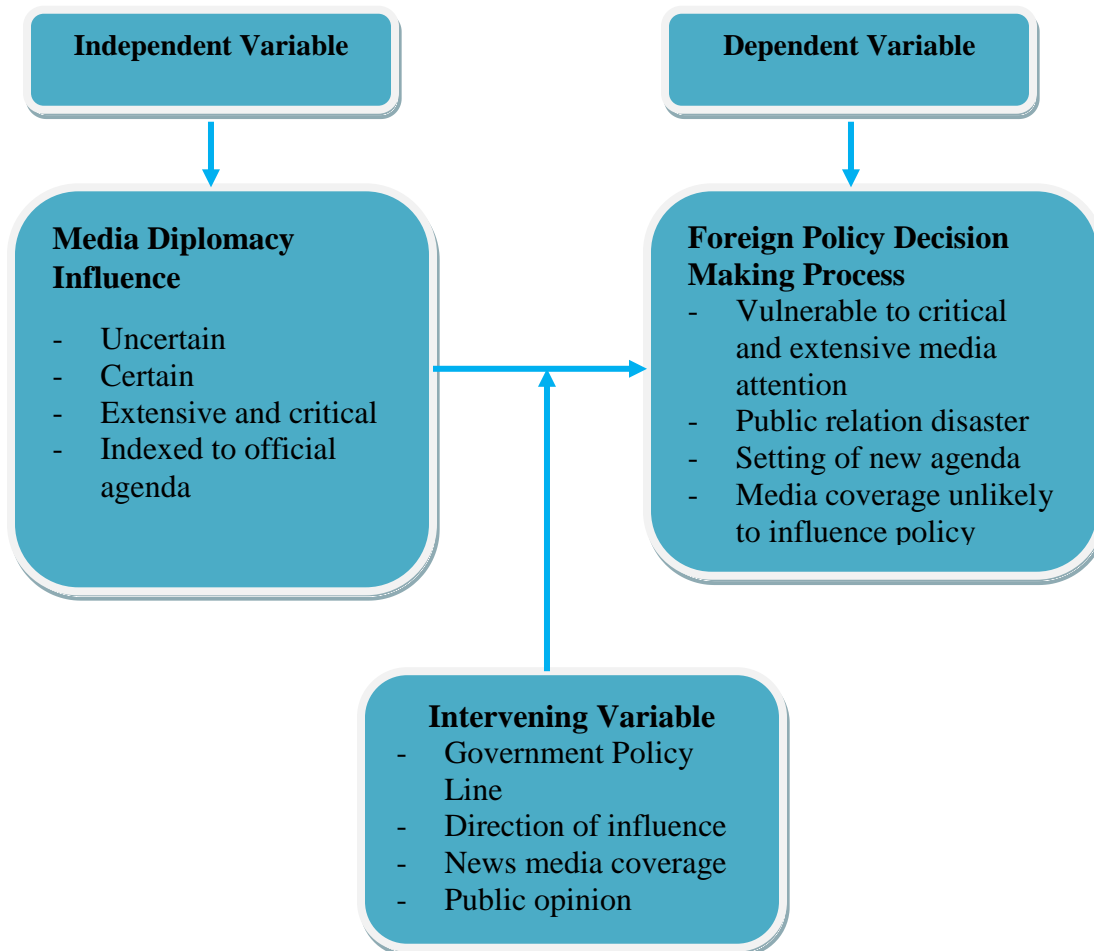
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Model Showing Interaction of Variable

Source: Researcher, 2018

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed relevant literature to the study on the following sub themes; The Nature of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making; The Effects of Media Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Decision Making Process; The Challenge of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making Process. The Chapter has also discussed the theories that guided the study. The next chapter discusses research methodology that interrogated the problem.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research methodology that was used in the study. It presents the research design, study area, sampling strategies, data collection methods and research instruments namely, questionnaire, interviewing and documentary analysis. In addition, the chapter describes data analysis method and spells out the manner in which data gathered were processed, analyzed and interpreted. A brief discussion of reliability and validity of research instruments is undertaken. Lastly the limitations of the study and ethical considerations are discussed. The chapter ends with a summary.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed historical and explorative research designs and utilize both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Historical research design as recommended by Okoth (2012) was used in the analysis of nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya which is the first objective of the study. Explorative research design was used for objectives two and three of this study. Explorative research design is appropriate as it emphasizes a discovery of ideas and possible insights that may help in identifying areas of further rigorous study. Exploratory research helps to determine whether to proceed with a research idea and how to approach it. As such the research design appropriate for such studies must be flexible enough to provide opportunity for considering different aspects of a problem under study as noted by Kothari (2004). The study employed an exploratory research design to explore the variables and provide an opportunity for the researcher to collect systematic information on the extent to which media diplomacy influence on foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. Given that the concept of media diplomacy was an emerging phenomenon in

Kenya, exploratory research design was used as an initial method to lay the groundwork that led to discover new ideas and diagnose the situation regarding the specific research objectives Furthermore, exploratory research was used to guide the question building process and thus enabled the researcher to provide rich quality information useful to identify the main issues with regards to media diplomacy influence on Kenya foreign policy decision making process at implementation phase. Overall, the exploratory design consisted of the collection and analysis of qualitative data followed by the collection and analysis of quantitative data (Creswell, 2009). As observed by Creswell (2009), priority was given to the qualitative phase and the two methods were integrated at the interpretation phase of the study. The choice of these designs was influenced by the purposes and circumstances of the researcher as well as the strengths and limitations of each approach. The study design was also anchored on the theoretical underpinnings of the study aimed at gaining a holistic inquiry on the study. The two theories (Decision Making Theory and Liberalism theory) formed a key part of the study's qualitative techniques, aimed at explaining real phenomenon and stimulating meaning on how media diplomacy has influenced foreign policy decision making process at implementation phase in Kenya.These research design enabled to address the definition and measurement of the critical variable for the media – foreign policy interaction in Kenya. The design allowed the researcher to reach target population of respondents and to scan a wide field of issues.

3.2 Study Area

The location of study was within Nairobi Kenya. The choice of this region was centered on the fact that Nairobi is a home to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies of various states and regional international organizations such as United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), United Nations Offices at Nairobi (UNON) as well home of most of Kenya's news and media

organisations and several multinatinational media organizations have their regional headquarters such as BBC, CNN, Agence France-Presse, Reuters among others. Field visits were made to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Information Communication and Technology, British High Commission and Ethiopia embassy.
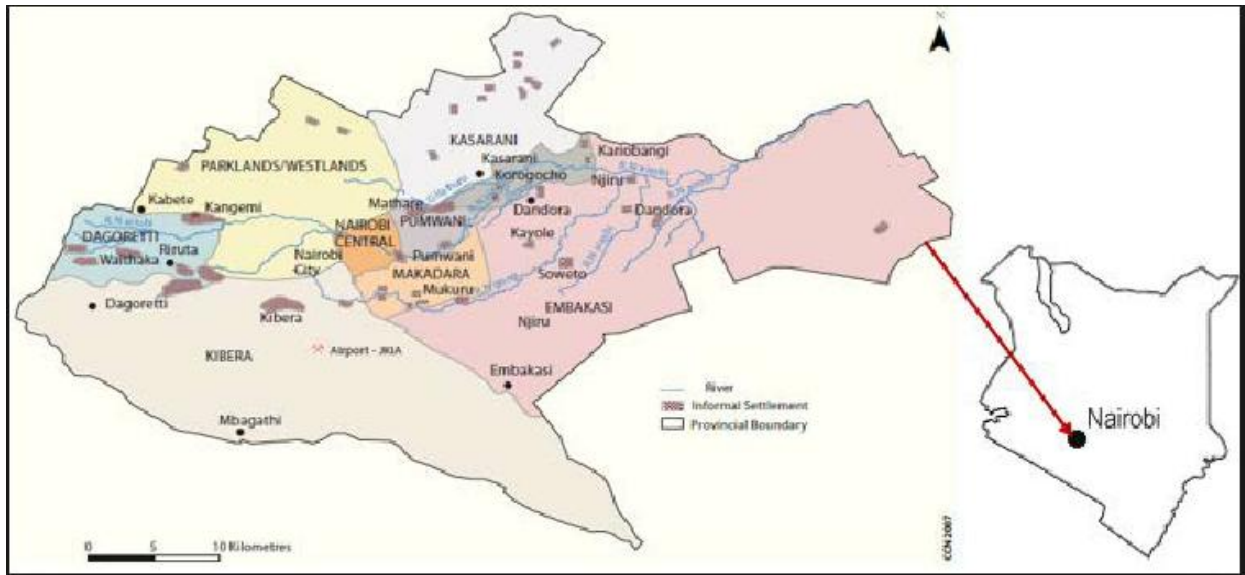
Figure 3.1: Map of the Study Area
Source: Researcher, 2018

3.3 Study Population

The target population comprised individuals from various institutions as follows: state actors including but not limited to: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK), British and Ethiopia Embassies. This study targeted policy makers due to the technicality of the topic. The study targeted government officials from ministry of foreign affairs, embassies/ diplomatic personnel and Communication Authority of Kenya-who enforce regulations on all media activities in Kenya. These institutions were purposively sampled due to the fact that their

activities were directly linked to foreign policy which is the main focus of this study. The primary data was supplemented by semi-structured face to face interviews with preselected representatives such as diplomats, ambassadors, and other government representatives as shown in the table 3.1

Table 3.1 Target Population

Category	Total Population
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50
Communication Authority of Kenya	50
British High Commission	10
Ethiopia Embassy	10
Total Target Population	**120**

Source: Author, 2019

3.4 Sampling Frame and Sampling Size

This study employed both probability and non-probability sampling methods in which desired population under study was sampled. The study used proportionate stratified sampling, purposive sampling and random sampling strategies in the selection of embassies. Collecting data in research, from all the potential units of analysis included in the research problem is often impractical. Therefore, a sample has to be chosen to represent the relevant attributes of the whole set of units termed population (Landreneau, 2004). The researcher preferred this strategy so as to be in a better position to examine and explore a wide array of dimensions of the study including the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya, the effects of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya and the challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. A sample is a small representation or a subset of the entire population (Welman, 2005). The

sample size was drawn from various respondents purposively selected from various institutions including but not limited to state actors from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Communication Authority of Kenya, British and Ethiopia Embassies based in Nairobi.

Three officials from the two selected Foreign Mission Offices in Nairobi and Five from both ministry of Foreign affairs and Communication Authority of Kenya officials in leadership position were interviewed in the study. The sample size determination for the study included information about sampling frames and their coverage. This study based its sampling on Gay (1987) because he argues that the minimum acceptable sample size for a descriptive and explorative research is 10% of the population. Furthermore, the choice of the sample was seen appropriate as supported by Cresswell (2005) indicating that in qualitative research, the inquirer purposefully selects individuals and sites that can provide the necessary information (Cresswell, 2005).

Table 3.2 Summary of the Sample Size

Category	Total Population	Sample Size
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50	5
Communication Authority of Kenya	50	5
British High Commission	10	3
Ethiopia Embassy	10	3
Total Target Population	**120**	**16**

Source: Author, 2019

Respondents from the two ministries and two embassies were selected using purposive sampling. The researcher intentionally selected participants who had experience with the central phenomenon of media diplomacy and foreign policy and directly or indirectly involved in the decicision making at implementation phase. The central idea was that if participants are

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purposefully chosen to be different in the first place, then their views can reflect this difference and provide a good qualitative study (Strauss & Corbin, 2001).

Purposive sampling was useful since the study relied more on qualitative research; and hence important question of focus regarding media diplomacy and its influence on Kenya foreign policy decision making at implementation was addressed. Moreover, the study enabled the researcher to draw valid inferences and make analytical generalizations on the basis of careful observation of variables (Media diplomacy influence; foreign policy decision making process).

3.5 Data Collection Method

Different sets of instruments were used to collect primary data. This study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using interview and questionnaires. Secondary data were collected from the secondary sources which involved document analysis, such as academic papers, special attention was paid the media reports. As it to form part of content analysis corresponding to the concepts of Kenya foreign policy.

3.5.1 Questionnaires

The study used open-ended and closed ended questionnaires. Items in the questionnaire were generated guided by the research objectives. As explained by Okoth (2012), an open-ended or unstructured questionnaire is utilized when the researcher wants the respondents to freely discuss issues without limiting the scope. Further the researcher used close ended or structured questionnaires where the respondents were given answers to pick. According to Kothari (2009), the close-ended questionnaire design seems to be the best method available for collecting original data, to describe a population too large to be observed directly. Close ended/structured questions were also used by the researcher because they are quicker and easier to complete since they involve minimum writing. Pre-tested questionnaires were used to get information from

selected officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence and diplomatic missions regarding the media diplomacy influence on foreign policy implementation and role of media diplomacy in foreign policy decision making by government. The questionnaire permitted the respondents to have more time to give their insights in a manner which was unbiased. Questionnaires were administered to the embassies and ministry officials on the selected sample.

3.5.2 Interview guides/Schedule

The interview guides were used to get information from key informants including ministry of foreign affairs officials and diplomatic missions' officials. This method of data collection is very much like the collection of data through questionnaire, with little difference which lies in the fact that schedules (proforma containing a set of questions) are filled in by the enumerators/ research assistants who are specially appointed for the purpose. Enumerators explain the aims and objects of the investigation and also remove the difficulties which any respondent may feel in understanding the implications of a particular question or the definition or concept of difficult terms (Kombo & Tromp, 2006).In certain situations, schedules may be handed over to respondents and enumerators may help them in recording their answers to various questions in the said schedules. Interviews were used as an exploratory tool to validate unexpected information from the questionnaires. Top officials of Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as Ministry of Defence were interviewed so as to get relevant information from the participants about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge on foreign policy matters. Top diplomats from British High Commission and Ethiopia embassy too were interviewed. In some cases, the interviews were used to explain some inconsistencies in the quantitative data. In other cases, it was simply to put emphasis on some of the issues raised through the other survey tools and to highlight historical and other factors that may have an impact on the issues raised. The

reasons the above variables were chosen for this technique is related to the sensitivity of the information and fear of discussing the issue publicly by the interviewees. It was also considered necessary for the recollection of specific events that took place at known time and locations, if possible. This kind of selection enhances the ability of participants to validate the authenticity of the report presented. In order to encourage the interviewee to have confidence and freedom to speak about their thoughts, free space and time was given to express their views about the variables. Guy (1992) point out that interviews yield direct quotations from the participants about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge.

3.5.3 Secondary Data

In this study documents based on foreign policy, media diplomacy books, journals, official documents, internet documents were collected synthesized and used as secondary data. Secondary data may either be published data or unpublished data. These include various publications of the central, state are local governments; various publications of foreign governments or of international bodies and their subsidiary organizations; technical and trade journals; books, magazines and newspapers; reports and publications of various associations connected with business and industry, banks, stock exchanges, etc.; reports prepared by research scholars, universities, economists, etc. in different fields; and public records and statistics, historical documents, and other sources of published information (Research Advisors, 2006). When the researcher utilizes secondary data, then he has to look into various sources from where he can obtain them. In this case he is certainly not confronted with the problems that are usually associated with the collection of original data. This analysis was further enhanced by the field data, as well as to provide information about the historical foreign policy between Kenya and other states. They were also used to provide an opportunity for the researcher to read between the

lines of official discourse and then triangulate this information through interviews and observations.

This technique involved studying excerpts, quotations or entire passages from these documents. Patton (2002:307) observes that document analysis provides a behind-the-scenes look at the phenomenon that may not be directly observable and about which the interviewer might not ask questions without the leads provided through documents. This data collection strategy helped the researcher to gather more knowledge for the study and to explain certain events pertaining to media diplomacy influencing Kenya's foreign policy decision making process.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of Data Collection Instruments

According to Orodho (2003) Reliability is the accuracy or precision of a measuring instrument. To ensure the reliability of the data collection instruments, the researcher conducted a pilot study in the area not targeted by the study but within the study area before conducting the actual research. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data in this study. Questionnaires were effective in obtaining both qualitative and quantitative data whereas interviews were effective in obtaining qualitative data from subject experts given the technicality of the topic. Media reports, speeches and other forms of communication relevant to issue under investigation in this study will also be used as primary source of data for content analysis.

This enabled the researcher to establish the validity and reliability of research instruments by ensuring that the instruments were clear to the respondents and that they tested what they were meant to test.

According to Kothari (2004) validity is the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. A content validity test was used to measure instrument validity. This type of validity measures the degree to which data collected using a particular instrument represent a

specific domain of indicators or contents of a particular concept (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Validity in this research was aimed at how accurately the study answers the study question or the strength of the study conclusions, and more importantly, how well the assessment tool actually measures the underlying outcome of interest of the study objectives. Since validity of assessment instruments requires several sources of evidence to build the case that the instrument measures what it is supposed to measure, the researcher employed various tools to measure the instruments validity. First, content validity was used and involved a description of the steps used to develop the instrument. National experts conferred greater validity, and thus consultations and discussions with the supervisors and experts in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology were sought for validation. Their valuable comments, corrections, suggestions, enabled the validation of the instruments. Moreover, the researcher sought key stakeholders using face validity. Although this is not a very scientific type of validity, it was seen as an essential component in enlisting the study's objectives. The content experts provided useful information, as well as piloting of the instrument prior to the actual study. This response process included information about clarity of questions and whether the thoughts of the responsnes actually matched the objectives of the study.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

 Data were analyzed by use of descriptive statistics; through quantitative and qualitative techniques. Qualitative data were drawn from open-ended questions in the questionnaire, document analysis, interview guide and focus group discussions to present the findings. This involved a critical assessment of each response and examining it using thematic interpretation in accordance with the specific objectives of the study, which were then presented in narrative excerpts within the report. Due to the qualitative impressions and feelings regarding media

diplomacy influencing foreign policy decision making process, they were more likely be suitable for qualitative analysis. The information generated from the analysis was presented through direct quotes. Content and thematic analysis of the information from interviews were undertaken to arrive at the objectives. Quantitative analysis involved use of numeric measures to evaluate the role of media diplomacy in the foreign policy implementation. Analysis was done based on descriptive statistics. Under descriptive statistics, frequencies and percentages were used and Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was used to analyze primary quantitative data. These are represented in form of tables, charts, bar graphs.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

Some of the limitations were difficulties that were encountered in securing information due to its sensitivity and, therefore, suspicions, thus some officers were unwilling to divulge information for fear of victimization. The researcher assured them of confidentiality and anonymity of the data collected. Creswell (2009) defines limitations in research as potential weaknesses or problems identified by the researcher.. The researcher, therefore, informed respondents on the aims of the research which was mainly for academic purposes, and further the unanimity of respondents was guaranteed.

It was also anticipated that it would be difficult to find the sampled groups on time and hence taking too long to collect data. Research assistants who were familiar with the geographical locations were utilized to save on time and helped to overcome the challenge of language barrier. The scope of this study entailed media usage by MFA in Kenya in interacting with foreign governments. The study looked into how media has shaped foreign policy decision making in

Kenya thus the researcher was limited to the area of study after which media diplomacy was academically discussed.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

All studies present a number of ethical and moral dilemmas which must be identified and addressed prior to carrying out any study in order to protect all participants from potential harm (Creswell, 2009). According to Okoth (2012), the nexus between research and quality assurance lies in the provisions of quality and its control. In addition, Okoth (2012) observes that this involves evaluation of research quality in regard to the type of research, particularly applied research, taking into consideration ethical concerns that must be jealously guarded (Okoth, 2012:53). Since researchers are people genuinely concerned about other people's quality of life, they must be people of integrity who will not undertake research for personal gain or research that will have a negative effect on others (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The study only commenced once the approval to conduct the research was obtained from the relevant authorities such as the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and starting at the University level (Directorate of Postgraduate Studies) as shown by appendices IV, V and VI. The researcher acknowledged any literature cited in the study, to avoid cases of plagiarism.

Welfare of the informants was accorded highest priority; privacy was protected at all times. Freely given consent was obtained from all the respondents. Participants were informed, in a manner and in a language which they did understand best, of context, purpose, nature, methods and procedures of the research. Participants were fully informed of their right to refuse, and to withdraw at anytime of the research.

Full confidentiality of all information and the anonymity of participants were maintained as recommended by (Orodho, 2004). Participants were informed of any potential limitations to the confidentiality of any information supplied. Procedures were put into place to protect the confidentiality of information and anonymity of the participants in all research materials. Participants were offered access to research results, which were presented in a manner in which they understood. All research materials were preserved in a manner which respects the agreements made with the participants.

3.10   Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the research methodology that was used to carry out the study. The historical and explorative research designs combined qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection including; questionnaires, interview guides. It has also discussed data presentation and analysis which were used. It has also discussed target population, sample size, sampling procedures, and the validity and reliability of instruments. The chapter also discussed limitations and the ethical issues arising from the study were explored and undertaken. This Chapter, therefore, sets the stage for providing and discussing research findings in ChapterS four, five and six based on the three specific objectives. Thus, the next chapter (Chapter Four) is based on the first objective which examines the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURE OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN INFLUENCING FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN KENYA

This chapter provides findings and discussion on the first objective of this study, on the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. The chapter comprises secondary data, document analysis and primary data obtained from the field. The chapter first provides an overview of secondary data on key attributes of the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process at implementation phase in Kenya. It will entail use of media in democracy by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in Kenya in interacting with foreign publics and governments. This chapter looks into how this interaction has shaped the foreign policy decisions of other countries, thereby shaping the policy outcome in Kenya; which then provides a background on the key themes that is further explored within the primary data analysis and discussion. The chapter finalizes by providing a summary.

4.1 Demographic Data

The study first sought to establish the gender and age of respondents. First, respondents were thus asked to indicate their number of years of professional experience and level of educagtion. Data were collected, analyzed and the findings summarized and results are presented in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 The study targeted the individuals who had good knowledge on the subject matter as well as the professional experience in the field to provide broader opinion from academics and analyst point of view who operated in an area of important foreign policy debate and had taken part in the implementation of foreign policy.

4.1.1 Number of years of professional experience

The respondents were asked their number of years of professional experience. The results were as shown by the figure 4.1
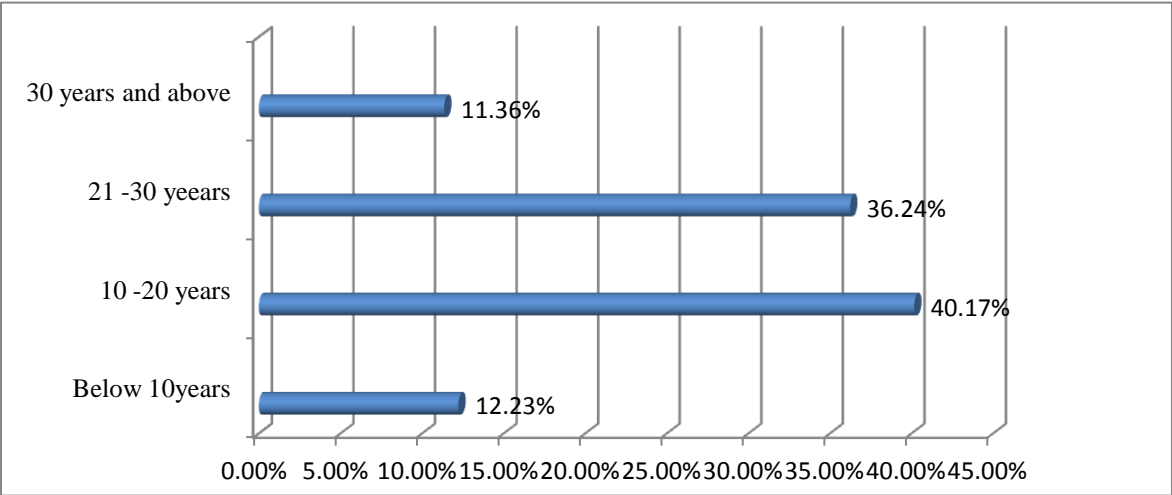
Figure 4.1: Respondents years of professional experience

Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the findings, 40.17% of the respondents indicate that they had experience of 10 to 20 years, 36.24% indicated that they had experience of 21 to 30 years, 12.23% had experience of below 10 year and 11.36% indicated that they had an experience of 30years and above. This clearly indicates that the majority of the respondents who participated in this study had more than 10 years of experience. This means that the respondents have a pronounced awareness and understanding of foreign policy implementation in Africa and the role of media thereof.

4.1.2 Level of Education

The respondents were asked to indicate their level of education. The results were as shown by the figure below.
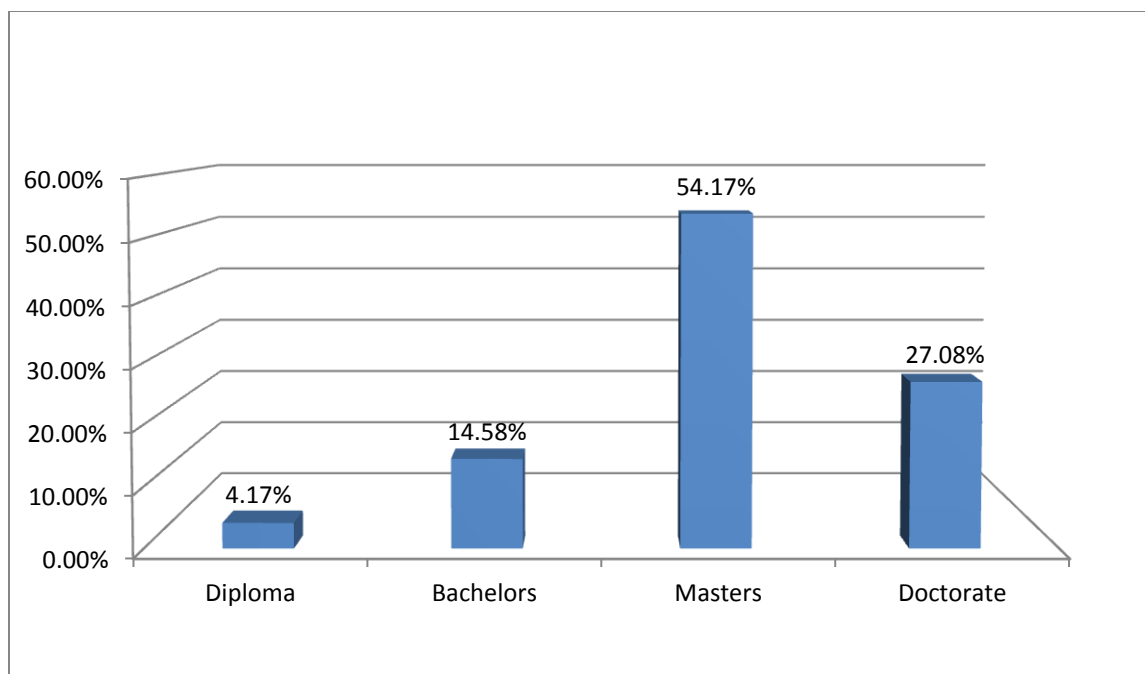
Figure 4.2: Respondents level of education

Source: Field Data, 2019

From the findings, 54.17% of the respondents had masters, 27.08% had doctorate, 14.58% had bachelors and 4.17% of the respondents has Masters and doctorate has a vast knowledge of the role of media in foreign policy implementation.

The number of years of experience of the respondents was measured and maturity pronounced awareness and understanding of foreign policy implementation in Africa and the role of media thereof. Their level of education showed that majority has a vast knowledge of the role of media in foreign policy implementation. 88% of the respondents agreed that media has expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy. Most of them indicated that media can be integrated as a diplomatic tool in foreign policy implementation to a medium extent. A majority of the respondents believed that the Kenya as a state have not utilize this tool in the

implementing their respective foreign policy. The findings also showed that media diplomacy is effective in implementing peace and security policy objectives.

4.2 Kenya's Foreign Policy: An Overview

Kenya's foreign policy objectives are; to make Kenya a peaceful, prosperous and internationally competitive. Kenya also seeks to project, promote and protect her interests and image internationally through advanced diplomacy, and contribute towards a just, peaceful and just world. Thus, Kenya's foreign policy is to be realized through diplomacy, and in line with liberal believes given that its foreign policy aims are based on the aspirations of the majority of citizens which include national and regional peace as well as national interests. The foreign policy of Kenya recognizes the importance of cooperation regionally, internationally and through multilateral organizations in establishing sustained solution to conflict and terror activities for a peaceful and secure world. In her foreign policy objectives, the cornerstone for Africa's socio – economic and political unity (MFA, 2014). It is clear from the above that Kenya believes in liberalism values and use soft power to implement its foreign policy objectives. The overview of media diplomacy influencing Kenya foreign policy decision making process is explored in the following ways:

4.2.1 History of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya's foreign policy can only be discussed in the context of its post-independence period when the country was free from colonial rule. The country's foreign policy at the time was guided by principles that include vigilant safeguarding of national interest, maintenance of independence, collaboration to foster and promote African unity, work for international peace and peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and good neighborliness (Maumo, 2009).

After independence, the need for political and economic development as well as national security drove her foreign policy especially in the early years following the path she took. Owing to the control of capital in foreign hands, Kenya could not pursue a radical foreign policy say as that of Tanzania, during the period. This was because in the assessment of the government then, Kenya could not sustain such an 'irresponsible' foreign policy if she was to maintain and attract foreign capital (Krishna, 2010). It is said that this made Kenya to hold relatively moderate views on international events. Professor Howell in his 1969 analysis of Kenya's foreign policy, points out sub-regional, regional and international political concerns which were domestic concerns but heavily influenced the way Kenya behaved internationally (Elias, 2012).

The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nations present a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world (Bernard, 2002). It is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya's image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels. Kenya's foreign policy continues to lay stress on non-alignment, Pan-Africanism, and on the African political doctrines and ideologies as well as on the principles of public international law and diplomacy. The foundations of Kenya's foreign policy also include: Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security, the charters of the UN and of the African Union as well as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the principles of good neighborliness, African solidarity, socialism, and peaceful co-existence, peaceful settlement of disputes and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states (Merton, 2008).

The first administrations since independence in 1963 led by President Kenyatta, pursued a foreign policy that emphasized cooperation with neighboring countries, support of continental liberation movements and a mixed economy that strongly encouraged foreign investment and hence close ties with western countries. After his death in 1978, there was a smooth transition despite precarious political environment, allowing vice president Moi to become president. There were attempts to topple Moi in a coup d'etat in August 1982, and later the wind of change of multiparty, democracy that blew through Kenya, but Moi was able to hold a fierce challenge and win another term of office in 1992 and again in December 1997 (Olsen, 2012).

African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya describe the lack of institutions in Africa and hence the emergence of personal rules. In the context of foreign policy, the most important policy formulation institutions are the presidency, often supported by the respective ministries of foreign affairs. Kenyatta's style of leadership was reflected in his foreign policy. Kenyatta assumed the presidency at a time when he had achieved heroic status among Kenyans and condemnation as a leader unto darkness and death by the colonial government. At independence, Kenyatta apparently had already made up his mind about Kenya's path in foreign affairs. Subsequent policy documents such as KANU manifesto and the sessional paper no. 10 of 1965 clearly spelled out Kenyatta's wishes that Kenya would be built along the lines of free enterprise, tied to the west, and that the accumulation of foreign capital would be necessary for economic growth, which led to the Foreign Investment Protection Act 1964 (Haas, 2014).

Kenya's foreign policy under former President Moi was highly centralised and reflected his self-interest in defending his government against international and domestic criticism. Moi became especially interested in neutralising the people he perceived to be opposed to his rule. He centralised and personalised power in the image of the '*Nyayo*' (Swahili for footsteps)

philosophy that mirrored Kenyatta's style of leadership. It also covered the aspirations of peace, love and unity in an attempt to stand out as a nationalist in his own right. To ensure he had grip on power, Moi systematically assumed the functions mandated for other institutions of government to the extent that the principle of separation of powers was rendered ineffectual. This was because Moi associated insecurity and instability with the open and clear criticisms and challenges levelled against his policies and style of leadership. Patronage and loyalty were the characteristic of Moi's leadership style and governance. The era was simply an authoritarian system where the president rarely delegated responsibilities and became involved in almost everything in the country including the individual rights of people (Adar, 2000).

Corruption, nepotism and tribalism became systematically rampant in government. The economy began to decline and human rights abuses became wide spread. Some Kenyans went through assassination, repression, arbitrary arrests, political trials, torture and detention with no trial of political dissidents. The tactics used in the colonial era became common place as Moi viewed human rights to be alien and Eurocentric which was inconsistent with the African value and cultural system. He also perceived activists as unpatriotic, disloyal and ungrateful individuals influenced by 'foreign masters'.

Internationally, Moi concentrated efforts on boosting the country's image through several partnerships in military peace keeping missions. Also he tried to involve the country in negotiations of peace agreements under the auspices of the Commonwealth, Organization of African Unity (OAU) and United Nations (UN). The country remained traditionalist in approach but intensified working for its interests through international organizations which it was party to. Participation in international conferences was also increased and Kenya also became a signatory to several international charters such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

adopted in Nairobi in 1986, yet it did not care for its implementation. This enhanced the nation's prestige both continentally and internationally but it could not stem the wave of criticism over governance especially in an international environment that emerged at the end of the cold war. Also, the constant domestic pressure with the decline of the economy, increasing corruption and human rights violations lingered in the political scene (Adar, 2000).

Under president Kibaki, Kenya's foreign policy underwent a significant shift both in themes and fora. According to the draft foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign policy is now based on three interlinked pillars that include economic diplomacy, peace diplomacy and environmental diplomacy. Kenya's foreign policy is now informed by the necessity to secure the regional and wider economic objectives. The county currently focuses on strengthening regional organization blocs particularly the EAC. Kenya has already put in place a Look East strategy as a means of reducing their dependence on traditional Western markets (Njagi, 2008).

The forum used to pursue foreign policy has significantly changed in order to reflect changes in the international system. One of the factors that have influenced the change in fora of implementing the country's foreign policy is growth of multilateralism. Adding on to the traditional organizations for instance the United Nations, Nonaligned Movement (NAM) and African Union (AU), Kenya now has been actively involved in engaging other countries at a multilateral forum such as China under Forum on Africa China Corporation (FOCAC), Japan under Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) and other Asia countries under New Asia - Africa Strategic Partnership (NAASP). The rise of dynamic economies of Asia especially China and India provides new opportunities for Kenya and other African states to develop new ties on Asia - Africa. The new regional initiatives from the countries in Asia avails opportunities for increased cooperation at the multilateral fora for Kenya

and also other African countries. Further to this, they provide an opportunity to negotiate for broader market access, trade facilitation and promotion of foreign direct investment (Njagi, 2008).

4.2.2 Kenya's Foreign Policy in the region and globally

Kenya is an important country not only in East and Central Africa but also in Africa and the world. It enjoys the support of the WBG, the IMF and other agencies interested in development. Kenya has taken important structural and economic reforms that have enhanced sustained economic growth in the past, in the last two decades. Development problems include poverty, inequality, climate change and susceptibility of the economy to domestic and international shocks. Kenya has attained few of the national MDGs, comprising reduced child mortality, improved access to education for both gender demographics. Kenya can be used as Africa's model country from its developing youthful population, a dynamic private sector, a new leadership structure, and its vital role in EAC (World Bank Group, 2016).

Throughout the Cold War, Kenya was inclined towards the West, but also received development support from the former Soviet Union. This was a risky balancing act, with the super powers then using proxies for supremacy. Kenya's foreign policy has experienced a major evolution as a result of the new developments in international affairs such as globalization, regional integration and threats to global peace and stability. The goal is to protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, enhance integration, and promote regional peace and security, and economic affluence. Kenya's foreign policy has been relatively robust and fruitful. This has been attributed to the introduction of a written foreign policy document for much greater certainty in pursuing relations with other countries. It is a huge progress on the impromptu style that was in place for many years. Since the composition of the Kenya's foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign

policy has gone through a changeover to boost the country's status in the international arena (Odipo, 2017).

With the end of the Cold War in the mid-1990s, Kenya's foreign strategy started to focus on East Africa (Katete, 2013). The general objective is to uphold quiet existence with different countries; while advancing regionalism. Kenya looks for incorporation and co-operation as an approach to propel its own particular economic prosperity within the structure of worldwide cooperation and multilateralism. Economic advancement through expanded market access and improved innovation has turned into a high need. For example, Kenya is progressively putting resources into renewable vitality to enhance power generation, in order to give small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) more prominent access to power. It is likewise investing vigorously in the information, communication and technology sector (ICT) (Juma, 2012).

Regional incorporation forms a noteworthy segment of its foreign approach and is pursued through different regional activities, for example, the East African Community (EAC); Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), African Caribbean and Pacific- European Union (ACP-EU), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (Wanjohi, 2011). This position reflects understanding that Kenya's improvement is attached to that of its territorial neighbors, and that of the worldwide economic system.

Its territorial activities are basic to Kenya's economic tact. As pointed out by preceding secretary general of the EAC, Ambassador Juma Mwapachu, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have turned into an increasingly desirable developmental path. Changed exchange is a noteworthy segment of RECs and a key driver of venture in light of the fact that economic region gets to be alluring to investors just if its economy permits free development of merchandise and

services; the genuine inspiration for exchange, hence, are substantial markets, which is the reason regional integration is of such significance to Kenya (Wanjohi, 2011). RECs, for example, the EAC are working towards opening extensive internal markets governed by free commerce. It is just by creating such vast interior markets that a nation, for example, Kenya can draw in the right sort of ventures and accomplish sizeable markets for its items (Elias, 2012).

The collective frontiers of states in the region, their traditional attraction; joint colonial history; association; and a potential business sector of near 130 million individuals, together make the EAC a doable plan. More current advancements aside, East African nations are equally dedicated to incorporation through their contracts under the 1982 Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980–2000 (Makinda, 2012). Different drivers include the case of combination by the EU and the re-development of South Africa as a conceivable mainland economic domination, against the foundation of the declining fortunes of East African economies, especially that of Kenya.

Contrasted with its neighbors, Kenya relished a decent deal of political steadiness before the violence that took after the 2007 elections, and nationals from the region came to view Kenya as a place of refuge from distinctive degrees of shakiness in the own nations (Smith, 2011). Kenya has taken an interest in noticeable local strategic activities and gave authority in explaining territorial clashes, as it did amid the Sudan peace process that ended in the development of the new state of South Sudan and the foundation of a transitional national government later the transitional central government in Somalia. The nation likewise has high diplomatic standing emerging from its facilitating a portion of the biggest conciliatory missions and international politics in sub-Saharan Africa, while keeping up a moderate profile in global legislative issues by receiving a stance of 'quiet diplomacy' (Madeley, 2011).

In most worldwide contentions or emergencies, Kenya utilizes a 'sit back and watch' stance as per its standards of non-inteferance in the internal issues of different states (Prys, 2009). In spite of the fact that the requirement for it to accept an obviously hegemonic position in the region is normal theory in media and academic circles, the administration rather opts for friendly relations to advance the development of its business interests over the area; a position taken particularly since the expanded association of the private segment under the national economic recovery strategy (ERS) changes for Employment and Weath Creation of 2003–2007. This agreeable stance has been pointed fundamentally at moderating relentless reasons for alarm going to negative notions especially from Tanzania towards following the breakdown of the first EAC in 1977.

EAC partners stay on edge over the disappointment of past territorial activities amid the early post-autonomy period, as a result of a hidden negativity across the board around then. Researchers, for example, Prys noticed that past incorporate activities occurred at the height of the Cold War; hence the breakdown of 1977 can be credited fundamentally to ideological contrasts: the right and left-wing ideological positions taken at that time by Kenya and Tanzania respectively and the ideological somersaults performed by Uganda, that undermined solidarity of reason required for the EAC to work (Slobodchikoff, 2012).

4.2.3 Kenya's Media Landscape

The media landscape simply gives a broad and in-depth perspective of the media industry in Kenya. In this section, the media arena of Kenya is brought out with major emphasis on the ownership, control and how they operate. Further to this, the interaction between the media and the public is clearly brought out in order to get a panoramic view of how it influences foreign policy decision making process at implementation.

The media landscape in Kenya is relatively large and is characterized by the print, broadcast, new media among others which are affordable and accessible to the citizenry. The print media is estimated by both the publishers and the Audit Bureau of Circulation to be the most popular. The most circulating dailies in the country are the Sunday Nation, the Standard, the Daily Nation, the Star and the People. However, diverse numbers of print material are circulated for specific audiences, geographical areas and topical issues all over the country (Paasch, 2009).

Kenya boasts many television stations though few of these are considered serious. The television is popular and attracts large numbers of audiences because of free and popular entertainment. The TV offers critical current and historical information to the public but the latest news especially on politics attracts huge viewership. The TV remains popular as a medium of relaying audio-visual information and signals are widely spread even to the most remote parts of the country due to satellite dishes and decoders which capture free to-air broadcasts (Paasch, 2009).

The media landscape has in recent times experienced a shock through the emergence of the citizen journalists. The rise of blogging, social networks, mobile telephones, tablets and digital cameras have brought a different way of news. New can now be broken, confirmed and reported by citizen journalists just like the traditional media. This has helped in the mainstream outlets for instance the BBC, Sky and CNN now appeal for eyewitness reports which are documented by citizen journalists when news is unfolding. Further to this such outlets use footage from citizen journalists to bring out news stories. However, the citizen journalists are most times subjective and emotional. They are limited by lack of secondary sources and news editor therefore, they often file news before it is cross-referenced (Nel *et al.,* 2007).

 In Kenya the radio remains the most widely available and accessible medium of information throughout the country with a majority of Kenyans owning radio transmission devices. The estimate number of radio stations has continued to increase and current estimates stand at over

100 stations spread across the country. However, an estimated 300 frequencies and licenses have been issued by the broadcasting agency but most of these remain unexploited. The radio has penetrated the areas which remain without electricity especially rural areas and this has boosted the spread of radio which use portable batteries for power (Moggi and Tessier, 2001).

Internet has in recent times gained a massive following and is regularly exploited in place such as cybercafés, work place, at home and anywhere through handheld devices and portable electronic devices such as laptops and tablets. The coming of broadband and the political impetus behind making availing it countrywide and making 3G and 4G networks locally present in order to allow mobile internet access. All this developments have changed how Kenyans access and consume media. The speed and volume of information available online is cheap to obtain at peoples convenience. The internet's prominence as a medium of accessing information is in the urban areas where internet is accessed through wireless devices. The internet remains weak in some rural areas due to network and high prices. However, cutthroat competition between internet providers has in recent times been pushing the prices down. The recent entry of the fibre optic network in the country has brought the growth of the electronic media. A major drawback in the use of internet remains lack of policies that promote strong and independent (Moggi & Tessier, 2001).

Kenya's general public are mainly absent in decision making positions of most media and the content channeled out tends to lopsided in order to influence opinions. The airtime and print pages most times focus on politics and economics which remain popular themes. Reports also note that politicians are a major group of players in the media industry as some are owners which leads to unfair representation of public voices and in turn favor opinions of a limited number.

The media is considered a tool for promoting the agendas of political elite (Moggy & Tessier, 2001).

The Kenya Communications Act was enacted to liberalised the sector and this ACT spells out the conditions for starting and running a public, private or community broadcasting service. The ACT gives powers to the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) to set programming codes for any licensed operators. The Communications Commission of Kenya is the chief regulator of broadcasting and its board is dominated by individuals with vested interests such as politicians and the business community. Financing comes from the government which also does the appointments of its members unilaterally without involving the civil society or any other stakeholders in the industry. The Media Act of 2009 establishes the Media Council of Kenya and allows the MCK to set up the Complaints Commission (CC) (Mbeke, 2010).

Generally the media is interested in a range of events, cultures and issues which it seeks to not only bring out but influence how it is perceived. It may be on economics, culture, politics or societal. The Kenyan media is at times biased and is influenced by stereotypes and interests that seek to portray things in a way they are not. However, the media has tried to show it promotes equal opportunities in displaying information regardless of race, ethnicity, social group, gender, religion, disabilities or age but discrimination exists in the Kenyan media on issues ranging from employment to the stories aired (Mbeke, 2010).

4.3 Strategies of Media Diplomacy as a tool of Foreign Policy

Kenya initiated and strived to achieve its e-Government structure as one of the main priorities towards the realization of national development goals and objectives for Wealth and Employment Creation. An effective and operational e-Government that would facilitate better

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and efficient delivery of information and services to citizens, promote productivity among public servants, encourage participation of citizens in Government and empower all Kenyans. The government of Kenya, therefore, committed itself to establishing e-Government by June 2004.

Kenya's Strategy and objectives aimed at enhancing transparency, accountability and governance, making the Government more result oriented, efficient and citizen centered, enabling citizens and business to access Government Services and Information as efficiently and as effectively as possible through the use of internet and other channels of communication. Effective and efficient realisation of e-Government objectives depended on the availability of skills and the right attitudes across Government. The Government personnel at all levels were to be adequately equipped through relevant training to effectively carry out the initiative. This called for a change in the way Government carries out its operations and required training in change management. In order to ensure a continued pool of Information Technology (IT) knowledge base within Government, all training programmes were to have an IT component. The objectives of the Kenya e-government as accessed on: (http://www.kenyalaw.org/Forum/?p=207 available on 1st April 2019 at 1710hrs) were outlined as follows;

1. To improve collaboration between Government agencies through reduction of duplication of efforts and enhance efficiency and effectiveness of resource utilization;

2. To improve Kenya's competitiveness by providing timely information and efficient delivery of Government services;

3. To reduce transaction costs incurred by the Government, citizens and the private sector through provision of products and services electronically; and

4. Provide a forum for citizens' participation in Government activities through opinion polls, surveys on Government policy direction, etc.

5. Increase internal operational efficiency and effectiveness by fully implementing systems as the Integrated Financial Management System (IFMIS) and the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Database (IPPD) systems which are already underway.

6. Harmonise all Ministry websites in a single Government Portal and create email addresses for all civil servants to ease access to Government information and improve communication.

7. Undertake capacity building by training the core implementation team on computer literacy and web-based applications and internet use.

The resident embassy remains the MFA's prime source for sharp analysis and policy advice. But hard news now comes from elsewhere as one key informant was quoted as follows:

> ICT application is viewed in terms of stages at which it has been applied and countries such as Kenya, evaluate where they stand in this process. The first stage is the use of computers, on a standalone basis, or networked in Local Area Networks (LANs). Most computers are internet connected. A good number of MFAs, including Kenya and other third world countries, are at this stage even now, which does not at all address the potential benefit of ICT that is available. The next stage is the establishment of a ministry-Wide Network (also called a WAN); often this is integrated with the system that covers all ministries. While this had become the norm in many European countries by the mid-1990s, some countries still hesitate to implement this, owing to concerns over the security of such a network in a sensitive institution like the foreign ministry. The third stage is to widen this network to cover embassies abroad, creating an intranet or a virtual private network, or other form of internet-based communication protocols. Many small countries do not use this for reasons of cost and availability of technical manpower. China, India, and Japan have hesitated to use this method owing to serious concerns over security. The computers used for confidential communications are separated from general use machines and are not used for accessing the internet. (Interview with male key informant-MFA technical staff in Nairobi, 29th April, 2019).

The foregoing statement underscores the debate on the effectiveness and long-term strategy to which such measures, especially looking at the future of another stage in the application of this

process is to take it mobile, and empower the diplomat and the negotiator to operate from any environment or location; geography and location no longer matter in retaining two-way contact in almost all situations. Diplomats operate out of hotel rooms and in disaster locations, using laptops, "Blackberrys," and satellite phone-based instant communications. In January 2006, the US secretary of state called these its "virtual presence" posts, to be set up anywhere as needed. We may also speak of a higher stage of esoteric application, where the foreign ministry enthusiastically embraces the "virtual" medium (Rao, 2017).

4.3.1 Skills/Infrastructure to Utilize Media Diplomacy as a tool of Foreign Policy

The respondents were asked to indicate whether Kenya have the required skills/influence to utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation. The results were as shown by the figure 4.3.
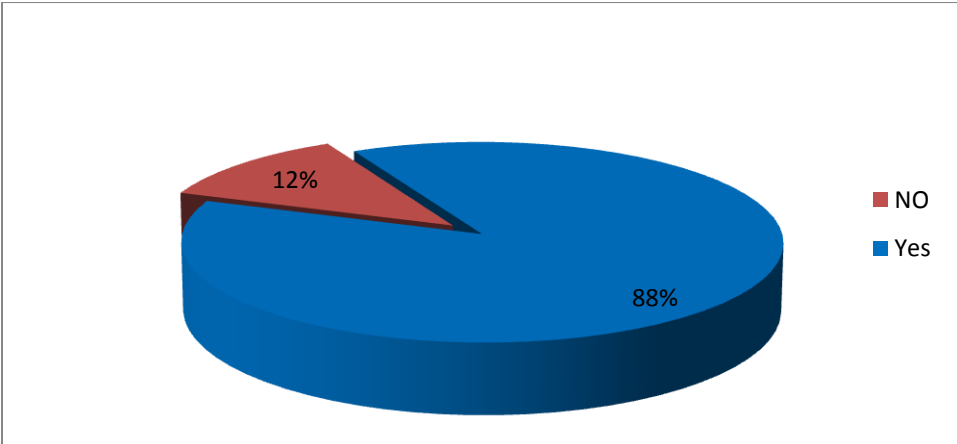
Figure 4.3: Skills to utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation

Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the findings, 88% of the respondents agreed while 12% of the respondent indicated otherwise. This means that Kenya does not have the required skills to utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation.

Further, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they have been able to utilize this tool media diplomacy in its foreign policy implementation effectively. The results were as shown by the figure 4.4.
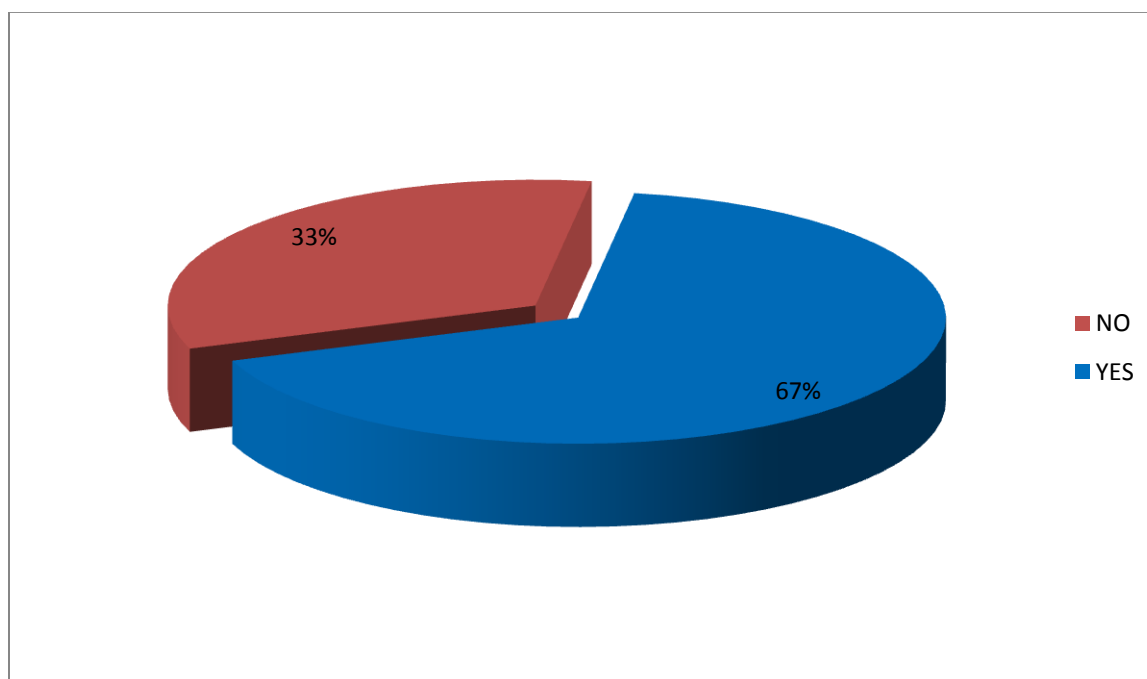
Figure 4.4: Utilization of Media Diplomacy as a tool of Foreign Policy Implementation
Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the findings, 67% of the respondents agreed that Kenya has been able to utilize this tool but 33% of the respondents indicated otherwise. This shows that there is lack of required skills of utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation. Therefore, there is need to come up with an overall strategy of media diplomacy.

The emergence of media diplomacy in digital era requires the development of the skills necessary for its effective use. But this has to be seen in the general context of what diplomacy is for and how diplomats' roles are adapting and may need to adapt at a faster pace to a changing and more networked environment. This includes the importance of developing strategic visions of global agendas and understanding growing conflicts over norms and rules. It also includes the ability for individual diplomats to establish and manage networks in which they have more pronounced and more externally oriented roles as diplomatic entrepreneurs. In networking terminology, this includes them taking on roles as 'spanners' between diverse groups of actors and network 'weavers', whose business it is to create new interactions among stakeholders – in the pursuit of joint problem solving and co-creating solutions for complex policy challenges. All of these tasks and roles antedate the various conundrums of the digital age.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs is nibbling at using media diplomacy. On recent conferences concluded media platforms were tools for engagement with the general public and not a Public Diplomacy strategy in themselves. New styles of communication are needed, and it is far from clear whether official agencies have the suppleness or freedom to reach out to their audience. One might think of governments using unattributed subsidiaries, using strictly nonofficial syntax to reach out to domestic and foreign publics, but that seems to lie in the future. For now, this medium is under trial by diplomats, and will perhaps see a period of experimentation before new modes take shape. According to a key respondent:

> How is media diplomacy influence on nodality? The first general point to make is that the state of media diplomacy is, to use the term applied by one of its practitioners, 'messy'. Diplomacy is passing through one of its continuing transformational phases as it responds to exogenous and endogenous forces and media diplomacy is part of this picture. The first, and obvious, point to be made is that media is a two-edged sword. Claims that MFAs may have the role of information 'gatekeeper' can no longer be taken seriously. At the same time,

digitalization in the shape of access to big data, crowdsourcing ideas and the development of knowledge management tools can strengthen MFA nodality in both its detector and effector roles. Furthermore, the current explosion of information and disinformation potentially enhances the value of the MFA's nodality in terms of its analytical capacity - that is using the skills of diplomacy to interpret data. In this light, it is not surprising that knowledge management was the earliest manifestation of media diplomacy in the various state department (Interview with a MFA officer in Nairobi, 28th April, 2019).

It is understoodS that traditional diplomacy involves give-and-take, that compromises are often necessary, and that two-thirds of a loaf (or even half) is better than no loaf. Likewise, media diplomacy should involve both give-and-take. It should help improve communications but it should also influence what the United States government does, and what our leaders say or do not say (Gomez, 2017). The range of tools varies both between and within government but comprises a broad set of categories:

Nodality: the property of being a significant node in an information network.

Authority: the possession of legal or official power relevant to the performance of functions.

Treasure: the possession of financial resources employed in exercising influence and/or buying information.

Organization: a set of human skills and materials (buildings and equipment) related to the roles of government generally and its specific subsections.

When applied to the MFA subsystem, it can be seen that it is characterised by a particular configuration of 'effectors' and 'detectors'. Nodality is the most important as the subsystem relies on its location within social and informational networks – both within the broader Kenya foreighn affairs and across the world – for acquiring information and exerting influence. Of the

remaining three tools, organisation is the most significant: human and physical resources clearly determine the MFA's ability to capitalise on nodality.Table 4.1 shows the tools of the MFA subsystem and media diplomacy.

Table 4.1 The tools of the MFA subsystem and media diplomacy

Tools	Forms	Influence on foreign policy decision making
Nodality	The key tool of the MFA subsystem reflecting its strategic location in informational networks. Based on sophisticated systems of detecting and effecting tools linking the MFA, diplomatic networks and other government departments. Information is the key resource in exerting influence in the shaping and implementing of international policy. Institutional memory, information gathering techniques and strategies and analytical capacity are key facets of both detector and effector tools.	Challenges the place of the MFA in the information environment. It is no longer the privileged possessor of information in an increasingly information rich and diffuse information environment. No longer able to lay claim to be an information 'gatekeeper'. Media tools may enhance 'detector' capacity to gather information and process it through knowledge management tools, big data analysis related to public diplomacy strategies, and crowdsourcing ideas medial tools become 'effectors' in allowing more sophisticated 'broadcast' information strategies in consular work and crisis management. New audiences can be reached more effectively. Effective strategies are required to determine which tools are most appropriate in each case. Media diplomacy can change the roles and responsibilities of the hub and peripheries of the MFA subsystem. Secure e-mail allows policy functions to move overseas and information may flow in a flatter, less hierarchical fashion. The rationale for and forms of overseas representation will change as the logic of presence and access is transformed
Authority	Authority derives from the place of the MFA subsystem in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Limited functional authority (perhaps in visas and passports).	Unlikely to affect the MFA subsystem in terms of its endowment with legal authority. Failure to adapt to media diplomacy will weaken legitimacy and thereby non-legal authority both domestically and internationally.
Treasure	Limited. May be more significant where development aid is a function of the MFA subsystem and a major tool of foreign policy.	Media diplomacy unlikely to have a major influence

Source: Researcher, 2019

Knowing how and where to utilise and 'package' online and offline strategies is becoming a more telling task. Taking the Prevention of Sexual Violence issue discussed above as one example, British diplomats both in London and in posts experimented with different forms of social media blended with more traditional media-focused strategies – and found that Twitter provided an immediacy and a 'buzz' in relating to audiences whilst it was more challenging to find an audience through Facebook (Getting the Balance Right, 2009). Media diplomacy offers the opportunity to strengthen general 'broadcast' messages whilst also providing the opportunity to target specific groups. The trick is to select the appropriate nodal tools and strategies for the job in hand.

The processes of diplomacy and the structures that exist to facilitate them are of course inextricably linked. Changes in the former require adaptation of the latter if the institutions of diplomacy (whether in their multilateral or national iterations) are to remain relevant to the needs of local and global communities. The consequences of media diplomacy in this context are complex. It is not simply the case that foreign ministries and other diplomatic agencies have to function online. The challenges are much greater. The influence of media diplomacy in foreign policy decision making is changing. Blends of offline and online strategies have to develop to deal with the character of each set of issues that it confronts. Becoming a 'twiplomat' will not of itself guarantee success, but ignoring the meanings and significance of digitalization will prove to be equally misguided. Diplomacy's adaptation to the digital media age is bound to take time whilst the compression of time is simultaneously the big issue, compounded by the fact that in the foreseeable future it will remain hard for MFA to keep up with digital developments outside government.

4.4 Inclining Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Current Global Trends

There have been a lot of changes in global politics and rules of diplomatic exercise since the end of the cold war. Major changes have transpired in the pattern and structure of international influence and relations as result of a multi-polar world system and the growing effects of developing economies in international affairs. Also, the reforming of the OAU into the AU resulted into new prospects for Africa. The new governance, peace and security structure has offered viable growth. To fully utilize the emerging socio-economic expansion and evade side-lining, Africa is reinforcing regional integration as a means for essential player in the continent of African and recognizes that her national interest is inherently linked to Africa's stability, unity and prosperity.

In the new world marked with globalization, humanity has turned out to be a shared component. Kenya thus highly regards international cooperation as important. Kenya's Foreign Policy alignment is directed towards advancing and enhancing commonly constructive bilateral linkages and multilateral associations with other regions of the world. The associations will ensure Kenya's national interests are assured so as to secure Kenya's socio-economic concerns. Kenya's protracted tussle for national liberty from colonialism set a strong basis for her foreign policy framework. The policy makers emphasized the complex link between domestic independence and humanity's lager freedom, justice and the absolute right to a shared legacy (MFA, 2014).

Kenya became sovereign state and actor in global affairs after attaining independence in December 1963. The standards defining the country's foreign relations with the other counties globally are her objectives at the international level. Even though Kenya's history, ironically, also risked playing into the East –West political split. So as tactically place the country in the international arena, the foreign policy decision makers followed a practical approach, based on

numerous principles, which have endured the test of time. This method has guaranteed that Kenya effectively pursues reciprocally favourable coalitions with the West at the same time beneficially worked with the East through her foreign policy of progressive economic and political neutrality.

Globalization has transnational interconnectedness of social and economic systems which have positive and negative impact on the foreign policy. The necessity to efficiently counter globalization required alterations in Kenya's foreign policy alignment. While presenting new economic prospects particularly in the area of science, technology and communication, globalization resulted in competition for financial investments, reduced market access and economic relegation of poor and developing countries. New global security threats far detached from the traditional notion of inter-state conflict has emerged due to globalization. Kenya has undergone the direct effects of these fears comprising organized cross-border crime, terrorism, money laundering amongst others. This has consequently constrained Kenya to look for new actors for the conduct of its international affairs. With international terrorism now raised into a primary threat to global security, fighting this has tuned into a major aspect of Kenya's external relations and a focus of its strategic partnerships (MFA, 2014).

4.5 Implementation Framework of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya's foreign policy is made up of several pillars which include: economic, peace and security, tourism, culture, environment, diplomatic and diaspora. These pillars are supposed to enable Kenya attain its foreign policy objectives which include Kenya has put in place several frameworks to implement the foreign policy. Kenya's foreign policy objective entails protection of her sovereignty and territorial integrity, promotion of sub-regional and regional integration and co-operation, boosting regional and global peace and security as well as advancing the

economic success. Other objectives include image and status projection, promotion of international cooperation and multilateralism, protecting interests of diaspora and enhance collaboration with the diaspora and offspring.

Foreign policy making process involves and encompasses a set of goals and objectives of how a state will interact with other actors. Its decision making process comprises domestic demands and its interests in the international system. A good diplomat should have skills on foreign policy analysis. And "the discipline is concerned with the conceptual tools needed to do useful diplomatic analysis." There are three approaches that are used in the analysis of the foreign policy decision making process. They are rational actor model, organization process model and government politics model (Harold, 1968).

The first is the rational actor model which is based on the belief that governments are monolithic or one single entity that makes rational foreign policy decisions. The organization process model looks at "governments are large entities with clear processes and procedures for making decisions. And these decisions are the outputs from these organizations called governments." The government politics model refers to the belief that foreign policy decisions are the result of bargaining games" that go on amongst the government players in the foreign policy decision making process. This model propagates that "foreign policy decisions are neither simply choices made rationally by government, nor merely outputs from government decision making processes and procedures," (Harold, 1968).

The ministry of foreign affairs is tasked with the imperative role of posting diplomatic agents abroad. MFA's role is that of implementing the country's foreign policy and advising on the priority areas. As well as giving guidance on the mode of implementation, and receiving the

information shared by diplomatic missions abroad. There are different departments that analyze the information received, often referred as political departments and segmented according to regions for example, Kenya's MFA sections includes Great Lakes region, European Union, Americas among others. The purpose of geographical departments is to focus on regions or states that are of significant importance. On the other hand the functional departments concentrate on thematic areas like regional trade, immigration, climate change, security and human rights among others.

Whether MFA has strong influence on the governments' foreign policy differs from one country to another. In states that have well established foreign ministries and a government that is solely guided by the constitution, then the ministry is highly influential for example the State Department in the U.S. However, in states with authoritarian leaders, military leadership ship and 'highly personalized political leadership', the MFA tends to have fluctuating influence in those countries (Harold, 1968).

For foreign policy to be aptly implemented the ministry's institutional memory should be in order, this includes details of the promises that pledged in the past and potential promises from ongoing negotiations with other state and not-state actors. The ministry needs to have a legal department since it is involved in the negotiations of legal instruments like treaties, bilateral and multilateral agreements. This is done to ensure that the pacts comply with the country's constitution, which is the supreme law of the land. In Kenya the Attorney General's office is actively involved whenever the country intends to sign up or withdraw from an international treaty.

There are instances when diplomatic missions are embroiled in legal issues. Some of the problems are due to lack of trained legal personnel and others arise because of the diplomatic staff' lack of knowledge on the local laws. Legal issues whether between the government and another state, or diplomatic mission in a foreign country can be expensive to resolve. Part of the training of Foreign Service officers should include how to deal with basic legal problems (Harold, 1968).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Foreign Service is a key driver of a state's foreign policy. It is the home of diplomacy, and how it implements the foreign policy determines how its diplomacy is perceived. Just as diplomacy keeps evolving, so should the ministry of foreign affairs and the staff, dynamism is essential in the Ministry of foreign affairs. Traditionalism should be kept confined to a narrow limit, for the reason that diplomacy essentially is a tool which is creative and requires strategic planning, dynamism and understanding not only of the purposes of the states but also for non-state actors. (Charles, 2010).

The ministry of foreign affairs just like other government agencies makes use of technology in accomplishing its objectives, which includes sharing information with the public, for instance employment opportunities in the ministry in foreign countries, tourism marketing, education and cultural exchanges opportunities, content of international agreements, communiqués, travel advisories, outcome of foreign dignitaries visiting the country and state visits made by the head of state. An online website is therefore a prerequisite for any ministry of foreign affairs today.

4.5.1 Kenya's Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

Kenya considers its sovereignty and territorial integrity as an important foreign policy objective. Since independence, Kenya sought to protect its territorial integrity by all means. Initially though, it appears Kenya aggressively implemented this foreign policy objective by the use of

power –military. This can be explained with the Kenya's involvement in an armed conflict with Somalia people termed as *shifta*, war that started in the Northern Frontier District with the aim of curving it out become part of Somalia. Kenya's military then war weak hence depended on the British troops to train more men to fight. Kenya also approached Ethiopia for support and in 1964 defence agreement was signed between the two Governments since Somalia insurgency was a shared problem (Maina, 2013). Territorial integrity was a concern in Kenya's foreign policy. The move by Kenya to engage other nations for assistance lends credence to liberal values of cooperation.

Kenya implemented the protection of territory through the media in 1976; Uganda Dictator Idi Amin threatened to annex parts of Kenya. Kenya stepped up its own war propaganda. As Mzee Kenyatta ordered Kenya's troops to the border, anti –Amin rallies were also quickly staged around the country. Kenya made sure that the Ugandan military received a leaked but falsified intelligence report. The report had is that Kenya had starved petrol stations and depots in western Kenya of fuel that Amin's army would depend on. Idi Amin later retracted and did not invade Kenya. This gives credence to the use of media in foreign policy implementation. Kenya's border conflict with Uganda made resurgence through the Lake Victoria island –Migingo, over ownership row. Diplomacy seemingly botched to resolve the conflict. Media all over the world have covered this conflict since 2004. The reporting has sometimes seen as sensational, painting Kenya and Uganda as being on the verge of war. An examination of the media coverage over the years shows that the media aggravated the condition with coverage style which overblew the whole matter. Some media reports are pro-Kenya while others are pro- Uganda to a level that finding that is truly objective is hard. Most media have been hasty to analyse and give opinion on who actually owns the island thereby aggravating the dispute (Shaka, 2013). Because of the

competing media analysis in both sides, the two countries are yet to resolve the standoff. Officials from Kenya have announced through the media that the stand –off does not warrant a military approach (Agutu, 2017).

In October 2011, Kenya made a military entry to Somalia to fight the Islamic terror group –Al Shabaab. In the move dubbed *'Operation Linda Nchi'* (protect the Country), Kenya sought to trash the militants after several attacks by the group within the Kenyan border especially the Kenya Coast where Kenya's tourism sector booms Kenya responded to the mounting treat of Al Shabaab's terror events that threatened its security and made KDF respond to armed attacks with force. KDF invoked Article 51 of the UN Charter, which reiterates a state's right to self –defence given the lives of its citizen were threatened. But in spite of the move, Kenya has continued to suffer attacks both internally and by its soldiers in Somalia. In executing this foreign policy objective, there has been a lot of debate on the media and the public opinion on whether the move was right is still divided with others supporting while others disapproving. In a newspaper opinion, the writer posed: So, should KDF quit Somalia? Yes, absolutely (Kwendo, 2014). In some way, this mission to Somalia was partly an implementation of foreign policy objective of global peace and security. The Operation Linda Nchi conducted resonates as one of the milestones in the fight against international terrorism. The move was supported by the UN and a resolution to integrate KDF to AMISOM following the UN Security council Resolution 2036 was seen as boost in the fight against terror. Kenya has also been offering troops during peace missions and participates in regional security initiatives that assist peace and stability for its neighbours.

4.5.2. International Cooperation, Multilateralism and Integration

The implementation of bilateral engagements with foreign nations outside Africa constitutes a crucial aspect of Kenya's Foreign policy program which places emphasis on developing economies and economic zones. As envisioned by the theory of liberalism, cooperation among states initiatives should be anchored on all actors and stakeholders. However, one respondent (An official from MFA interviewed on 27th April, 2019) observed:

> States also consider geopolitical factors when considering establishing diplomatic missions abroad. Special relationship between states determines the engagement. States are brought together also because of shared interests, that are shaped by politics, a common history, For instance, commonwealth countries have diplomatic relations with the former colonial power Britain.

Conversely, regional integration is a strategic advantage to Kenya which involves regional stability and increase in trade. In EAC, recurring topics in the media include common market, political federation, trade, integration, customs union and elections. The most commonly used method of information dissemination in EAC is by newspaper, social media and television. However, dissemination with newspaper is generally more successful than television or radio to its affordability and reach. The media plays a leading role in highlighting cases of non –tariff barriers that hinder the full implementation of both customs union and common market and the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity (Mang'era, 2012).

In the new information age, traditional diplomacy has not promptly addressed the growing domestic and international demands. Diplomatic Missions have bureaucratic structures that lack flexibility to respond to the challenges in the receiving state. For instance, not all Kenyan nationals register in person at the Kenyan embassies abroad as expected, but with specially

designed online portals, the citizens can register and update their information without the inconvenience of physically presenting themselves at the embassy.

Still, virtual diplomacy and use of ICTs can aid the government to actively engage in and know the exact number of its nationals living outside it country, including countries where it lacks diplomatic representation. There are emerging issues and governments are needed to set up more agencies to meet their citizens' needs. In addition, "diplomatic services now have to come to terms with diplomacy being viewed as a consumer good. Rather than being associated solely with the distant processes of negotiation on issues far removed from the everyday concerns of the general public, a combination of mass tourism and a rising culture of expectations as to what governments can and should for their citizens abroad is transforming the approach to managing crises and disaster situations and enhancing the role of consular services," (Haas, 2014).

4.5.3 Tourism and Diaspora as Crucial Kenya's Foreign Pillars

A robust economic arrangement is essential to guarantee Kenya's regional and overall economic aims in line with the Kenya vision 2030. For long time tourism has been a strong pillar of the country in the economy of the country with this industry being the highest foreign exchange earner, a formidable addition to the country's Gross Domestic Product as well as a source of employment for many Kenyans. Tourism has been the foundation of useful alliances and relations with other countries in the world, and has been a causative agent to the niche Kenya has created in the region as a dependable haven and an active actor in international mediation efforts (Kenya Tourism Board, 2014). Tourism sector is a major source of employment accounting or almost 11% of the total labour force. Eco-tourism society in the country has tried to uphold the conservation of the natural environment for practical group empowered in the ensured regions. Eco- management develop plans for improved and better tourism by publishing the eco-tourism

regulations and codes of conduct to distribute eco-tourism directions and sets of accepted rules and additionally to create open mindfulness crusade methodology to moderate potential negative biological, social, and financial effects of tourism in the nation (Getting the Balance Right, 2009). Media and publicity has been viewed as key to any organizational growth and development. Through the transfer of information, media enhances awareness on the company and its product visibility and therefore creating brand image (Wausi, 2006). Tourism growth has been tremendous as a result of the increased coverage from the media. Kenya through the Kenya tourism board and other stakeholders has been in the forefront through media publicity in marketing Kenya as a destination of choice (Lamb, 1982). Past research according to Wausi on development of tourism in Kenya indicated that most respondents 84% said yes when asked whether media has been responsive in covering destination stories on Kenya in regards to tourism promotion and development. This was attributed to the fact that Kenya's image had been tainted due to terror attacks and hence various media companies have responded adequately in covering Kenya stories.

The concept of 'Diaspora' in Kenya's diplomatic thinking demands innovative interrogation to bring out its diverse aspects, dynamics and potential. In its narrow sense, this concept has been used to refer to Kenyans living and working abroad. In the broader sense, the concept is derived from the Constitutive Act of the African Union which defines the Diaspora as peoples of African descent particularly in Europe and the Americas. The Statutes of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the African Union (ECOSOC, 2004), provides for the participation of the Diaspora in all its activities (article 2 (2). Africa is also beginning to draw huge investments, technology transfer, cultural linkages and even diplomatic engagements from this Diaspora. Indeed, the African Union recognises the African Diaspora as the sixth region of its components.

Media diplomacy must incorporate 'diaspora' diplomacy so as to realise its potential to facilitate the country's political, economic and cultural regeneration and development as explained by one key respondent;

> As a starting point, Kenya's foreign policy will focus on Kenyans in the Diaspora, tapping into its potential to facilitate the country's political, economic and cultural regeneration and development. Kenya is a signatory to the AU's Constitutive Act (2001), which promotes the participation of African professionals within the continent and in the Diaspora. Kenya's Diaspora diplomacy will seek to advance this agenda. Kenya also recognizes ECOSOC as a useful channel for advancing the cultural, economic and social role of the wider African Diaspora. (Interview with an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nairobi on 29th April, 2019).

According to the official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recognizing that the Diaspora has emerged as a potentially important resource for the realization of the country's national development goals, Kenya will creatively explore the various ways and frameworks of effectively promoting, utilizing and enhancing the contribution of this important resource. These will include:

Promoting the access by Kenyans to the international labour market: This policy promotes access of Kenyan professionals to the expanding international labour market. In pursuit of this goal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has established a dedicated office which will develop and manage a databank of Kenyan professionals, business people and other experts in various fields for the purpose of disseminating the relevant information on new international job opportunities. It will also enhance the capacity of its diplomatic missions to give requisite diplomatic backing to Kenyans pursuing such openings;

Utilizing outstanding Kenyans: Kenya's missions abroad will enhance their capacity to provide support and consular services to Kenya's world class athletes and its significant repertoire of

eminent nationals who have earned international repute in different fields. As a matter of policy, Kenya's strategy is to invite distinguished nationals to serve as goodwill ambassadors to pursue its foreign policy objectives;

Tapping into the skills and resources of the Diaspora: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs work with other ministries to invite nationals in the Diaspora to invest their skills and resources in the various sectors of national development. Kenya will create incentives and policies to encourage them to invest in the country.

Kenyan diaspora is significant in Kenya's foreign policy execution for the reason that the diaspora remissions adds to the economy of Kenya in addition to playing a pivotal role in the maintenance of foreign relations. Kenya diaspora injects a significant percentage to the GDP from the dollar remittance they sent to the country. Owiti *et al*., (2016) showed that the diaspora pillar intends to utilize the resources of Kenyans living in foreign policy objectives, there is for an aggressive image building of Kenya as a nation would help the Kenyan Diaspora to be appreciated and facilitate them to access opportunities in host countries. It is essential for the Kenya Missions to lead in the process of constructing public understanding, in foreign nations about Kenya and her people. There is need to convince host countries that Kenyans are good people, majority of them are not engaged in criminal deeds. They are very gifted individuals who win several notable awards internationally in various field including athletics, environment, science and arts. Image building (branding) will make Kenyan populations popular and enable them access various opportunities (Owiti *et al*., 2006). The media will be effective in image building and branding of Kenya as a country. As noted in the first chapter Kenya ought to establish an aggressive media foreign policy to enhance Kenya's image and standing on the global stage at sub –regional, regional, Africa as well as global levels. The US government,

through the media, carried out a public diplomacy programs in Norway in order to promote its positive image in 1945 and successfully established a close bilateral relationship with the Norwegian government.

4.5.4 Media and Democracy in Kenya

Kenya gained political liberation from the British on December 12, 1963. While the independence structure allowed a multi-party arrangement of ruling among other democratic characteristics, this was short-lived. Immediately after independence, an intensive effort was made by the government, steered by KANU to create a one party state. Whereas there were no law enacted in this regard initially, Kenya was as a de –facto single part country from 1964 to 1966 and later from 1969 to 1982. In 1982, legislature enacted a law that illegalized creation of other political parties other than the ruling part KANU. Wanyande, (1995) showed that changes from one to multiparty governance was as easy or as smooth as was imaginably anticipated. Among the reasons given as to reason for change in governance was marked with difficulties is that the people is not quite certain of what it all means. This is not simply a matter of common deficiency of knowledge or lack of political awareness by the public, but also due to the past botched efforts at pluralism in several regions of Africa. One will remember that democracy had been tested in countries like Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya at numerous stages since independence and was unsuccessful. The case of President Chiluba of Zambia who, after leading in elections on democratic values, has gradually returned to autocratic rule has also disappointed residents of many countries trying to democratize their governments. Most of general public in Kenya were therefore quite disappointed with political trials across the continent. They saw the legalization of multiparty system merely another political tactic. They were uncertain it will succeed this time around .Actually infighting then and disintegration of the opposition parties in Kenya, which had

been reported by the media , gave the public more cause to distrust that multiparty politics will ever transform their lives . It is exactly because of such challenges that the media become important actors (Wanyande, 1997).

The media, besides revealing these disagreements, aid in the clarification of a number of issues brought up in political dialogues. This empowers the public to comprehend well the issues on the political agenda. The press similarly enlighten the citizens on what they are supposed to do in order to prosper in democratic endeavours. The idea here is that democracy is not merely reliant on leaders' actions and words. This is founded on the principle that citizens also have a substantial duty to ensure the system is functional. In the circumstance of the evolution from one party to multi party rule, the media endured a big duty in regard to the circumstances under which they work. The importance of the media to the democratization course emerges from their distinctive place and features compared to other participants in the course of democratization.

The media are by explanation, public leaning and are able reach a broader audience or make information spread to an extensive audience compared to channels of communication. The media thus stand a higher chance of disseminating information to the public about democracy and to expound any messages that may be valuable for democratic politics. Governments employ the media to disseminate messages about their decisions in regard to the change of public demands into results, in a similar way the public and their agents in civil society organizations can utilize the media to position and express their demands to government. It can be argued that the media also have an exceptional interest in publicizing democracy as they can assist in making the situation favourable for their own operations. A significant role that media performs in the democratic course is the analysing of information received from the political class. By doing this, the media can aid in empowering the public. Also important role media played in democratic

transition in Kenya is providing platforms for public debate and dialogue (Wanyande, 1997). Dialogues and debates are important in a democracy because democratic governance and conduct of public affairs is based on consensuses that are arrived through the debates facilitated the media. Both print and broadcast media in Kenya have provided a platform to put forth their views on governance issues. Political parties, for example, utilize the press to convey their manifestos and agendas to their supporters and the general public.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter established that media diplomacy can be used to the advantage of a country over an enemy thus undermining the preferred national identity and international image of enemy states. It is clear from the above that Kenya believes in liberalism and uses diplomacy to implement its foreign policy. Kenya has put in place several frameworks to implement the foreign policy and they are, bilateral and multilateral relations, regional integration, and institutional framework and public diplomacy. Media diplomacy is therefore essential to vigorously advance Kenya's image, values and culture in the international system as the world becomes competitive and intricate. The approach of implementing Kenya's foreign policy objectives embraces the use of available communication technologies and platforms especially advanced media networks and social media to communicate with foreign audience and stakeholders in regard to foreign policy (Wausi, 2006).

Domestic policies are inseparable with the external policies. In domestic politics, media plays an important role in case such as democratic transitions of a state. In Kenya, the media facilitated dialogues and debates which are important in a democracy because democratic governance and conduct of public affairs is based in Kenya provided a platform to put forth their views on governance issues. These issues contribute to foreign policy decision making and

implementation. The findings of chapter confirms that media diplomacy is effective in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya. The next chapter will assess the effects of media diplomacy influence on foreign policy decision making in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN KENYA

The previous chapter examined the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. It entailed a critical look at the nature of foreign policy of Kenya collectively and an analysis of the implementation. It was established that media diplomacy can be used to the advantage of the country over an enemy thus undermining the preferred national identity and international image of an enemy state. Kenyan mass media has performed a noteworthy role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. This chapter discusses the second objective of the study which assesses the effects of media diplomacy in the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Here, this study focuses on how the media has influenced foreign policy decisions by state officials and the rest of the world towards a given issue in Kenya.

5.1 Media Effect on Foreign Policy Decision Making Process

Over the years the media industry has evolved with the advancement of technology. First because of technological advancements, that allows electronic media to be broadcast continuously for 24 hours every day across the globe with no regards for diplomatic secrecy. Secondly, when the Cold War came to halt in 1990, it signified that the world was no longer bipolar. This lead to a shift in the foreign policy agenda that no longer concentrated much on advancing capitalism or communism.

Media can influence the government directly on its foreign decision making or it can influence the public, which in turn puts pressure on the government on its foreign policy decision making. Today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of any state is no longer the only custodian of diplomacy.

It has to engage with non-state actors to warrant the acceptability of its foreign policy decisions and its application (Herbert, 2011).

Adoption of ICTs in the functions of diplomacy, will address the challenges facing the Foreign Service of independent states. The vision of Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is to make Kenya peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive. Its core values include: customer focus, patriotism, team spirit, professionalism, ethics and integrity, and equity and fairness. The ministry is charged with training and equipping the country's diplomats for effective service through the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). The institute provides short courses to equip the diplomats to promote political, trade and economic relations with other states.

However, the short courses offered by the FSI are not enough to impart the necessary skills to the diplomats who interact with diplomats from other states in a competitive environment. In August 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade signed a ten (10) year pact with the University of Nairobi to train Kenyan diplomats in diplomacy and international relations courses. Kenyan ambassadors usually serve in a diplomatic mission for four years or 48 months, although the term may extend when they are not recalled.

Foreign Affairs then Cabinet Secretary Amina Mohamed stated that the new arrangement will, empower the Foreign Service to be reliable. She admitted, "Sometimes we meet with foreign ambassadors who are called doctors but ours are very far behind,"(Gitau, 2017). The diplomats will now be offered postgraduate courses by the institution in diplomacy, international relations and peace studies. "Having them train here will serve the purpose of having a cadre of diplomats that can support us in various international issues." Amina said. (Mutambo, 2015).

Diplomatic agents serving in a diplomatic mission comprise the head of mission, who can be the permanent representative of a state to a UN mission or high commissioner for commonwealth countries and ambassador for non-commonwealth countries (Mutambo, 2015).There are also different categories of attachés in various fields including press, trade, military, and intelligence among others. The press attaché is usually retained in the same post for a period of several years. This comparative permanence of tenure enables the attaché to acquire great knowledge of politics and personalities. In some democracies, the ambassador may not want to openly interact with the opposition leaders, in order not to upset the government of the receiving state, but the press attaché can freely meet with the opposing groups without causing offence (Harold, 1968).

5.2 Media Diplomacy and Kenya's Foreign Policy Implementation

Today not only the context but also the content of diplomacy has radically altered. The context of persuasion to advance national interests has expanded to include anyone anywhere connected to and affected by any of the information and communication media. Indeed, according one respondent (Interview with an official of MFA on 2ⁿᵈ May, 2019 in Nairobi),

> Even more disorienting, the realm of national interests now includes at the very least global economies, and, increasingly, international migration, environmental crises, terrorism, drug trafficking, weapons proliferation, and cyber harassment. All these issues pose global threats, but are also suffered immediately and most profoundly at the local level. Therefore, diplomacy, the practice of foreign affairs, is a subset of domestic policy, which has been itself shaped by the expanded agenda of national interests.

Power in the global information society, as explained earlier, depends less on territory and military puissance. Information, technology and institutional flexibility have rather gained importance in international relations. In an unpredictable and highly turbulent international environment, the soft powers of knowledge, beliefs and ideas allow political actors to achieve their goals. Opposing powers these days are less inclined to battle out their differences in the

physical arena. Rather again, they focus on the information domain, where getting access to information is now the central strategic principle. Networks wage wars, and small players can now outsmart huge opponents by using asymmetrical strategies. Nevertheless, the understanding of such conflicts and their multifaceted dynamics remains limited in scope (Mara, 2009).

States are traditionally the exclusive holders of power and authority. But the importance of information and knowledge–with the advent of the Internet–have paved the way for new and diverse actors to engage in international relations. Simultaneously, the speed, the capacity, and the flexibility in the collection, production as well as dissemination of information have increased. As decentralized network-based soft power structures have gained in importance, the state's monopoly on authority has become fragmented. According to MFA staff explained:

> Countless number of nongovernmental organizations, social movements, among other transnational non state networks, now competes with states for influence. These emerging contenders rely on the power to persuade a public that is increasingly global, and they are now able to mobilize support for an array of issues, with clashing intentions. And it is this huge increase in the number of actors and the potential fluidity of the international political agenda that complicate considerably the conduct of statecraft and the formation of foreign policy. As a consequence of the fragmentation of authority and the transforming quality of power, the classic foundations of security have also altered. While the object of security is no longer simply the territorial integrity of the state, the Information Revolution has dramatically increased the dependence of developed countries on efficient national and transnational information infrastructures. In developed societies, key critical infrastructures–electricity production and distribution, transportation, financial services, telecommunications, and water supply–are reliant on information systems and are highly vulnerable and subject to risks. Threats to these structures are less likely to come from so-called "rogue states" (later referred to by the United States as "states of concern") than from hostile non-state actors operating on land or in a relatively opaque cyberspace that has yet to be regulated effectively (Interview with an official of MFA on 2nd May, 2019 in Nairobi).

Several case studies, along with an Internet activist survey indicate that the media, including electronic mail, the Web, and its other facets, gives grassroots groups an essential new tool for

attempting to foster political change. Some of these advantages appear to be merely evolutionary improvements in terms of speed and cost on older technologies such as the telephone and facsimile machines. According to Warren (1997) advantages appear to be truly revolutionary, reflecting the unique nature of the media. No technology by itself, of course, guarantees a successful campaign, but when other forces come into play, the media does give its users more power.

5.2.1 Effect of Media Expansion on Conduct of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

The respondents were asked whether the media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy. The results were as shown by the figure 5.1.
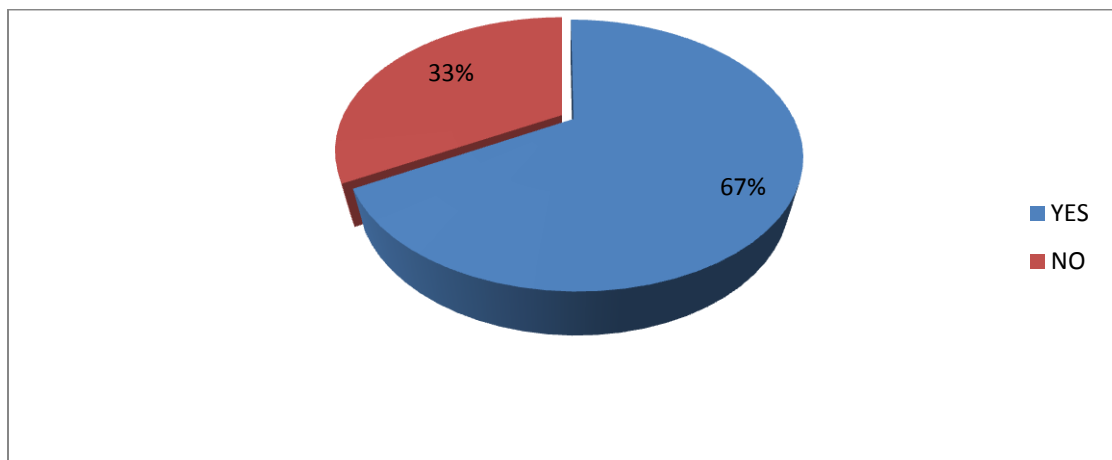
Figure 5.1: Effect of Media Expansion on Conduct of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the respondents, 67% of the respondents agree that media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy while 33% indicated otherwise. The significance of this statistics is that media is crucial in the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy implementation.

5.2.2 Media Integration into Diplomatic Practice

The respondents were asked whether media can integrate into diplomatic and applied in foreign policy implementation. The results were as shown by the figure 5.2.
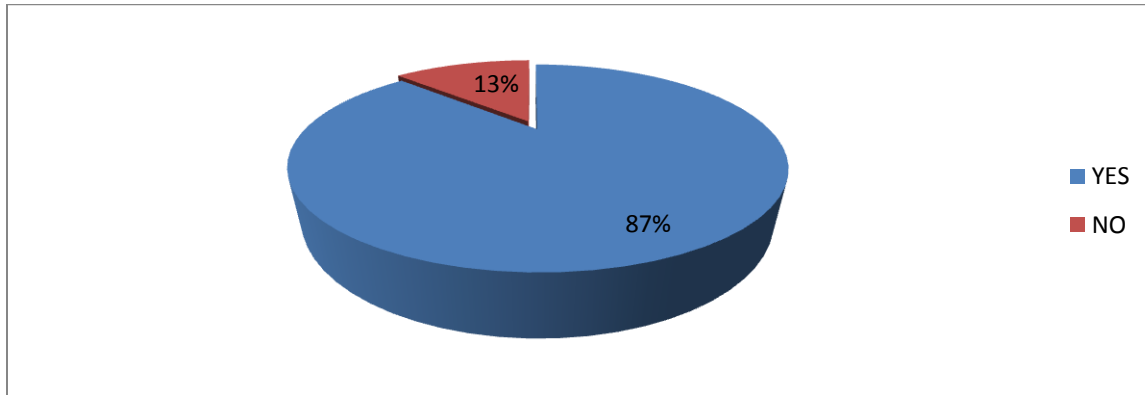
Figure 5.2: Media Integration into Diplomatic Practice
Source: Field Data, 2019

From the findings, 87% of the respondents agreed while 13% of the respondents indicated otherwise. Further, the respondents were asked to indicate to what extent did the media integrate into diplomatic practice and applied and foreign policy implementation. The results were shown by the figure 5.3.
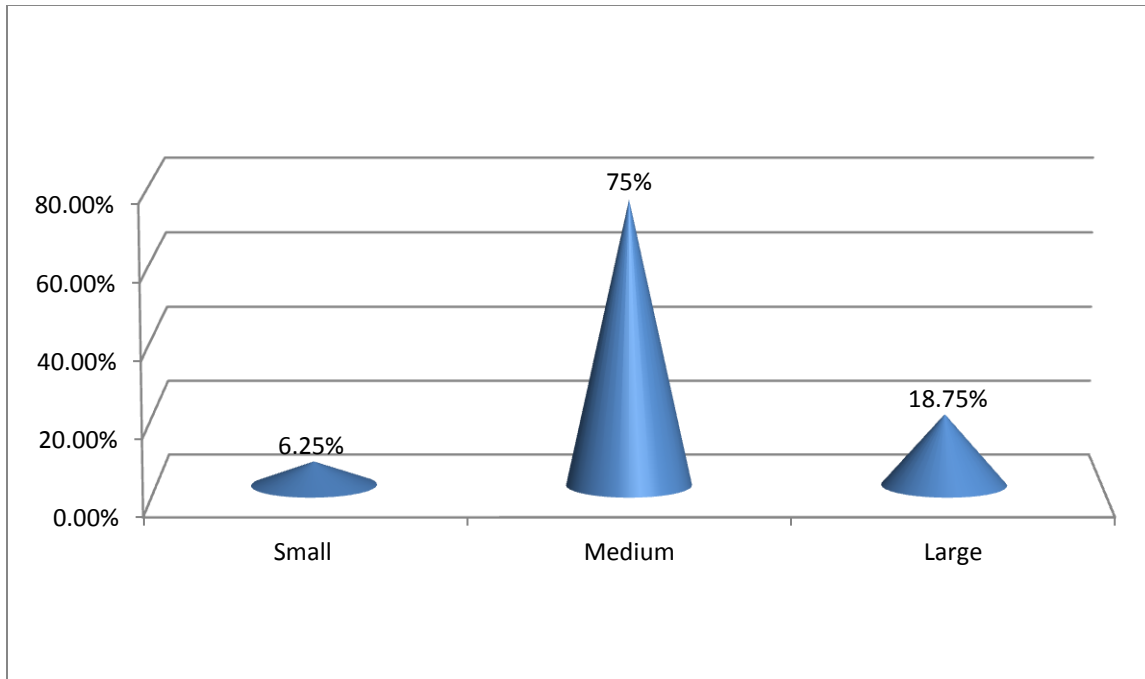
Figure 5.3: Media application in diplomacy in foreign policy implementation
Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the findings, 75% of the respondents indicated that the media can be integrated as a diplomatic tool in foreign policy implementation to a medium extent, 18.75% indicated to a large extent and 6.25% indicted into a small extent. This depicts that media plays a complementary role to diplomacy in foreign policy implementation and thus the media can be integrated as a diplomatic tool in foreign policy implementation.

Media has impacted strongly on diplomatic systems, bridging to some extent the distance syndrome that dominates the diplomatic networks. Kenya and other third world countries have appreciated the fact that the media provides innovative means for outreach to wide public streams, at home and abroad; media platforms offers new possibilities that are still under exploration.

The foreign ministry website, supplemented by the websites of embassies, provides a starting point. Intranets (also called virtual private networks) permit confidential exchanges within the country's diplomatic and public services. Blogs have come into their own both for privileged communication and for open exchanges. Kenya has been on continuous development and learning in the application of net-based communications, for diplomatic training, export promotion and even domestic public outreach; many others have adapted well to the new medium and found their own paths.

5.2.3 Utilization of Media Tools in Foreign Policy by Kenya as a state

The respondents were asked to give an opinion, on whether the Kenya as a state has utilized tool of foreign policy in implementing its foreign policy. The results were as shown by the figure 5.4.
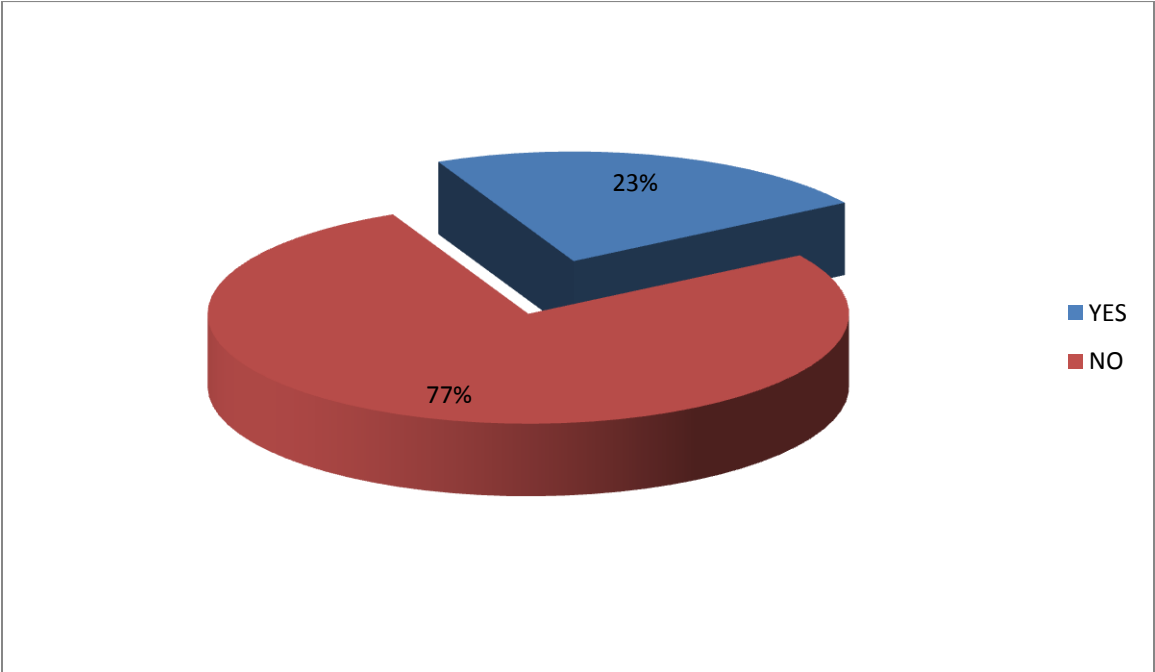
Figure 5.4: Utilization of media tools in foreign policy implementation
Source: Field Data, 2019

From the study findings, 77% of the respondents believe that the Kenya as a state has not utilized this tool in implementing their respective foreign policy but 23% were of the contrary opinion.

Without the media facets such as internet, it would be virtually impossible for activists to coordinate their moves and actions (such as for the anti-globalization protesters who move from one world city to another). The media has facilitated remarkably any coordination for a campaign demanding quick action and involving physical distances. This feature is a revolutionary state of affairs. The media has allowed members of the international community, in a much wider scope, to comment on and affect domestic, local legislation, in a privilege once reserved for lobbyists or for registered voters. Even diplomatically, this aspect of the media diplomacy along with its cost-effectiveness has led some governments to employ it for their embassies. How this will play out in a given context varies, depending on the nature of the enterprise or government and can be measured by the impact of media technologies – the 'bang' – and the length of time before an industry or organisation is affected – the length of the 'fuse'.

How does this apply to the diplomatic arena? As shown from table 5.1, diplomatic institutions face significant challenges from a changing policy environment partly determined by digital innovations. At the same time, the intensity of change (the 'bang') is likely to be lower than that experienced by government departments and agencies with sensitive domestic agendas. Diplomacy – with the obvious exception of consular functions – is less involved in service provision. Similarly the scope or 'fuse length' of digitalization will be more variable in foreign policy management with parts of the diplomatic machinery, such as those most closely involved with public diplomacy, affected more rapidly and extensively than others.

Table 5.1 Perspectives on utilization of Media Diplomacy tools

	Focus and forms	Implications for diplomacy
Changing foreign policy environment	Sees the advent of digital media as altering the foreign policy environment. Enhanced velocity of events; complex flows of communications. Role and capacity of non-state actors reinforced by new communications technologies. Changing power configurations. Enhanced significance of social power and ability to shape agendas through non-hierarchical means of policy-making.	Diminishing control over information flows. Implies the need for new skills and structures symbolised in new terminologies such as 'twiplomacy'. Need to develop 'stakeholder' strategies and to review the resources needed to effect policy outcomes. Significance of 'knowledge leadership' in achieving policy objectives.
Knowledge and resource management	The implications of managing and analysing growing information flows. Utilising the Internet and other media technologies to manage diplomacy in a more resource-efficient fashion.	Knowledge management in an era of vast and increasing flows of data (sometimes equated with 'e-diplomacy') Identification of 'virtual diplomacy' in 1990s focuses on possibilities of ICT in resource savings through new modes of representation (e.g. 'laptop diplomacy')
Cyber policy agendas	The media revolution as a set of policy agendas focusing on such issues as Internet freedom, cyber security and cyber warfare.	At the global level, the challenges posed in negotiating modes of cyber governance. Security threats to diplomatic structures and processes.
E-governance and e-participation Changing diplomatic structures, functions and needs	Governments' responses to digital technology in terms of delivering services and encouraging broader participation The implications of media diplomacy for the organisation and delivery of diplomacy, notably inpublic diplomacy. Consular and crisis management. Constructing and managing networks Enhancing broader patterns of participation in foreign policy.	Media technologies offer new tools to diplomatic actors for achieving policy objectives and performing services. Developing responsive 'web 2.0 diplomacy'.New channels for communication in public diplomacy and possibilities for reputation management. Delivering consular services and managing crises through use of digital technologies. Operational challenges in reconciling demands of openness and confidentiality. Reconciling hierarchical and networked modes of operation. Challenges to accepted norms, rules and roles in diplomacy.

Source: Researcher, 2019

It can distinguish between two ends of a spectrum of change. At one end of the spectrum there will be patterns of adaptation reflected in table 5.1. Here, the structures and processes of diplomacy respond to digital disruption in a relatively straightforward way, by utilising its resources and tailoring patterns of activity to demands that are enhanced by media diplomacy. This is seen in the fields of representation and consular functions.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are much more profound changes to fundamental norms and rules which challenge accepted notions of what diplomacy is – or should be. These comprise entrenched notions of hierarchy rooted in the evolution of state-based diplomacy over several centuries. A second norm is the specialness of foreign policy as a realm of one-way, top down communication. A third norm is the place of secrecy or confidentiality in diplomatic process. At most levels of diplomatic activity, whether in national or international forums, there is a counter claim to that of confidentiality. Networked diplomacy requires engagement with broader constituencies, increasingly transparent relationships, and more openness when it comes to sharing information in the interests of collaborative policy-making and joint problem-solving. This 'opening up of diplomacy' underscores the key problem of balancing the requirements of confidentiality in negotiations with the growing demands for transparency. One response to this tension is to argue that new technologies such as social media do not replace conventional forms of diplomacy, as one key respondent argued:

> Media diplomacy is mainly applicative in nature and is particularly useful in working with foreign audiences in matters of relaying the official position and building up the image of the state. It is important to understand that it is unlikely to ever replace diplomacy in its conventional sense. Closed talks will remain closed. However media diplomacy is capable of explaining why a certain decision was made, what results it will give, how it will influence the foreign policy process, i.e. of opening public access to the results of conventional diplomacy. (Interview with an official at British High Commission in Nairobi, 27th Aprilr, 2019).

Social media sites, particularly Twitter, are important tools in enhancing media diplomacy practices. Media diplomacy as a practice has developed a negative reputation, much like public relations, because of the traditional asymmetrical, top-down flow of information, which has dominated the practice (Gomez, 2017). While analyzing tweets by Congress, it is apparent that Twitter provides a platform where not only is asymmetrical information possible, but symmetrical information is possible too. Traditional forms of media provide a top-down flow of information, as those in power within the organization have the greatest potential to have their perspectives and information published in the paper and broadcast on the news. However, as evidenced in the case of the Haitian earthquake in 2010, social media allow civilians to have the power to control and distribute information (Ekwo, 2012). Furthermore, the use of social media in times of crisis by a Kenyan embassy can garner public support for a Kenya's presence, as it did in Japan. Foreign civilians need to know that a foreign state has a vested interest in their well-being. As a result, broadcasting accurate information in times of crisis and listening to the concerns of people abroad will create a level of trust. When trust is created and people feel connected to their country message, people who are active on media platforms will be more willing to risk their reputations within their network to broadcast that message (Migiro, 2015).

5.2.4 Areas in which Media can influence Kenya's Foreign Policy

The respondents were asked to indicate the socio-economic areas the media can effectively influence another foreign policy decision. The results were as shown by the table below influence another policy decision. The results were as shown by the table below.

Table 5.2: Cross tabulation of opinion on areas media influences foreign policy decision process

	Frequency	Per cent
Peace and security	44	91.67
Trade and economy	34	70.83
Human rights	41	85.42
Environment	30	62.50
Tourism	26	54.17
Sport	20	40.00

Source: Field Data, 2019

According to the study, 44 (91.67%) of the respondents indicated that media can influence peace and security. Further, 34 (70.83%) of the respondents indicated that media can influence human rights. In addition, 30 (62.50%) indicated that media can influence environment, 26 (54.17%) indicated that media can influence tourism; finally 20 (40%) indicated that media can influence

sports. This shows that media is critical in peace and security and can be used as a form of soft power diplomacy to meditate peace in an international dispute.

Media impact on the policy- making can have an influence on the on the capacity of policy-makers to turn ideas into policies that are adopted and implemented (Piers, 2005). Therefore, the media in Kenya is crucial in her foreign policy decisions. However, there is a thick line between the media and diplomacy. Diplomacy, as a tool of foreign policy, rests on the rock of representation and reciprocity which cannot be taken away by the media. The media has brought changes in foreign policy. Transmission of information in real time, building of public reaction to issues of concern hence projecting public opinion through media interviews with foreign policy makers. The extent to which media can be integrated into diplomatic practice and applied in foreign policy implementation goes to the extent that it does not overlook the representation purpose. Media houses are national and editors are accountable to the government. Editors can contribute to foreign policy implementation by publishing and broadcasting stories that exude maturity.

Most African countries do not have freedom of the media as fully entrenched in the constitutions. The media that cover developments in Africa are foreign sponsored media such as CNN, BBC and AFP and cannot be trusted by African governments to broadcast the government affairs because of bias. However, this depends on the quality of information at play. This study also established that most foreign envoys do not rely on local media for their foreign policy decisions. The reason is that verifiability of the local reports generated by the local media. As a result there is little influence that local media has on the outcome of foreign policy objectives while relying on the local media coverage.

With corruption remaining a problem in several countries, it is no longer solely a domestic affair, at a time non-governmental organizations publish corruption rankings of countries and leaders on the Internet. And while foreign capital nowadays demands increasing transparency, governments that are not transparent (or pretend to be transparent in front of their public opinion or to the international media) are less credible, since the information they provide is considered biased and selective. However, this openness media platforms can also present dangers, allowing for wide and rapid dissemination of information that is factually incorrect or propagandistic, including material considered racist, sexist or hateful and incendiary–especially when the source of information is anonymous.

Kenya and Uganda signed a sugar trade deal which the public realized its existence later in 2015. The alleged secret deal was revealed by the opposition leader Raila Odinga. The deal exploded as a scandal and media reported it as a secret agreement between the two governments. This was evidenced by outbreak of hurriedly organised media briefing and contradictory reports from senior government officers on what precisely happened in Uganda that only made the situation worse for the Kenyan government. Kenya maintained that there was no such deal signed by the two governments (Wesangula, 2016). The reaction by a section of the citizens through the media put the government in a tight spot over its dealings in foreign affairs.

In October 2016, Kenya proposed Foreign Affairs CS Amina Mohamed to compete for the chairperson of the AU Commission (Langat, 2016). The lobby was highly competitive and candidates utilized the media to sell their candidature to the African countries. Kenya's Amina was successful in projecting her interests to the continent through the media both in the region and global leading media. However, she washes unsuccessfully clinching the position. This was Kenya's first huge foray into running AU affairs. It flopped. The regimes of Mzee Jomo

Kenyatta, Daniel Moi and Mwai Kibaki never gave the OAU/AU priority in their governance. Uhuru Kenyatta has something which was forced on him by urgency to rally the continental body to back his case against the ICC.

5.3 Media and Democracy in Kenya

The media poses a crucial threat to authoritarian rule. The state has often exercised a tough historical role in the development and control of the mass media. This legacy control has morphed into a similar rigid role in media platforms development. Western governments may find themselves struggling to impose effective regulation on a medium that has grown rapidly without their immediate oversight. Authoritarian rulings typically dominate the media facets from its beginnings and shape its growth and diffusion. The impact of the media development on authoritarian political systems, and on one party states, (i.e., states ruled by the same party continuously for at least one generation), raises questions. Among them: Who is using the platforms such as Internet, and for what purposes? What challenges to the state are likely to arise from this use, and how is the state likely to respond? And, to what extent is such a state proactively guiding media development so that the medium serves state interests?

Potential challenges that arise from media use can be conceptualized in four aspects according to Delong (2017).

Mass Public

Public access to ICTs may facilitate a ‗demonstration effect', where exposure to outside ideas or images of transitions in other countries spurs a revolution of rising expectations and, perhaps, the eventual overthrow of the authoritarian regime. The use of e-mail, Internet chat rooms, bulletin

boards and the World Wide Web may, alternatively, contribute to ‗ideational pluralism‗ and a more gradual liberalization of the public sphere in authoritarian societies.

Civil Society Organizations

Such organizations may use the media platforms to support their activities in a variety of ways, including logistical organizations and the public dissemination of information. In many cases, such organizations play a crucial role in undermining authoritarian governments, either by calling for an initial political opening or by triggering scandals that attempt to de-legitimize authoritarian rule.

Economy

Media use in the economic sphere may pose multiple challenges to authoritarian rule. It may, for example, present significant opportunities for entrepreneurship in a developing economy, possibly leading to the emergence of new domestic business elite. If the media contributes to economic growth more generally, it may facilitate the growth of a middle class. These two forces, a business elite and a middle class, may place increasing demands on the rule that challenge its control of society.

International Community

The coercive efforts of foreign governments and multilateral institutions through such measures as the imposition of sanctions, the extension of conditional loans and aid, or even in the form of compensations (such as hosting the Olympics Games or admission to certain world organizations) are all frequently influential factors in the opening process of authoritarian rule. Transnational advocacy networks, social movements, the media, and other actors outside of the

target country usually play a key role in mounting campaigns for such decisive action. These eventual media uses have the potential to challenge the stability of authoritarian governments. In cases where media use especially through internet platform seems threatening, states will respond and even try to preempt such challenges, seeking to maintain control over the media as they have with other media channels in the past. Any given response is likely to involve a combination of two-types of strategies: reactive and proactive .

This legacy of The 1990s will perhaps be remembered as the period of widespread democratic and economic improvements in Kenya. The reason is that government periodically yielded to growing internal demands for political changes brought about by growing dissatisfaction coup de ta and single part regimes. As demand for political revolution slowly gained drive from outside Africa after the end of the Cold War, African leaders realized that it gradually becoming problematic to continue clinching on to leadership by force of arms. Nationally, a collaboration of student activism, trade union industrial actions and the media played an important role in agitation for political democracy through multiparty systems. Internationally, the connection between financial assistance by foreign nation mostly from the west and multilateral organizations to Africa's political and economic transformation was critical in the democratic transformation and economic liberalism that spread across most of the African countries in 1990s. The new force, for African leaders, signified that survival would be based on political changes towards liberalism rather than authoritarianism of the past. Structural changes symbolized economic reforms and political pluralism. Democracy turned out to be synonymous with general elections which have resulted into a law rather than the omission in almost all countries in Africa (Norberg, 2001).

Because of this, about ten years later the start of these reforms started in Kenya, and the state had yet started democratic track openly by admitting that politically Kenya is ahead in long term obligation to the values of liberalism. Therefore nearly all countries in Africa had to toe the line and follow suit and embrace pluralism and consolidate democracy. These include backing of democracy, allowing citizens to regularly vote in leaders, freedom of the media and other fundamental rights. From a press view, a remarkable aspect of this newly realized democracy was multiplication and increases of the Kenya media –mainly the print media (Delong, 2017).

The media has been effective in democratic transformation because they have been operating in undefined, hostile and often changing political, social, economic, cultural and technological environment. The media in Kenya came out strongly during its coverage of the ICC charges as a result of disputed general elections in 2007. The local media was initially broadly supportive of the ICC proceedings and undertook its responsibility of informing the Kenyan citizens and the world at large on the happenings. The international media on the other hand was to great extent ganged by hostile public opinion towards the ICC (Bensouda, 2017). The media should be given more attention to investigate journalism in order carry out detailed articles on the matter rather relying heavily on covering events as they unfold. This would give room for back grounding international relations in order to promote positive peace after an event. Training of journalist on the entire subjects of media coverage on international relations dealing with Kenya would add value to their work and effectively articulate all issues. The print media should dedicate more space on international relations issues after an event has taken place.

5.4 Role of Media in Conflict Resolution in Kenya

Africa and Asia still witnessed the highest concentration of violent conflicts even after the Cold War came to an end. Africa is the most –war torn region with at least 19 major armed conflicts in

the last three decades. The number and intensity of armed conflict in Africa revolves, do the features of violent conflicts, not only from one region to another but as also terms of why and how violent conflicts are battled. Conflict resolution requires diplomatic intervention; either through state or no- state others. But the crucial mediation tactic is a medium of communication between the adversaries warring parties. According to Kuusik (2010), communication is a proper tool to effective understanding and management of conflict at all levels. Access to the media has been known to change perceptions in extension, impact on public discourse. The mass media of communication have a special role to play in conflict resolution and management at various levels of human existence. That, regrettably taken for granted by political decision makers and the military. Statements claiming the media's remarkable effects are often heard from decision makers. Political practitioners, and even scholars, most often assume the influence of news media in political conflicts. An example of the extent is revealed in a 1995 survey, in which 64% of American military officers still held that media had the main responsibility for tarnishing the war effort in Vietnam. The media is tasked with providing truthful, balance and fair account of events. Effective and democratic media are necessary to transform and make society shift to prefer democracy to war and autocracy. There have been many cases of most African governments harassing and persecuting journalists so as to coerce and stop them from reporting about misconduct and injustices. Failures to access information during conflict make people anxious, impatient and receptive to influence. Denying the public the opportunity to participate in political decisions and restricting them from expressing themselves freely becomes a major recipe for conflict. Free, pluralistic and press on the other hand offer an opportunity for debate and diverse opinions. Conversely, the media can be used to facilitate spread of propaganda, to spur animosity and spread false news and thus falsely create tensions. Different media types

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including international, local and communal each have their role to play. Currently, because most conflicts are intrastate and not interstate; the adversaries are mostly bothered with ensuring that they win the support of the majority of the people on, which bears a lot of possibility for distorting truths and attempting to grasp power over the dissemination of information (Kuusik, 2010).

Because of this, intermediation of impartial uncontrolled international press is key not only for the global public but also for individuals directly affected by conflict. Disseminating news via local radio channels using diverse languages enable publics in diverse locations to stay informed. As a result, their own individuals' practices and lives can be integrated more as opposed to foreign media. The risk of influence and heightening of ethnic tensions, however, cannot be ignored. Locals' media commonly have a better understanding of the present political constructions, the conflicting parties as well as the changes prior to the eruption of violence. Thus, prior to the conflict, the media does only sway people by identifying and properly highlighting the phenomena but also afterwards. The media is capable of defusing tensions before they even stretch to a severe extend and provide a keen eye on the state leadership, the political antagonists and the publics. The media can also assist in handling conflict and promote democratic principles through distributing trustworthy information and reaching a large audience (Mbete, 2016).

The roles media play in conflict resolution have seen to be a controversial one. Media have been said to contribute positively to resolving conflict while on the other hand exacerbating conflict. Communication about certain kinds of issues can create or intensify conflict. Both arguments agree that media content does not merely reflect level of conflict in the society but has a functional relationship to it: either intensifies or diminishes it (International Journalism of

Advanced Academic Research, 2015). The case of genocide in Rwanda between April and July 1994 lends credence to this argument. Members of the Hutu ethnic, who are the popular in the country killed as about 800,000 people, mostly of the Tutsi minority. The massacre began from the extreme Hutu in the capital of Kigali, and spread throughout the country with surprising speed and cruelty, as ordinary people were incited by local representatives and the Hutu leaders wage war against their neighbours. In response, the Tutsi –led Rwandese Patriotic Front overthrow the government through a military aggression in early July. By then, hundreds of thousands of Rwandans had been killed many displaced. The RPF triumph created 2 million additional refugees (mainly Hutu), aggravating what had already become a total humanitarian crisis (The Rwandan Genocide, 2009). Thus, the mass media should go beyond reporting outbreak of conflict, to exploring and covering remote and abrupt causes of the crisis (Awofadeju *et al*., 2015).

Foreign policy is founded on pre-determined conceptions of a states national interest, which aim at attaining specific or generalized goals in international affairs. The principal and sole subject of a country's foreign policy is the furtherance of its national interests. This principle underlies the actions of states as actors in international relations and is applicable to Kenya as it is to any other state. Whereas the perception of national interest may vary from state to state, there are certain discernible factors which remain constant. They include national security, economic advancement, preservation and enhancement of national power and national prestige (Robert, 2007).

Every state has its own system of formulating and articulating its foreign policy. In some cases, the mechanism is highly institutionalized and predictable, while in others, it is personalized and quite unpredictable. However, irrespective of which avenue a country opts to pursue, certain

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factors play a pivotal role in this process. These include an evaluation of a state's position in relation to its neighbours, allies or competitors; consideration of the basic tenets to which the state adheres to and propagates in international relations, assessment of the resources and capabilities, actual and potential, that the state possesses, and an examination of effective strategies for achieving its set goals (Robert, 2007).

In a February 2003 editorial, the Daily Nation newspaper argued that, although Kenya has had a long history of foreign policy pronouncements, it is an ideal foreign policy and not an actual foreign policy. This is because Kenya's foreign policy is more of what the articledescribes as fence-sitting. This claim is premised on the argument that Kenya's Foreign Ministry has either hidden behind international organizations, particularly United Nations (UN), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or African Union (AU) resolutions or taken coverbehind the policy of "non-alignment" or "non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Therefore, the article opines that, Kenya's foreign policy represents no particular interests, yet the foreign policy of any state is meant to protect and preserve the national interest of the state.

Despite significant social and political transformations in post-colonial Kenya, tensions bordering on ethnic, economic and political differences remain part of its social fabric and more often contributes to ethnic violence. One key respondent identifies this discourse and argues that during the post - election crisis, the public believed reports of election riggings earlier displayed in the media and resorted to violence to justify their frustrations and demand for justice. Some respondents were conscious of inherent social and political rivalry among Kenyans, which formed part of the media discourse. According to the respondent:

> The media was swayed towards certain political and ethnic leanings. This triggered fear since the public thought a repeat of last post election violence and

the first 'Saba Saba' crisis that happened would come up again and would course a lot of destruction to happen as seen a while back. The media took political stands which influenced the trend of reporting the grievances that the two parties had and what ODM protesting about. The journalists are unable to fight for their right to be impartial or condemn biased reporting. Though they know taking sides is wrong and they can't go against their editor's decisions. The media was extremely influential in the campaigns of both the opposition and the government with each side having their preferred media to propagate political ideologies and controversy. Generally, Media Analysts were of the view that despite different factors at play, the media shaped and cultivated opinions captured from political platforms and did not offer sufficient analysis of the problem. (An interview with official of Communication Authority of Kenya on 26th April 2019 in Nairobi).

Using the concept of salience of issues (McQuail & Windhal, 1993) discussed in the agenda setting process, the study found that themes such as poverty reduction, settlement of land and economic disparities were used in the campaign and ranked high in the media. In turn, the media worked on the audience insatiable desire for news on conflict to form its agenda. On the other hand, the respondent says, there has been consistent dialogue between media industry stakeholders to identify and rectify weaknesses recognized as a result of the post election violence and election coverage, adds that there is a general improvement in the observance of media laws and ethics as it is evident in how the coverage was done in the recent sabasaba events in 2014. The respondent is optimistic and hopes that journalists will take up their responsibility to safeguard the public against hate messages and notes:

As to whether journalists will act responsibly is another question, theirs is to inform on what is happening not to take sides or be seen as perpetuating violence among the communities (An interview with official of Communication Authority of Kenya on 26th April 2019 in Nairobi).

The respondent singled out the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) act established through the National Reconciliation Act of 2008 to sensitize politicians and the media against the use of hate speech, as a step in the right direction. The mandate of the

commission is to facilitate and promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic and racial backgrounds in Kenya and to advise the government. The Act, holds any newspaper, radio station or media enterprise which publishes hate related utterances liable to hate speech offence and enforces fines or prosecution for offenders.

Kenya's stewardship of the Somali Peace and Reconciliation process enjoyed great support among the international community. This is attributed mainly to the neutral, even impartial role Kenya has played in the conflict. Indeed, for the greater part, Kenya has demonstrated no interest in the internal affairs of Somalia, always embracing initiatives to bring about peace and stability in the war ravaged country only to safeguard its own security, territorial integrity and sovereignty. Paradoxically, among Somalia's neighbours, Kenya has borne the brunt of the estimated one million Somali refugees inside and outside designated camps (KDF, 2014).

On the other hand, the Daily Nation editorial argued that, Kenya cannot entirely isolate itself from global and regional affairs. The article further identified the efforts to broker peace in the Sudan and Somalia as part of a tradition that goes back a long way to demonstrate Kenya's foreign policy as one that is oriented to conflict management. Since independence, Kenya has wholly subscribed to these broad principles both in theory and in practice. These are universally recognized and accepted norms in the propagation of any states foreign policy.

Professor Winnie Mitula, a University of Nairobi (UON) institute of Development studies researcher, during a release of a survey on January 17th 2012 said that 82% of Kenyans approved of the "Operation Linda Nchi" that saw the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) enter Somalia after a string of kidnappings and bombings in the country by suspected Al Shabaab

militia. The survey conducted between November 4 and December 5 year 2012, six weeks after the military crossed the border to Somalia. According to Prof Winnie, the survey covered 2,400 respondents of voting age drawn from 44 of the country's 47 counties (KDF, 2014). According to findings, only 11 per cent of Kenyans feel that the government has handled the war against the militants badly. The remaining seven per cent are not aware that the country has gone to war. Even though the government policy to engage Al Shabaab received an impressive public support, it can be argued that public diplomacy was not the key factor in influencing the decision. On the other hand, media coverage and public outcry over continuous terror attacks could have easily influenced the high rate of approval by Kenyan citizens in the study

5.5 Media and Regional Integration

According to Rugwabiza and Gonzalez, (2016), while Europe is on the verge of breaking up, Africa is reaping the benefits of integrating, growing and developing its trading blocks. African states have numerous initiated to promote regional integration; a key part is intra-regional trade. These include the creation of the AU and various RECs, which seek integration through free trade, and enhance customs union and a common market. There are 17 regional trade blocs currently on the continent (with overlapping memberships), eight of which are officially recognized by the AU. According to the African Regional Integration Index (ARII) Report (Mwencha, 2016), East Africa leads the way in regional integration and is the fastest growing bloc on the African continent. There is need to involve the citizenry of the EAC countries in the integration processes. The study by Mwencha (2016) further concludes that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity.

Media can help enhance unity by sensitizing publics of the member countries. Most citizens are largely ignorant of the several issues of regional integration, mainly due to inadequate media coverage of the region. Some of the challenges media face in covering issues of regional integration in Africa includes lack of knowledge on regional subjects probably because of lack of trust, as well as in adequate resources to explore regional stories. It is important the media to comprehend regional issues first before reporting about them. News reporters cannot report about issues they cannot understand. These shortfalls should be addressed in order for the media enhance regional integration agendas (Kayizzi *et al*., 2014). Example of a way news reporters can comprehend regional issues is by acquainting themselves with documents of regional agreements. A well versed journalist is then able to educate citizens of the member countries, and enhance the integration agenda. Additionally, monitoring the implementation of regional arrangements signed by member states is vital for journalist to ensure accountability of the integration agendas. A major setback however is biased in as much as there are a lot of success stories of the integration agendas, thus depriving citizenry of the member countries of balanced and informative coverage of the main issues.

Kenya is considered the East Africa's economic superpower. While the East Africa region has an assertive media fraternity, many of the media companies do not operate as regional player. However from time to time they will air news and documentaries on regional matters. Dominance of national media contempt partnership program that is envisioned to the place of national media networks at the centre of the EAC Communication Strategy (EAC, 2014). For a progressive integration process intended at a Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and eventually Political Federation, the accomplishment of regional communication is measured by how it associates with the publics (EAC, 2014). The EAC Heads of state have been very keen

in redeeming the perceptions of the EAC not only to the outside world but within itself. Not only does each country have its own branding initiative, but the EAC has a communication strategy that prioritises regional branding.

However, Kenya has been made to reconsider its choices as its power over its neighbours in the East Africa region. Gradually diminishes as allegations relating to a calculated move to its isolate have been raised. In May 2016, Kenya lost two super infrastructure pacts to Tanzania which is on path to overtake Kenya's economy in the near future. In almost sometime, Rwanda deserted Kenya in preference to Tanzania's railway development. During the same period, Republic of Tanzania declared its intention to reduce the volume of energy it buys from Kenya. Rwanda too later claimed the distance is shorter and cheaper compared to pass through Kenya (Achuka, 2016).

This is notwithstanding the presence of a different agreement by Rwanda, Kenya and Uganda, under the ''Coalition of the willing'' entered in 2013 aimed at linking the three states to the Indian Ocean via the SGR at a cost of $13 billion (Sh.1.3 trillion). Also at the centre of the obvious sabotage by the other EAC nations is a collision of interests among international corporations and donors on key infrastructure arrangements, which at the present also threats the EAC's fiercely-fought integration efforts. Much as the EAC is a region, individual member's priorities are meeting the national interests which can be implemented through co-operation or conflict. In the recent years, Tanzania has been reducing its imports from Kenya. Tanzania , under its new President John Pombe Magufuli, imported Sh5.2 billion during the same period in 2015 and Sh10.1 billion in 2014 (Mang'era, 2014). The largest importer of Kenyan goods , Uganda- have been reducing the imports since 2011 due to a more developed manufacturing sector in Kampala and   Kenya companies opening businesses in the country since the

establishment of the EAC common market in 2010. The EU, which is tremendously successful, copied greatly from the initial EAC which malfunctioned in 1977 under Jomo Kenyatta .

To regain its image as a regional big brother, Kenya needs to use the media to brand herself as non-corrupt country. Branding is one of the most important tool of contemporary public diplomacy. Good branding campaigns require listening at home as well as overseas. Consequently, the EAC should continually seek to maintain a positive image with its stakeholders as customers and maintain a relationship of trust with them. The standing and perception of the EAC as a brand would define its credibility in the eye of EAC citizens and several stakeholders in the region. Media diplomacy in this day and age is no longer the preserve of the nation state. The private sector including the media, the business community and the civil society play a significant role. Moreover, none state actors in some cases evoke more public trust than the government does. None state actors also have a reputation of putting the government in check. This may alleviate suspicious of foul play and put the citizens need at the forefront (East African Index, 2016).

The EAC treaty (2007), establishing the EAC provides for this partnership, a partnership which would give credence and   legitimacy to the process. Even though they are not the main aims of media diplomacy, the diplomatic machinery should not assume its domestic citizens when formulating a strategy of productive mutual communication with foreign publics. As stated previously, civil society has become less constrained by inter-state borders and has therefore formed extensive networks on the global arena. Public diplomats should consequently take advantage of these networks and base its approach on the work already done by its citizens that is, by including the domestic public in foreign policy-making. Public diplomacy strategies in Regional Integration should be relationship focused even as they try to promote foreign policies.

Since building relationships they result in improving credibility and trust between a nation and foreign publics, a relationship should always precede a policy. Even in the vent, the policy is rejected; the friendly connection will still be retained.

5.6 Media and Kenyan Agenda

There is a push by African leaders to have the media editors from across Africa accorded observer status at the AU summits, an opportunity for the media to enhance Pan Africanism ideologies. The media practitioners will monitor implementation of interstate agreements and make leaders accountable. The leaders have stressed the significance of media during the fight for independence by giving account of what united Africa resulting in the creation of AU's precursor, the OAU. The early generations of Pan African journalists, at the beginning of the 20th century, recognized that they ought to project the voice and the aspirations of their people. This played an important role in the pre-independence Africa by ending the colonial rule. It is further observed that the mass media in Africa and beyond therefore played a key role in the agitations for liberations. According to Dlamini Zuma the former AU chairperson in 27th AU summit held in Rwanda, it uncovered the brutality and misuse of colonialism, aided in rallying the African societies towards their liberation struggles (Mushemeza, 2009).

The push to allow editors from The African Editors Forum (TAEF) to become observer at the annual AU summits will be of great significance towards attainment of the policy objectives of the AU. The presence will empower the editors take part in the negotiations and also help enhance the outcome of the negotiations. This will allow journalist and the media in Africa to understand the resolutions made in AU and monitor the implementation progress with the aim of informing the Africanism and in implementing the policy of AU's Agenda 2063, and at the same time make leaders accountable during implementation process.

5.6.1 Media and Economic Acceleration in Kenya

in the past four decades, the continent of Africa has been hit by low annual economic and political growth which is due to (among other factors) a failure of productive sectors, huge decrease in domestic and foreign investments, a paralysing external debt, militarization of the polity, poor and lack of patriotic –minded leaders, and shrinking global commodity prices. Countries in Africa have also gone through deterioration in international trade and high inflation. The majority of the population is completely trailing on the brink of detachment from the global economy. Poverty, coupled with health and security issues has made life very unbearable and uncertain for African citizens (Nwokea and Langmia, 2010). Indeed, Africa`s economic performance during the past one and half decade relatively reveals in unpromising productivity index. Even if diversification progresses into higher value-added sectors, agriculture will continue to play a key role in Africa`s economic outlook (Economic Insight, 2016).

Recent weather patterns, in particular the El Nino phenomenon, have caused significant variations in food price and inflation across Africa, impacting on growth projections in non-agricultural sectors. Eastern and Southern African economies are significantly impacted. Moreover, African oil producing economies continue to suffer from the impact of lower oil prices. African has enjoyed a period of st strong and sustained GDP growth over the past couple of decades. Increased trade with – and investment from- major emerging markets, as well as better (although still challenging) domestic political and economic conditions, have cushioned the continent from much of the impact of the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, and subsequent Eurozone slowdown of 2011-2012 (Economic insight, 2016).

The absent of absolute awareness and knowledge among citizens is to reduce suffering and uncertainties which has become a typical lifestyle in a continent endowed with numerous mineral

resources. The mass media, in numerous African nations play a crucial roles which include transfer of ideas and models from one African nation to another and also from one local entity of one specific African nation to the other. Villages in African nations are drowsing in their traditional patterns of life and the urge to develop politically, economically and socially usually comes from seeing how the well developed nations of the world live. The media therefore functions as the bridge to the wider world hence setting the agenda for economic acceleration. The media is also challenged to provide information designed for solutions to economic problems (Schramm, 1964).

The role played by the media in African nation include but not limited to the acceleration and easing of long, slow social and political transformation required for economic development. In categorical terms, it is important to note that the media in Africa nations should help to identify and cover problems such as conflicts that are sometimes detrimental to basic human needs and issues related to security of the various nations. In doing so, the media can highlight the negative impact of war and hence prevent impending or future wars among nations within the continent or between communities within a particular country. Example is Rwandan genocide and conflict in Sudan. The media can also be used as a marketing strategy for the investment opportunities in the continent through advertising and image building or branding.

In order to stabilise African nations and bring confidence and sense of belonging to the people, the African governments must establish a mutual relationship with the mass media and allow them to operate independent of the leaders and political system. The eventual move towards press and mass media freedom in African nations would give autonomy to mass media practitioners to cover news and development issues without censorship or intimidation. African leaders and various government agencies should allow the mass media practitioners to perform

their journalistic responsibilities without direct intimidation and micromanagement. They should not be controlled nor given parameters that could measure the extent of their coverage of any issue including conflicts no matter who may have been involved in the news (Nwokea and Langmia, 2010). However, negative coverage by international press on Africa affects the implementation of Africa`s foreign policies. The international media cover African political and economic policies negatively. The Economist`s article: 'cloud over a continent,' while analysing the economic growth in the continent, terms Kenya's policies as 'foolish'. The analysis on Africa's economies stated:

> The second was that ill fortune was exacerbated by government policies that have hobbled growth in Africa's' two biggest   economies, Nigeria and South Africa, meanwhile, investment and growth desiccated as news of government corruption and economic mismanagement spurred credit- rating agencies to downgrade the country's debt junk. Even many of the region's fastest-growing countries have passed foolish economic policies. Kenya has capped the rate interest banks can charge…. (The *Economist*, 2017).

Such media coverage is likely to affect the economic objectives in African Countries foreign policy, either as a whole or in the particular countries mentioned in the press report.

5.6.2 Media's Role and Soft Power in Kenya's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process

Like anywhere in the world, soft power in Africa is connected to globalization and regional integration. In the past, Kenya has heightened its soft power resource through peace negotiations in regional states like Congo (1960s), Uganda (1980s), Somalia and Sudan in the 21st Century. Kenya also leads in peacekeeping operations in the world. Kenya, compared to any other African states, highly depicts the end of the post-colonial era in Africa. According to Kagwanja (2016), this practice began with the promulgation of the new Constitution in 2010 in Kenya but more successfully with the upsurge of Kenya's aggressive foreign policy after the new regime took

over leadership in 2013. Kenya has displayed its "soft power hegemony" which includes media diplomacy. In East African Index (2016), since 2013; Kenya has displayed power by way of media diplomacy consequently making the country 'a global soft power'. there was the blatant risk of diplomatic segregation and likely economic sanctions by Kenya's old partners because of the ICC cases that faced President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto concerning the 2008 election violence. President Kenyatta's regime adopted media diplomacy as a tool of seeking national interests in an unfriendly international system after election in March 2013.

Media and public diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy implementation has happened in three ways. First, by leaders' increased visits to friendly nations. The President and his deputy increased visits to friendly countries to rally development resources and economic opportunities. Between April 2013 when Kenyatta took over the country's leadership and August 2016, he conducted 56 travels to 40 nations and mocked by opposition commentators as "tourist president." Second, President Kenyatta's visits abroad (public diplomacy) have not only advanced Kenya's image and brand, culture and pulled in foreign investors in a range of areas, but also attracted high –profile conferences and visits by prominent leaders.

In July 2015, Kenya hosted then the US President Barrack Obama, the world's most influential country. Almost same time, trade and investment treaties were entered during the Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) held in Kenya's capital –Nairobi (East African Index, 2016). Kenya closed 2016 by holding the 10th WTO Ministerial Conference in December, which revived expectations of a new global trade pact. In 2016, President Kenyatta also hosted Indian Prime Minister Narenda Modi, whose government approved to support Kenya establish in health and agriculture, and energy.

In July 2017, Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu also travelled to Kenya and pledged to offer intelligence support to battle violent radicalism. Over 70 corporate leaders who had accompanied Mr Netanyahu reportedly signed trade agreements amounting to KSh 2 billion with the Kenya Chamber of Commerce (Kagwanja, 2016). On the other hand, the TICAD conference held in August 2016 attracted 36 heads of states, including the Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, who commanded a big delegation of over 80 officials of Japanese corporations. Nairobi became the first capital outside Japan to hold the 6th TICAD meeting, which has previously been held in Tokyo or Yokohama. Third, Kenya has strengthened its diplomacy in the region and internationally by advancing trade and investments in the regional and global multilateral organizations.

In view of the foregoing, it is imperative that media influences external economic relations, including trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow; of course, business enterprises engage with states they dislike, but they prefer to do business in countries with a good reputation both out of civic duty, and to avoid shareholder and media pressure. Also, image is made up of myriad actions, ranging from how visitors are treated when they apply for visas and at airport entry points, to the reputation of home brands and products, which rubs off on countries as well. Sporting figures become international icons, and hosting of world events such as the Olympics or the football world cup involves national pride, affecting the reputation of governments at home and abroad. Finally, any deviation between a country's self-image and the actual image becomes a source of embarrassment, to the point of affecting that government's political standing at home. Country image is a concern for all countries, because a good image is also sound politics.

5.6.3 Media Diplomacy and Kenya's Diaspora Relations

The diaspora pillar of Kenya's foreign policy objectives is to benefit from its citizens abroad either through their gotten skills, finance and promoting their integration into the national development agenda. However, not all diaspora are successful. Some Kenyans abroad have found themselves in problems with host states which require the Kenyan government's intervention. The Middle East countries play a host to several Kenyans who are migrant domestic workers. Saudi Arabia is the leading host country and her national have been notorious in mistreating the Kenya diaspora, employed as domestic workers. MFA approximates that there are between 85,000 and 100,000 Kenyan nationals living in Saudi.

In Kenya, the diaspora and consular activities are to promote and protect diaspora interest. To effectively to do that, there is need to have data base of the nationals in various countries in the diaspora. Kenya's foreign ministry still have a challenge of getting the actual data for documentation. This is coupled with the problem of illegal migration and human trafficking. During direct interview with one respondent (Senior officer at the Diaspora and Consular Department MFA on 29th April 2019 in Nairobi) said:

> Apart from media roles in highlighting the conditions of prisoners, human trafficking and of Kenya's diaspora, it helps also in explaining the need for or content of legislations such as prisoners Act 2015 which aims to curb these transnational problems as well as speed implementation. By conducting investigations, providing talks shows and advising the international community on these international problems, the media helps countries in stand of engaged in debates regarding implementations of rules of engagements.

This proves the critical roles of media diplomacy in diaspora and consular activities din implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

5.7 Social media in Kenya's foreign policy

Diplomacy relies on the art of communication. The emergence of the digital era has however transformed the communication by diplomatic actors. Citizens of different countries can engage either by themselves or even the leadership through the various means the digital media has offered. There is currently the demand by citizens for transparency and openness in policy decision making through the real time communication which offers the ability to read the actual feeling of the citizens through the raw information unlike the mainstream media where information is subjected to editorial process which involves editing, manipulation and filtering.

Diplomacy in an era of social media is starting to leave its cushions to become interactive and approachable. Many social media tools boast of fans and followers of almost similar population of large countries (Rao, 2017). When a calamity or event erupts across the 24-hour information cycle, every expert, including diplomatists, find themselves switching to fast-paced flexible social media such as Twitter, blogs, Facebook, YouTube. With such kind of diplomats, foreign relations have been extended online. Social medial provides a platform to know the inner feelings of publics. The information in socialists raw as they cannot be subjected to ant editorial filtering. In April 2014, South Africa's sports and recreation Minister, Fikile Mbalula ignited a twitter war when he made disparaging remarks about Kenyan swimmers. The remarks irritated Kenyans who responded to him on twitter. Kenyans and South Africans alike expressed their anger and frustrations on twitter, verbally attacking Mbalula and South African citizens (Mitchley, 2014). The comments risked a diplomatic rift between South Africa and Kenyans.

Social media gives grassroots group an indispensable new tool for fostering political change. New technologies have speed and low costs hence encouraging widespread usage. Through inclusion therefore, social media gives the users more power. An advantage of the social media

activists and for the majority of users is that it enables them to do away with the traditional filters "for news, even by journalists and government bureaucrats. It enables users to self-select information they are interested in and to access data in far more depth than in a newspaper or television program. Most government find their control loosening in the 21st Century as IT gradually spreads to the parts of the world that still lacks phones, computers and electricity.

Before Mwai Kibaki was declared winner on December 30th 2007 by the Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, amid a closing of the gap between the two main contenders and claims of rigging, opposition leader Raila Odinga had announced his victory in a public briefing and the European Union observer team had openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the election results. The minister for internal Security announced a ban on live broadcasts, Kenyans turned to other means of getting and relaying information, such as short message services (SMS) from mobile phones. Mobile phones were used to communicate locally and internationally andshare news and feelings. The ministry of internal security warned about circulating SMS that might cause public unrest and phone cards were also in short supply suggesting that the ban led to a high demand for mobile phone communication (Nying'uro, 2010).

Social media tools like WIKIS, WEBLOGS, FACEBOOK, YOUTUBE, and TWITTER were extensively used to organize and share information about the crisis and violence and to raise funds. While some discussion forums sought to promote peace and national unity others, especially in the diaspora, questioned national citizenship in the face of claims that a wrong person had been sworn in as president. Citizen journalism blossomed as Kenyans posted their thoughts online from the country and the diaspora. Some politicians set up their own "internet soldiers" who posted partisan anonymously, at times carrying multiple identities. Ethnic tensions were heightened using new media (Nying'uro, 2010).

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter established that media plays a diplomatic role in enhancing the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Kenya seeks to promote regional integration, democratization, peace and security, and hastened economic development in her foreign policy. Liberalism argues that access to the media has been known to change perceptions and in extension, impact on public discourse. This chapter established that media plays an important role in the agitation for political democracy in Kenya through multiparty systems and the spread of liberal values across the country. To accelerate economic growth in the country, media is key in transfer of ideas and solutions to economic problems. Media is also critical in conflict resolution through truthful, balanced reporting and fair account of events. Effective and democratic media are necessary to transform and make society to prefer peace and democracy to war and autocracy respectively. This is also true to liberate theorists argument which places a high regards to the significance on the function of public opinion and the media and hence its consequential impact in foreign policy formulation and implementation. Public opinion in a democratic nation is expected to be portrayed in government policy, including foreign policy since democratic state are supposed to be reactive to the public. The next chapter will evaluate the challenges of the media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING IN KENYA

This chapter evaluated the challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. It entails a critical look at the nature of foreign policy of Kenya collectively and an analysis of the decision making of those foreign policies. Based on the unique individual state's national interests, there is lack of common foreign policy objectives as every country prioritizes different policy objectives. Unlike other non- African countries, this poses a challenge in decision making of foreign policies. However, under the AU objectives, there are common and shared national interests that inform the policy objectives of many African nations.

6.1 Challenges of Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya

The respondents were asked to indicate the level of agreement on various statements related to challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa. The results were as shown by table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Cross tabulation of opinion on challenges facing Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya

Statements	Mean	Std Deviation
The principle challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa is financial weakness and policy dependence among many African states	4.678	0.469
Collective versus national foreign policy approaches as a result of divergent and overlapping national interests makes it hard for Africa to implement foreign policy objectives.	4.066	0.602
Internal and external pressures to democratize have indirect negative effects on foreign policy implementation in Africa.	4.116	0.754
Trade as growing foreign policy preoccupation is a hindrance towards foreign policy implantation process in Africa.	4.355	0.854
The nature of the foreign policy itself poses a challenge to its implementation.	3.967	0.850
Africa has not shown any concrete solution in response to conflict in the region leading to the challenge to implementation of the peace and security foreign policy objectives.	4.132	0.644
Changes in values, beliefs and ideological frameworks affect national interests and hence attainment of foreign policy objectives.	4.454	0.429

Source: Field Data, 2019

In relation to the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Kenya, the respondents strongly agreed that Africa's financial weakness hinders the effective implementation of its foreign policy as show by mean of 4.678 and standard deviation of 0.469. Further, the respondents agreed that collective versus national foreign policy approaches as a result of divergent and overlapping national interest makes it hard for Kenya to implement policy objectives as shown by mean of 4.454 and standard deviation of 0.429. They also agreed that internal and external pressure to democratise have indirect negative effects on foreign policy implementation in Africa as shown by a mean of 4.355 and standard deviation of 0.854.

In addition, they agreed that the nature of foreign policy itself pose a challenge to its implementation as shown by a mean of 3.967 and a standard deviation of 0.850. Respondents also hold that trade as growing foreign policy preoccupation is a hindrance towards foreign policy implementation process in Kenya as shown by a mean of 4.132 and standard deviation of 0.644. The respondents also agreed that Kenya has not shown any concrete solution in response to conflict in the region leading to the challenge of implementation of the peace and security foreign policy objectives as shown by a mean of 4.116 and standard deviation of 0.754. Changes in values, beliefs and ideological frameworks affect national interests and hence attainment of foreign policy objectives is shown by a mean of 4.066 and standard deviation of 0.602. The principle challenge to foreign policy implementation in Africa is financial weakness. The implementation of Africa's foreign policy was greatly constrained by the economic. Even though other constraints were identified by the study the overarching challenge was finance.

6.2 Nature of Kenya's foreign policy

For a long time, foreign policy theory has been ruled by Western perspectives with little regard to Africa. In the past half –century, the Cold War dominated the foreign policy analysis focusing

on the strategic rivalries of the powerful nations. The focus inclined towards states viewed as well-formed, highly developed and mostly administratively rational. Less attention was paid to the foreign policies of developing nations particularly in Africa (Herbert,2011). African countries are often working on tight financial constraints, most struggle to fund even a few embassies and lack skilled personnel and financial power to engage in various issues of international affairs. Because of the diversity of African nations, there is no single African foreign policy but many, portraying the varied national interests, weaknesses, strengths and national histories. In some fields, African foreign policies exhibit great resemblances, in others they differ across critical cracks. Just as Russians, Chinese and Americans do or might have dissimilar views of the causes of threats in international relations, Countries in Africa also differ, among themselves and with former powers, in their perception of risks and of how what foreign policy areas should be focused on. The states in African are unquestionably aware of the pluralities that characterize their continent. Nevertheless, they have identifiable foreign policy preferences those strategies. Africans perceive themselves as evolving a collective personality to protect their continents' international interests (Akinyemi, 1982).

Current trends in international relations and diplomacy surrounds the issues of globalization, human rights and democracy (Okpokpo, 2000). The formation of the AU in 2002 created prospects that would see advancement in various aspects of their foreign policy objectives (Tjiurimo, 2016). As explained in earlier chapter, Africa seeks to promote the goals of regional integration, democratisation, peace and security and hastened economic growth in her foreign policy. But, as Sule (2012) notes, African states have not achieved all of their foreign policy objectives and they will not in the near future. This is attributed to rigid and strong sovereignty norms, which include states' inability to incorporate various diplomatic practices in their foreign

policy implementations (Tjiurimo, 2016). These is because domestic political actions commonly have a lot of influence on foreign policy making and implementation processes. Furthermore, Africa's image is shattered and despite immense efforts by diplomats and other officials in Africa to outside countries in Africa to explain Africa's stance, their efforts have been fruitless since most African states maintain an absolute definition of national sovereignty. They argue that human rights and related issues are African Affairs 'and hence require African solutions' (Constitutive Act of AU, 2000). A case in point is the Kenya verses International Criminal Court (ICC) from 2010 to 2015, Genocide in Rwanda and elusive peace and security in South Sudan. Most leaders in Africa sit down within boundaries of their countries and treat citizens as he liked without much attention to the reaction from the international community. Though democracy and human rights were initially internal affairs in law and international relations, they are becoming important determinants in foreign policy.

The Republic of South Africa, under the Southern Africa Development Corporation (SADC) developed policy agenda for Africa or 'African Agenda'. The African focuses on strategies on an evaluation and knowing of African Geopolitics in the 21st century, and needs to be wholly acquainted of these forms of omission repeatedly reproduced in the current global environment.

An emerging challenge to media-diplomacy is Cybercrime. Poor legislations in Kenya that are essential in combating cyberspace crime, have rendered authorities ineffective as they try to obtain permission to search and prosecute offenders of this crime without proper laws that will enforce them, for this reason, cybercriminals do not have the fear of being apprehended. The issue of jurisdiction also makes on one country irrelevant for instance, a crime committed in Kenya where cybercrime laws are ineffective or non-existent makes apprehension almost impossible. The lack of sufficient resources for instance funds which would enable authorities

purchase equipment and applications, necessary to collect evidence and also applications and instruments to detect and prevent such crime from happening are quite limited. Finally, lack of awareness to this type of crime and also lack of relevant skills constitute to the remainder of these challenges, where legislators who are responsible for enacting laws cannot enforce into law what they do not understand. Authorities on the other hand, lack necessary skills that afford them the capacity to employ efficient strategies in detecting and in collecting digital evidence crucial in prosecuting cyberspace offenders. With the foregoing in view, it is the position of some governmental departments in Kenya to shy from ICT while adopting public diplomacy since their systems cannot be guaranteed to always be protected. For instance On 12th January 2012, an Indonesian hacker known as "direxer" took down 103 government of Kenya websites overnight. The hacker was part of an online Indonesian security forum known as Forum Code Security. The government moved to take the affected websites offline through a Cyber Incidence Response Team (CIRT) based at the Communications Commission of Kenya. The CIRT was formed to handle such situations and ensure Kenya's security in cyber space.

Kenya government websites are normally hosted in one server at The Treasury thus compromising the server may expose several websites to a hacker. On 20th July 2013, the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) was attacked by hackers claiming to be from Gaza. The hackers targeted the exchange rates section of the site which was flooded with messages in both English and French in a marquee that scrolled through the site. The Gaza hacker Team posted a message that could be interpreted as threatening the security of an unspecified addressee. The hacking blocked many visitors from around the world who use the site to access exchange rates information for business or travel purposes.

In the global information village much communication takes place through stereotypes and sound bites. Globalization suggests to us superficially that the foreign has become familiar. The country is a "brand" seen by people overseas through shorthand that colors both its products, be it tourism or business activities and its politics. Images are powerful, forcing countries to improve the way they are perceived, and re-brand themselves, for both tangible and intangible benefits. Managing this brand concerns foreign ministries, the functional ministries, and a number of public institutions in much the same way as international companies. Also reveal that Blogs are steadily becoming unpopular since they require a lot of administration responsibilities. Unlike other social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter, Blogs require extra costs such as hosting, administrator control such as creating accounts and managing the website. At the same time, Blogs also require the general population to have sufficient internet bandwidth however, internet in Nairobi is still developing and it is still expensive and limited even after the emergence of the fibre connectivity. SMS is the least utilized social tool in Kenya and this is primarily because SMS broadcasting is quite expensive. Unlink other social tools such as Facebook which are free to adopt, SMS communication in Kenya require fixed charges in-order to send and receive messages. The Kenya government even after its plans to inter-connect all its ministries through e-governance, faces a challenge to reach out to the general public through mobile phone messaging which would require a large budget allocation.

6.3 Financial Weakness and Policy Dependence

Many countries in Africa are underdeveloped except a few rich states such as Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe endowed with natural resources. Because of the poor economic development and financial weakness, their governments are weak. As a result, this strains foreign policy implementation process in numerous ways. The most obvious and direct is

that these financially weak states cannot afford to establish strategic embassies and foreign missions abroad as well as employ adequate number of diplomatic staff, which alone limits their impact. Similarly, their lack of significant military forces or huge markets renders them not much attractive compared to other powerful states in other continents. The financial weakness and low economy is closely linked to political instability and internal conflicts. The extent of Africa's weakness and reliance on assistance from powerful foreign nations renders internal political activities into issues of foreign policy contestation. African countries have persistently asserted their national sovereignty to repel external criticism over their internal affairs. Such rhetoric does not, however, alter the reality, which is that Africa exists in a precarious realm in which its sovereignty in effect is already shared. The gravity of Africa's poverty and the extent of its aid reliance have steered foreign countries and organizations to become greatly involved in many aspects of its internal policy (Landsberg, 2007).

International relation theorists concentrate on how domestic politics shape foreign policy but tend to neglect the converse, which is the significant way that global affairs affect domestic politics, for rich and poor nations alike. Treaties impose responsibilities. And since international organizations are key in liberalism aspect of international corporation, such bodies as Interpol, international criminal court and various tax, money laundering and terrorism agreements constraints nations and individuals. International financial markets monitor domestic conditions and punish states that cannot manage their finances such as in the case of Greece as published by The New York Times (East African Trade Report, 2014). Interest, inflation, foreign exchange and national budgets all can be driven by external events. Under unstressed conditions nations appear autonomous, but crisis quickly highlights the extent of international financial interdependence. A variety of indicators highlight the gap between African economic

performance and that of other regions. Thirty –eight of the forty lowest positions on the UN Human Development Index are occupied by African countries (UNDP Report, 2016).

World Bank Group Report (2016), the GDP of most of the 54 countries in Africa ranks low. One could separately analyse each of the major global institutions for its effect on African foreign policy: the International Monetary Fund, Interpol, the UN Security Council and Human Rights Council, global financial systems and the WTO, among others. It is appropriate, however, to focus on the most direct and consequential aspect that determines African foreign policy. This is the extent to which regimes rely on development support. Currently, USAID runs twenty-seven bilateral and regional missions in sub-Saharan Africa, which in the financial year 2012 provided support to 47 sub-Saharan African states. The Africa region's top five receivers of USAID in 2012 were Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and South Africa (Ingram and Rockers, 2013).

African solidarity has been particularly important international trade engagements. Countries in Africa with other developing countries abroad successfully blocked the Doha Round of trade negotiations WTO when they held that wealthy states had not lived up to their promises made in prior trade agreements. Developing countries (majority in Africa) made several gains through the negotiation process and the WTO accord in general. By participating in the negotiations, they avoided 'the take it or leave it option of the earlier negotiations' (Sing, 2002). Furthermore concern over Africa's relative weakness and the potential for external domination has led to African efforts to counterbalance the West by courting trade and aid links with the former USSR, and now with China. In economic terms China's rise as investor, minerals purchaser and development assistance provider has more than offset the influence lost through the collapse of the USSR. China-Africa trade seems to have increased since the beginning of 21st Century. In fact, Beijing's economic influence and control in Africa is much wider and stronger than

perceived (Kiprop, 2017). In just 10 years two decades, the trade economic partnership between China and Africa has tremendously grown to an extent the depth and breadth of engagement in regard to investment, infrastructure financing, and aid cannot be compared to any other country. Africa-China trade has been increasing at about 20 per cent per annum since 2000, while FDI has grown even faster over the past 10 years with a rapid annual growth rate of 40 percent (Yuan, 2017). As at 2015, total trade between China and Africa amounted to $188 billion – more than threefold that India, Africa's next biggest trade partner. The figure is slightly higher than the $172 billion total trade value (China Africa Research Initiative, 2017).

Most developing countries including Kenya, find themselves facing the opportunity cost of pursuing more citizen-centric initiatives. E-government strategizing and implementation often comes with huge social technical and economic costs that are beyond most of the developing countries capabilities. One major challenge to nurturing the benefits of media diplomacy usage in Africa has been its unreliable infrastructures. This is corroborated by an interview with a Senior Officer Communication Authority of Kenya done on 28th April 2019 in Nairobi who illustrated that:

> Implementation of e-government by Kenya required Kshs.100 million and another kshs.500 million for equipment, connectivity, training e.t.c will be required annually for the next five years for the successful realisation of e-Government. Kenya required to train all its civil servants to ensure adequate capacity in the use of internet, email and e-Government applications. Apart from Civil Service Reform Kenya needed to enable Legal and Regulatory environment to enable handling of Government records and information electronically and to ensure the security and integrity of information.

In the case of Kenya, in the 2009/2010 financial year, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) stated that the government had saved more than Ksh 600 million after recalling some categories of envoys including press attachés and trade attachés. Low cadre Kenyans serving as

drivers, security officers and cooks in Kenyan embassies abroad were also recalled. The job groups have since been designated to nationals or Kenyans residing in the receiving state (Parliament of Kenya, 2018).

In 2012, the Kenyan government announced plans to further downsize the high number of staff in the country's diplomatic missions abroad, in efforts to cut down costs of recurrent expenditure. Kenyan diplomats earn at least Ksh one million per month, which computes to Ksh 12 million per year. If the country deployed ambassadors in all the 193 states, the country would incur costs of not less than Ksh 200 million on basic salaries of ambassadors alone (Parliament of Kenya, 2018).

In January 2013, parliament's Defence and Foreign Relations Committee indicated that MFA received Ksh 8.3 billion every year from the National Treasury to spend on recurring expenditure. Embassies in Europe used at least Ksh 100 million annually for rent arrears for ambassadors and envoys' accommodation (Parliament of Kenya, 2018).

The 2017-2018 financial year budget was Ksh 2.77 trillion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received Ksh 13 billion, which translated to 0.71% of the total budget. The Judiciary received Ksh 17 billion. Industrialization ministry was allocated Ksh 9.7 billion, ICT ministry Ksh 10 billion and the National Intelligence Service (NIS) received Ksh17 billion. The funds received by the Foreign Affairs ministry were mainly to facilitate the recurring expenditure, including Kenya's diplomatic missions abroad (Parliament of Kenya, 2018).
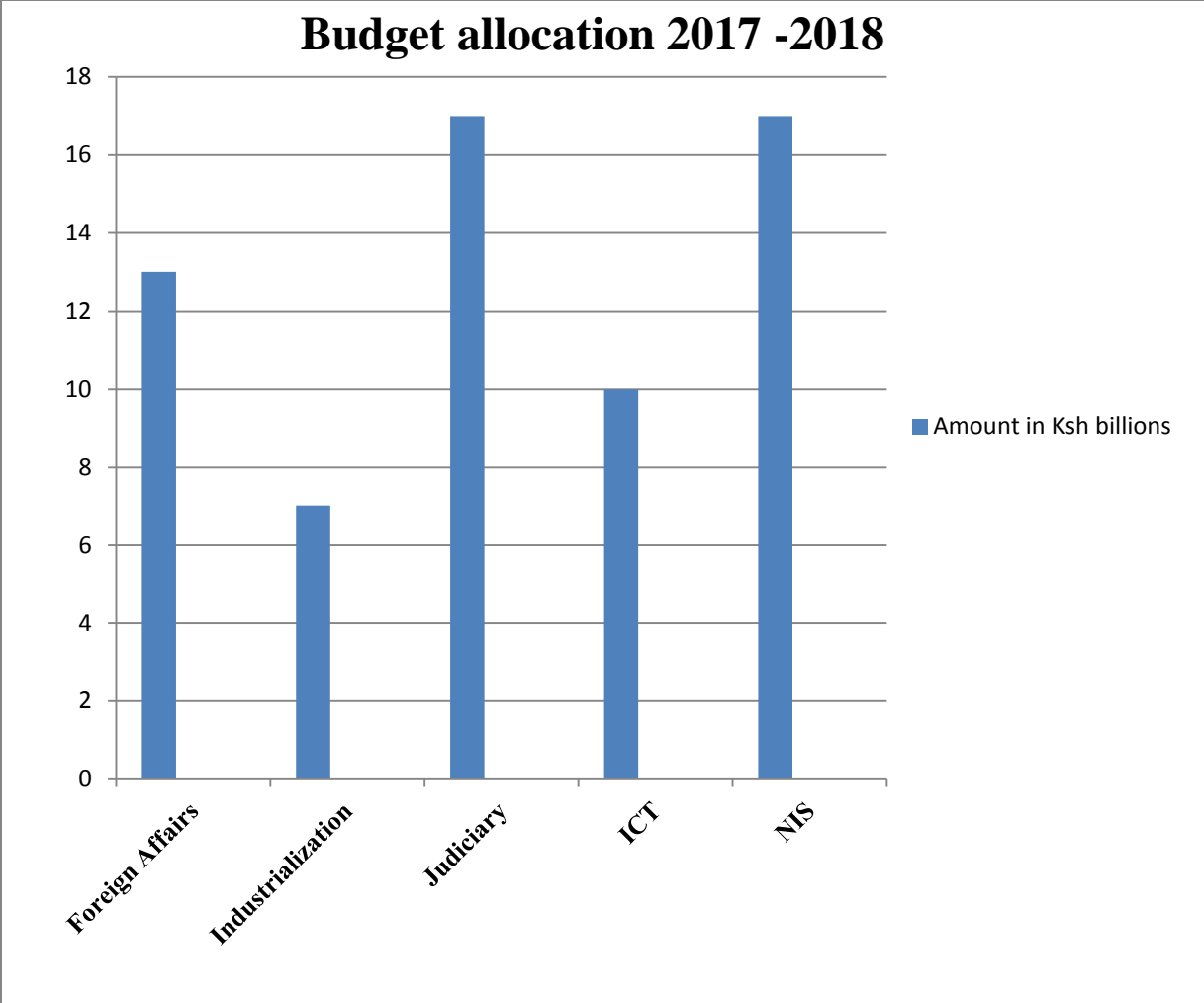
Figure 6.1: 2017 -2018 Budget allocation for Kenya government various ministries and programmes

Source: Kenya National Treasury

In the 3.074 trillion 2018 – 2019 budget, MFA received Ksh 21.9 billion, a Ksh8.9 billion increase from the previous year. The ICT ministry received Ksh 25.9 billion, Industrialization Ksh11.2 billion, judiciary Ksh 15.8 billion and the free primary education programme was allocated 13.4 billion. Increased funding in the ICT ministry and close collaboration with the

MFA may well be instrumental in the adoption and implementation of virtual diplomatic practice by the country.
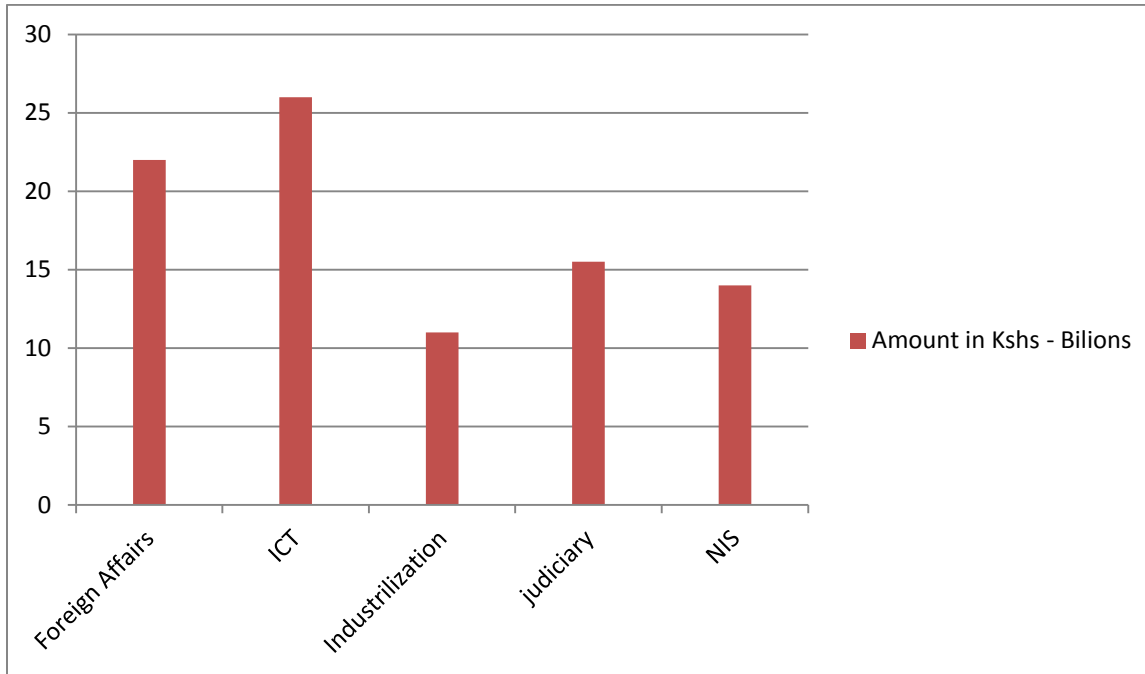
Figure 6.2: The 2018 -2019 Budget allocation for ministries and programmes
Source: Kenya National Treasury

The USA has the highest number of diplomatic missions abroad at 126. Coming second is Africa's largest economy, South Africa with 122 diplomatic missions. In 2015, South Africa's National Treasury raised concerns on the high cost of maintaining embassies and its personnel abroad. In the 2014/2015 financial year, the South African government spent ZAR 3.2 billion on its diplomatic missions abroad. Government pundits proposed measures of cutting costs and achieve more with less (Gareth, 2015). There was a public uproar on the large amount of public funds spent in the country's diplomatic missions, which still garnered minimal returns.

6.4 Collective versus national foreign policy approaches

Another indicator of the way in which African apprehension over its weak position in the world in regard to foreign policy implementation is a strong communicator to working through multilateral bodies, among them the UN, the AU and Regional Economic Councils (RECs). This is a response to the tendency towards, and capacity for unilateral action by more developed countries. African acceptance of multilateralism, however, has not been complete. African foreign policy has consistently sought reconfigurations away from historically dominant powers and toward an international regime based on democracy among nations. In some instance this also includes preference for rules –based international decision –making; but when that runs counter to African interests African states sought to curtail international invention. A key motivating factor has been the intensity of Western criticism of African governance and democratic practice, which suggest that if and when the world freely accepted aggressive intervention in dubious democracies, Africa would bear the brunt of it.

Working within multilateral frameworks has not meant acceptance of them. Indeed, Afrca has sought fundamental. Changes in global governance and the world economic order ever since de-colonisation. In some ways this desire for change was more animated in the days when the Soviet model still seemed to offer a viable alternative to capitalism. Despite this imperative for change, Africa remains limited in its ability to exact fundamental shifts in global institutions, giving the ability of major powers to block; but the scope of its ambition to shift the world order deserves attention. The tension between African ambition and its capacity to alter operating rules to constrain global powers is bet illustrated by the debate over UN Security Council reform (Herbert, 2011). Africa sought two permanent veto-wielding seats and, taking an all or nothing

approach, blocked further attempts to reach agreement on expansion unless the African position prevailed.

Since the era of independence began, Africa has been simultaneously attracted to, and wary of, the idea of a continental economic and political union. Although the former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkurumah fiercely advanced the idea of African union, many leaders since then have observed that colonial boundaries have left African states too weak. In fact, once established as independent states, most governments were skeptical of the practicality of union and recognized its real and unwelcome potential to mitigate the domestic political power incumbents. Africa's integration aspect of pan –Africanism lost its force throughout the second half of the 1960s. it was somewhat substituted by movements for the establishment of regional and inter-state alliances. By 1977, there were over 20 inter-governmental multi-sectorial economic co-operation organizations in Africa and about 100 single multi-national organizations that are meant to stimulate technical and economic co-operation in Africa (Mazrui, 1993). Pan Africanism has been much more successful as an ideology of liberation than of integration. The foreign policy process that emerged in the first decade of independence may be distinguished by three principle characteristics: a pragmatic redefinition of Pan-Africanism; the reduction of regional institutional linkages and growing preference for a loose continental organization; and the enunciation of the national interest as an integral part of the nation-building process (Kadhiagala and Lyons, 2001).

Nkurumah retooled Pan-Africanism to serve two urgent foreign policy objectives for Ghana one being consolidation of freedom, once attained through the establishment of an overarching continental institution endowed with supranational powers. But Nkurumah spread no effort to bring to fruition his scheme for African integration in the form of OAU, an institutional forerunner of United States of Africa. He stumped major capitals and cajoled the leaders of the

newly independent states of Sub Saharan Africa to support his plans (Kadhiagala and Lyons, 2001). Until his most recent travails, Libya's Muammar Gaddafi was the most vocal advocate of a United States of Africa and his actions revealed Africa's continued ambivalent but constructive response to calls for union. Before his death, Gaddafi pushed for an African unity government for years with a view that it was one way Africa can develop without Western interference. However, many African leaders did not support the idea with claims that is impractical and would encroach on their sovereignty (Salah, 2010). The majority of African states quietly express doubt about the practicality of union, but they also felt obliged to express rhetorical support for the idea.

The African preference for avoiding condemnation or disagreement in direct terms is pronounced, at least as it relates to other African leaders. The combination of a preference for collective solutions and lack of robust discussion of problems attending those proposed solutions has left the foreign policy arena populated by overlapping regional institutions, many of which are redundant and dilapidated but have not been closed down. Many Afriacn states have been unable or unwilling to fund various sub-regional bodies themselves and have looked to development aid and Africa's wealthier states to pay the bills. In the continuing dialogue about African union, states advocating a go slow approach have argued that integration should proceed first at the REC level before considering continental federation (Herbert, 2011).

Massaging the public message is as old as politics. Much as the media abhor being "managed" all governments try to influence publics via the media, placing positive spin on their own actionsand eroding the stance taken by adversaries, as during key negotiations. The existence of global information networks producing instant transmission of news to world audiences makes it hard to manage news. Some democratic governments understand that the relationship between

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the official establishment and the media is necessarily adversarial. This is evident as one respondent (An official from MFA interviewed at ministry on 29th April, 2019 in Nairobi) regretted:

> It becomes virtually impossible to customize news for one audience, since it spills over to other audiences. Yet politicians address domestic audiences with themes that will resonate with them, as during elections; foreign audiences are expected to treat such rhetoric with indulgence. Often the best news management comes from the heads of government; they have a range of options for communicating their standpoint. Leaders who have media skills gain an advantage.

And Richard Dudman of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch writes: "The Kennedy Administration may try to manage the news a bit more than some of its predecessors. In large part, this is a reflection of the increased articulateness and individuality-some might call it gabbiness and egotism-that characterizes members of this Administration." (Galphin, 1963). Dudman further contends that it is a "dangerous de-lusion" if reporters forget that government press officers are hired to "promote the good and conceal the bad, and put the best possible face on all news concerning their agency." Several Fellows believe plain old hard work would remedy a lot of the complaints about "management, (Galphin, 1963)"

A consequence of the rising importance of domestic publics is that foreign ministry spokesmen now focus mainly on the home reactions to foreign affairs issues, to the point of reduced attention to projecting home policy to the foreign media. This is an inversion of the past role of foreign ministries. By the same token, even on overseas visits, leaders are much more interested in what the home media say than on reaching out to foreign publics via the media in the countries visited. Ideally, the one should balance the other, and foreign ministries have their work cut out in ensuring that the latter are treated as an equal priority.

6.5 International and external pressure to democratise

Since the mid-1980s citizens and external funders have brought increasing pressure for democratisation on African governments. This has had profound, albeit indirect effects on foreign policy through the linkage of Aid dependency and debt forgiveness conditionality. The linkage between foreign policy and governance did not, however, begin with structural adjustment, nor was it confined to economic questions. States structures, economic policy and political practices have all been conjoined since independence and these linkages have much to do with the patterns of political instability, conflict and economic crisis that have bedevilled African foreign policy (Herbert, 2011).

In deference to both the colonial tradition and the apparently rapid growth of the Soviet model in the 1960s, African states showed a remarkably strong preference for centrally managed economic intervention, including political control of prices, interest rates and foreign exchange mechanisms. By the early 1970s this had led to growing market distortions and shortages. At the same time political power and policymaking were highly centralised around heads of states, with few real checks on executive power. Centralisation contributed significantly to the rise of corruption and was a key enabler of a central strategy based on clientelism and patronage; this in turn demanded centralised management but also generated a need to circumvent legal controls and, frequently, to subvert the proper functioning of public accountability bodies. Many regimes remain unable to restrain illicit behaviour within ruling coalitions (Herbert, 2011).

The combination of political and economic centralisation with patronage politics led to inflexibility, while routine pricing changes provoked protest that often mutated into demands for political liberalisation. A shift toward market pricing in the 1990s allowed daily price adjustments in small increments, which greatly relieved political pressure, while privatization

also offered a social cushion because the target of protests was no longer government but new private sector owners (Herbert, 2011). Until market liberalization took firmer hold, however, the political climate was marred by economic shocks, corrupt manipulations of price controls and wide spread public protest. Western powers were initially more concerned with Cold War rivalries and the preservation of their influence in the post- colonial environment, Africa's democratic deficit, poor human rights record, and unstable economic policies began to re-shape Western foreign and developmental policies toward the continent. A central feature of the structural adjustment formula which western powers push in Africa (and Latin America) in the 1980s was a reversal in the centralization of state power through privatization, deregulation, trade and foreign exchange liberalization and reduced state bureaucracies. This process in turn became a central foreign policy concern to many countries in Africa as several governments sought to delay and sabotage reforms demanded by foreign donors in exchange for assistance and credit.

In 2014, Western Powers, especially the US under Barrack Obama's administration, became furious after Ugandan government signed a bill (Anti-Homosexuality Bill) that outlawed gay rights. Though it was equally celebrated and condemned across the world, President Yoweri Museveni was forced to reverse the decision of face cut of foreign aid to his country. A US White House communication on the matter was reported saying Ugandans engaged in human rights violation against gay people would be barred from entering the US. The White House also claimed it will reduce financial aid to the development projects that it is implementing in Uganda as joint military engagements (BBC, 2014).

In his speech, President Museveni said that since Western cultures do not appreciate politeness, he took the opportunity to caution his citizens openly about the immoral practices indulged in

and endorsed by some of the outsiders (*Daily Monitor*, 2014). African leaders have been fighting the West over what they term as international political interference. The Western media have painted African leadership, through their headlines, as undemocratic. Take for example *The Economist* (2017) coverage on Rwanda's President Paul Kagame's re-election on 4th August 2017.

President Kagame, despite having been re –elected by over 98 per cent of all the votes, he is described by qualities of an autocrat. He is described as a feared man, dictator and tribal. Rwanda's foreign policy towards the West seemingly has shifted, s portrayed by the coverage. Mr. Kagame no longer engages as much with abroad, partially since donors leant on him but mainly because he has eradicated his greatest threats. At home, however, he keeps a chocking grip over his people (*The Economist*, 2017).

6.6 Trade as a growing foreign policy preoccupation

Africa's economic weakness has made the pursuit of economic growth a central preoccupation of state policy. Several longer-term trends in the global and regional environment are forcing African states to take trade negotiations more seriously as a foreign policy issue. In many cases, efforts are advanced to create preferential trade areas and eventual customs unions, which represent another dimension of linkages between domestic and foreign policy. African states remain subsequently dependent on customs duties for finances. Intra-African trade, however, represent only 9% of total African trade with the world. Africa remains greatly reliant on the sale of a few commodities to more industrialized markets such as USA, China, and Germany. For example, although Africa accounted for only 4% of China's transitional trade in 2011, Africa's significance as a Chinese trading partner has been conspicuously growing for example, Chinese

firms, mostly large state-owned enterprises, have recently invested millions of dollars in resource-rich African countries (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

Trade provokes some political anxieties, particularly among poorer, less industrialised nations concerned about the greater heft of their peers. In East Africa, Kenya's neighbours worry about its more advanced industries obtruding on their own. As by far the most advanced economy in sub- Saharan Africa, South Africa provokes similar suspicions that freer trade would benefit Pretoria and de-industrialise weaker states. Africa historically benefitted from significant tariff concessions from developed countries, but significant changes have undermined its trading position. Prior to the Uruguay Round, this set the stage for the shift from the General Agreement on Tariffs and trade system to the WTO, developing countries largely opted out of the global trade talks and relied on unilateral trade preferences granted by developed countries. Developing countries were not obliged to reciprocate and could their infant industries. Before long, however, Western and Asian powers, feeling the tensions associated with the rise of Asian manufacturing in the early 1980s, sought to entrench a global rules-based system that would address accusations of unfair trade practices (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

Developed countries are currently seeking to bring a wider and deeper array of issues within the ambit of the WTO. These include regulations and labour, environment, food, safety, intellectual poverty, services and government tending, all of which have implications for African economic strategy. Unlike the UN Security Council, the WTO relies on consensus voting, but the rapid expansion of its membership has increasingly contributed to the kind of intractable differences evident in the rejectionist stance taken by African and other developing countries in the Doha Round of talks. This inability to break the negotiating impasse has prompted efforts by Northern and Southern nations alike to cut separate regional trade deals that cement gains while bypassing

the blocked WTO process. Although this route allows nations to entrench relatively free trade with major trading partners it may still end up cutting Africa out of the game, because the continent lacks the dedicated trade negotiations expertise or political sophistication to create and sustain viable trade negotiating strategies. Normal efforts have been made to co-ordinate an African position, but they have not translated into hiring additional staff with the requisite experience in trade negotiations. As a result, Africa's poorer nations remain largely passive yet(with the exceptions of South Africa and Mauritius, which have shown greater openness to global trade and negotiations), continue to be viewed a veto over any further talks that do not address development concerns. Africa as a whole perceives more risk than reward in further trade liberalization and remains subsequently defensive and reactive in its approach. Little effort has gone into building supportive coalitions or finding acceptable compromises (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

European trade negotiation remain a difficult area for Africa. Under WTO rules, the EU wants to rationalise the trade preferences it extends to former colonies and developing nations through Economic Partnership Agreements with each African REC. This would require the elimination of the SADC and the Southern African Customer Union, and all members of the East African Community, each of which has separate trade arrangements and liberalisation plans. Of particular interest are agricultural issues, which were largely exempted from the WTO process and remain highly subsidized in developed nations (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

  Africa competes very well in seasonal products and those that do not grow in the North. These include fruit and vegetables, coffee, cocoa, and flowers. At the same time Northern subsidies create large agricultural surpluses that are often exported to developing countries at the South cannot compete against. Such produce includes butter, cheese, dried milk products, maize and

frozen chicken. Cotton and sugar are two key products in both the North (on highly subsidized terms) and South, where unsubsidized farmers are directly impoverished by Northern policies that suppress global prices. Africa has engaged in some global debate on these matters and some African heads of states have written opinion articles in Western newspapers calling for an end to Northern subsidies, but Northern agricultural interest groups are highly organized and sufficiently politically influential to have blocked progress on the issue. South Africa has been the most energetic of the African states in its trade diplomacy (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

The liberalization components of the international regime have shaped by three general factors: the capitalist world political economy, the sharing of state power and technological revolution. Capitalism inspires multinationals to pursue business opportunities across the globe, and this motivation on the part of corporations has been essential to interstate attempts to keep and increase commercial candidness for their companies. In a sense, large international corporations are obliged to function interrelated because of the technical interlinking requirement among global commercial enterprises. At the same time, it is questionable whether changes in capitalism have been mainly responsible for changes in the international telecommunications regime. For example, the drive toward deregulation in capitalist state since the 1970s has facilitated liberalization, but it is doubtful whether American interests and influence are the central forces behind the long term movement towards greater commercial openness (Gamache *et al*., 2013).

6.7 Patterns of conflict and African responses

African foreign policy for years focussed on resolution. Africa a continent has since 1960s been marked by persistent conflicts, resolutions and emigrants, all of which resulted in key foreign policy fears for popular countries and African regional organizations. Although elections are often seen as a solution to internal conflicts, they are frequently badly managed with unfair voter

registration processes and disputed counts, which deeply undermine public trust in government and exacerbate, rather than resolve, regional and ethnic differences. Where there has been violence as a result of disputed elections, African has not shown any concrete solution to this foreign policy crisis. In 2007, the electoral commission in Kenya said it did not know who won after an election and there was a widespread violence whereby about 1,500 people were killed, an estimated 3,000 women sexually violated and 300,000 people removed from their homes. The AU, in its effort to resolve the disputed election and conflict, pushed only for a government of national unity without a recount or revote. Mismanagement of the Kenya and Zimbabwe crises offers incentives for other incumbents to use violence to avoid free and fair elections (Roberts, 2009).

Liberal democracies, as liberalism proponents would argue, have a few instances of conflict. Africa's predominant political practices, poverty and aid dependency all work against its attempts to end conflict. Nevertheless, Africa has built substantial international systems to avert conflicts and resist non-democratic changes in government. Instead of directly opposing Libyan pressure to unify Africa, South African and Nigeria led efforts to transform the old OAU into the more effective AU, with a stress on institutions that could credibly function on a continental level without turning the AU into a federal nation. They drew significantly from EU models but created new bodies to deal with conflict. The AU charter specifically prohibits unconstitutional and violent seizure of power and gives the body authority to intervene in such cases through the African Peace and Security Council and panel of the wise and also by way of diplomatic delegations to RECs (Roberts, 2009). The development of this diplomatic architecture reflects growing concerns over conflict and the risk of collapse to the affected states and the broader region.

There are key evident trends that demonstrate Africa's poor foreign policy towards conflict crises responses. Firstly, African multilateral bodies suffer weaknesses similar to those of the UN in that bureaucracy responds to the will of member states but rarely challenges or pushes unwilling states to action. While the UN provides a forum for discussion and reminds members of agreed rules of acceptable conduct, real power rests with member states. If they lack the will to act, little is done. Secondly, personalities matter. While the AU peace and security institutions are important and provide the possibility of establishing stronger democratic standards, there has been an evident downturn in effectiveness since the internationally assertive presidents of Nigeria and South Africa, respectively Obasanjo and Mbeki, ended their terms of office (Herbert, 2017). Thirdly, just like global powers, African states react forcefully in response to widespread conflict but struggle to find the will or consensus to react to less violent but still flagrant transgressions, such as stolen elections or dynastic power transfers. Kenya is a prime example. Politically motivated ethnic violence and land grabs had been used in the 1992 and 1997 elections. When the 2007 election was in effect stolen by the incumbent President Mwai Kibaki, widespread organised violence ensued. Fourthly, where open conflict exists, the main strategy (called for by both AU and UN) has been to engineer a ceasefire followed by elections. Very little of substance has been discussed about resolving the causes of instability. Fifth, despite an emphasis on elections as palliative, badly managed or manipulated elections frequently tap into long –standing animosities and distrust of autocratic incumbents. In many instances elections become catalysts for conflict rather than peace. This tendency is greatly under-appreciated in Africa foreign policy circles. Sixth, the overall pattern of AU and UN conflict intervention has in many cases created territories where conflicts are frozen in place rather than resolved.

6.8 Societal learning and ideological change

The idea that foreign policy in any country or region may be described necessary involves generalisations across space but implicitly across time as well, in writing and reading about any nation or nations it is easy to assume that their behaviour patterns have been, and will remain, consistent. Yet Africa has undergone great changes and will change further, rendering this present – or for that matter any other – analysis increasingly inaccurate or incomplete with the passage of time. Not only are global circumstances changing but so also are the values, beliefs and ideological frameworks that Africans use to interpret those events and choose responses. Although national interests are often clear, equally they are often hard to discern. In addition, prevailing beliefs about how the world works and the nature of its risks change with time and intellectual fashion. For African governments, important changes in ideology affect foreign policy in several ways (Delong, 2017).

Firstly, although Africa was caught up in Cold War rivalries and several regimes declared themselves to be Marxist or socialist, there was more rejection of the West than political substance in this self-labelling (Herbert, 2017). With the exception of model efforts at follow-through in Tanzania and Mozambique, variations on leftist political ideology were never implemented on anything like the scale seen in the Soviet Union and its allies. The idealistic and aggressive stances of the early 1960s have yielded to more pragmatic and reasoned positions. And the apparently relentless process of marginalization [in the global economic and political order] has almost led to a sense of resignation rather than expectation. To be sure, African diplomats individually and collectively continue to criticize the world, especially its Western parts, for both imperialistic and disinterested policies yet nowadays they rarely threaten economic sanctions or diplomatic breaks. However, Delong (2017) observes that there is a strong

resistance to globalization in the 21st Century and attributes to various reasons among them changes brought about by neoliberalism.

Another important ideological shift has occurred with regard to capitalism, trade and investment. By the end of the colonial period many influential scholars and political leaders had come to see colonialism as a natural extension of the capitalist system, and turned toward the USSR for alternatives. But with time, most of the world came to understand that the Soviet model was not only much less efficient but it was also characterized by the same coercion and abuse of power that plagued Africa. This change opened significant new forms of foreign policy engagement. African leaders began attending World Economic Forum meetings and listening to analyses of the high cost of doing business on the continent.

As globalisation emerged, private investment began to beat foreign aid. Such investment was not only potentially much bigger, but it also brought more real technological and managerial benefits that have gained importance in Africa's assessment of Strategy (Delong, 2017). Globalization allows foreign producers to export goods and services to distant markets and reduce cost for the other side as attributed by Delong (2017). Once this important shift occurred, Africa became more active in investment promotion and trade negotiations. African foreign ministries, however, remain poorly geared to demands of investors and lack practical experience of dealing with business. Thus the continent has put on a friendlier face to business but has not yet matched this with reforms substantive enough to begin to attract investment that otherwise is drawn to Asia and Latin America. Further change will surely come in increments. As noted in the earlier discussion of trade matters, Africa remains more reactive than other regions in trade talks but increasingly sees participation in the global economy as the only game in town, with declining

numbers of proponents of economic isolation or important substitution. According to a respondent;

> There are new and emerging issues that pose daunting challenges to Kenya in the area of foreign policy and diplomacy of the new millennium. That time changes and issues and dictates change with it. This calls for constant review and updates in foreign policy and diplomacy initiatives of countries in their relations with each other. (Interview with a MFA officer in Nairobi, 27th April, 2019).

The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nationspresent a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world. It is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya's image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels.

Foreign policy for Kenya has aimed at satisfying the needs of the Kenyan people in a multidimensional way. A combination of bilateralism and multilateralism in Kenyan diplomacy and foreign policy now serve the nation more effectively, with special relations being pursued by the former colonial power, Great Britain and other valuable donor countries such as the United States, Canada, Germany, France, and Italy, besides the UN system and other international organizations. In economic and business terms, the European Union is still the largest market for Kenya. But the diplomacy of culture and development and business and trade as well as globalizations and global finance for development still offer serious challenges to the country, as do the vulnerability to natural disasters, diseases and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola, as well as education, the global environment climate, and self-reliance in development initiatives.

6.9 Chapter Summary

The sum up of foreign policy objectives of Kenya, either as country-specific or collectively is based on liberal values of international cooperation through international institutions. Globalization and regional integration, democratization and the human rights are aspects informing the foreign policy objectives in Kenya. Vienna Convention of 1963 established under international law and particularly the right to legation promotes international cooperation through the setting up of diplomatic missions in foreign countries. Because of economic and monetary weakness, among other challenges, African states cannot fully fund the handful of missions abroad to fully implement their foreign policy objectives through diplomacy.

Although, liberalism theorists advocate for international cooperation through international institution through several issue areas such as global peace and democracy, universal human rights, liberal trade and good governance, African states have been unable to integrate these into their diplomacy due to financial weakness among other challenges. Thus, Kenya as a nation must use a variety of processes and institutions in order to advance a coherent trade agenda. Liberal theorists argue that pluralization of global information flows enabled by the internet and the international media have unlocked the field to loosely structured linkage of organizations that are predominantly effective in penetrating states irrespective of the boundaries and using local publics to force political leaders to pay attention to their preferred Agenda. The findings in this chapter confirm that financial weakness in Kenya as a state is a key challenge in implementation of foreign objectives. This chapter leads to the next chapter that constitutes the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENTATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of key findings of the study, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research. They are presented on the basis of the specific objectives and the corresponding research questions which were posed in pursuit of realizing the general objective of evaluating the media diplomacy influence on Kenya's foreign policy decision making process at implementation phase.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The study had three specific objectives namely, to: Examine the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya; assess the effects of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya ; and evaluate challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya. The general objective of the study was to evaluate the role of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya.The study also discussed the theoretical perspective with the theory of liberalism being the most proffered since it argues that people prefer peace to war. Public opinion is facilitated by the media and hence the media is important in policy decision making. Additionally, as the main tool of communication, media is crucial in projecting the values of a given country internationally.

7.1.1 Nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya

The objective sought to examine the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making in Kenya at implementation phase as well as explain the importance of media diplomacy in bridging the gap posed those. It was observed that a number of media diplomacy

tools through the use of ICT most notably Blogs, Twitter, and Youtube, were prevalent in use by the Kenya Government. These ultimately enhanced citizen participation especially with the emergence of the submarine optic fibre which promise faster internet speeds through higher bandwidth and most importantly at cheaper and affordable rates, giving low and middle income level earners an opportunity to effectively participate in public opinion. However, the National Security risk posed through hacking, and cyber-espionage and other cyber-space attacks poses great risks to government in losing vital information or having their websites denied access for instance, through denial of service bombs. The study further reveals that in the event that media diplomacy tools have been sabotaged, it is hard to convict criminals because of two major reasons. Firstly, few countries have enacted media laws and the existing ones are not sufficient in convicting culprits because of jurisdiction anomalies especially when the investigation transcends international borders. Secondly, obtaining evidence of computer crime that would stand in courts of law is lacking in many countries since the field of computer forensics is still relatively new and lacks sufficient literature and expertise.

The intensity of mass media pressure is not primarily responsible for the responsiveness to foreign policies which stand supported. The responsiveness depends on the stage of policy development and the environment in which policies are made. Therefore, the intensity of mass media pressure does not have much effect especially in developing countries.

The policy on which change is being attempted to be affected, has a level of inertia and each foreign policy issue carries its own importance and weight. This study found out that the success of the media diplomacy influence is dependent on the policies it attempts to pressure. Success is limited to the level of development of a state as developed states media record higher rates of policy change where many issues of concern are able to be influenced. On the other hand,

developing states media have recorded little success and in most cases there are no substantial reports showing policy shifts.

Media diplomacy is an important variable of the foreign policy system. Its role and influence though differ from time to time and it remains in close relation to other factors that influence foreign policy. It is also dependent on the context the media operates in. Use of political symbols in certain contexts offers potential to affecting responses to foreign policy issues which could have serious policy impacts.

7.1.2 Effects of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya

This study found out that the level of effect of the media is dependent on several factors of which the media is probably not the only force pushing for change in foreign policy. The media may act as either a complementing or opposing force to the other influences that affect decision-making. Therefore, the media alone has little power to shape foreign policy but this is highly dependent on the level of development of a country. It may have the ability to influence minor issues and small aspects of foreign policy. However, in essence, the media influence depends highly on the effect it is trying to achieve.

Today's trends show that there is probably being little impact on the "media effect" on foreign policy. The changes occurring regarding where most people get their news from are changing slowly and are based on technology. This fact implies that today's information generation will become decision makers who use the media with utmost impact in future. The developing world will slowly catch up as most are composed of high numbers of young populations who may be able to influence foreign policy through the new media.

The study also found out that commercial necessities have a huge effect where they transcend others interests. In most cases the press operates in terms of attracting attention achieved through dramatizing and sensationalizing of events. This has mostly taken root in developed countries where the media is generally private owned. In developing countries, most of the media remains in the hands of government and even in private sector, the government has stakes which it uses to manipulate outcomes.

The study found out that the stage of policy development determines the degree of responsiveness of a government to foreign policy issues. Public officials make the most positive responses to pubic demands at the policy initiation stage. The policy implementation stage has in recent times witnessed an upsurge of official responses meaning public officials are more inclined to defend their policies despite the upsurge in demands for shift in policy by the media. Further to this the highest number of adjustment changes in the process were recorded at the initiation stage. Adjustment changes to policies occur at the level of effort directed towards a cause and targets of a policy. At the implementation stage very few changes are ever recorded. It is also key to note that the idea that the media has always been able to force an 'external' set of priorities on foreign policy makers, is disapproved. The degree of media diplomacy influence is dependent on the stage the policy is in and mainly varies from insignificance to substantial.

7.1.3 Challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya

This study also notes that the influence of media diplomacy pressure were different at different stages of policy. For instance at the policy implementation stage, there were adjustments on how officials processed policies that are in line with public demands. The responses were more far-

reaching on some demands. The developed states media here record a higher success rate while the developing states have little or no influence.

 Although the adoption of media diplomacy is cost effective and convenient to operate, it lacks the aspect of interpersonal communication, for instance face to face communication and non-verbal cues. Its use is also limiting in the diplomatic function of negotiation.

This study also established that there are various problems that hinder effective implementations in Kenya. These study established that media diplomacy can play a role in the foreign policy implementation and hence suggest that Kenya should establish that a media diplomacy strategy to bridge that gap. While looking at the objectives on role of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya, it is established that media plays a complementary role to diplomacy in foreign policy implementation. Therefore, if the media is fully and strategically utilized in Kenya, it contributes to the conduct of international politics by influencing world policy debates, in a substantial manner, impacting and even determining her position on crucial global affairs.

7.2 Conclusion

Based on the results from data analysis and findings of the research, the study has revealed that media diplomacy is an emerging tool in enhancing Public Diplomacy in developing countries like Kenya. Kenya is yet to achieve most of its foreign policy objectives. Kenya's foreign policy has undergone a significant transition in response to emerging trends in international affairs such as globalization, regional integration and threats to global peace and stability. Many times, serious concerns have been raised about how Kenya understand and handle regional and global politics. This has often led to criticism about Kenya, especially the leadership. However, Kenya has potential to communicate principles and ideas about the nature of a common foreign policy such as the Kenya's agenda and persuade others of its perceptions. This can only happen

provided there are resources and instruments to implement them and live up to the principle and objectives of the pan African movement. The AU can also become a strong global actor and regain its legitimacy at home and abroad. However, Kenya's treatment of global affairs is at times much unplanned and subjects it into ridicule. This is because every time problems emerge, the media is usually held responsible for showing the embarrassments in Africa. The rationale here is that the media dislikes the continent and sees nothing positive to report about Africa. This Assumption is erroneous as the problem lies with the government's failure to involve the media in some of important state affairs especially in policy and diplomacy.

Additionally, Kenya continues to witness alteration or under-reporting of events and issues about the continent. The country needs a vibrant media to advocate its interests and portray the country's positive and steady progress in the international system. The West, led by Europe, US, and China, recognize that in order to effectively execute their politics in the international system and gain support from other states, they must utilize well the media. This then reveals the importance of media in the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy implementation.

The media has the ability to shape Kenya's image in a number of aspects. It is extensively recognized that image and national brand is everything and this study has demonstrated direct relationship between the media, publics and the governments in democratic states and how this is linked to foreign policy objectives. The media is rich with diverse policy ideas and is where best ideas can be extracted. The AU exhibits an increasingly sceptical public, the AU ought to defend its actions and policies in the international systems as well as with publics in their respective individual countries, in order to build a positive public image, promote African ideologies and eventually improve legitimacy. The mass media has the ability to extent information distribution

and democratize public consciousness that will gradually influence public opinion about Africa. The media is an appropriate strategy for Kenya's foreign policy implementation.

Media diplomacy can make impacts on several levels depending on how successful the public diplomacy initiatives are conducted, for how long they run and how many resources are invested in them. The importance of foreign media diplomacy is that it is influenced by soft power rather than use of force or hard power and has brought dependency of citizens on their governments and the local press for information on foreign events and increased potential targets for direct communication of diplomatic messages. Distribution of information around the globe is not restricted due to new technology that can transmit messages around the world in seconds like with fighting terrorism in an age of global real-time television and the internet. Media diplomacy serves both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy in the sense that they are intended for national interest like in the quest of investment, promotion of trade, and international tourism which is also referred to as branding and also creates cooperation and interaction.

The study concluded that globally, states are now in competition with each other to attract foreign direct investments, gain market access for their multinational companies (MNCs). Diplomatic missions are important in advancing these interests. However it's not economically viable to set up embassies in all countries, for the move would require increased budget allocation to cater for the staffing and maintenance of the mission.

7.3 Recommendations

Train Diplomats on Media Relation

Those charged with the responsibility of international relations should appreciate the role of the media in positioning Africa in global politics and avoid blaming the media when anything goes

wrong with the media coverage of Kenya's political agenda. Kenya's diplomats ought to be trained on the effective utilization of media and relations in order to enable them engage and use both national and international media to express and articulate Kenya's affairs in global arena. Through this, they can enhance Kenya's potentiality in terms of economic investments and trade. Additionally, liaison between MFAs and local and international media ought to be efficient to ensure consistent interaction. This can be done by the introduction of periodic press briefings by MFAs to inform members of the media with both theoretical and practical trends in the state's foreign policies and decisions on current global affairs.

Establish Effective Media Diplomacy Policy

The media is crucial to restoring the image of Kenya outside the shores of the continent. Therefore, a media diplomacy policy should be put in place as part of AU policy and an endorsement by states at the national level. More collaboration in Africa between member state's embassies and representations of AU instructions in communicating Africa's foreign objective and policies would also greatly assist in enhancing the AU's international identity. Also, there is the need for well a well-functioning inter-ministerial coordination committee. This suggests the need for more regular meetings and at more levels to analyse measures already adopted at the national level, to assess the level of implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives, to identify needs to make all levels of the state hierarchy aware of the need for national implantation and plan to future action.

It is also imperative for the policy to include input and collaboration with the private sector and non-state actors. It should be replicated in other government agencies and ministries, since in case of a cyber-attack all the arms of government would respond accordingly.

Amendment of Laws

Enacting global cyber laws that deal with harmonization and standardization of computer crime would bring us closer to attaining effective adoption and implementation of foreign policy that relies on media diplomacy structures. Although a number of countries have enacted media laws and have punished criminals within their jurisdiction, they are dominated by the developed countries. Most developing countries have not yet enacted media laws. Harsh punishments should be given to defaulters so that people fear to commit these acts and victims motivated to report them. This would prevent escalation of cases and further loss of money, time, data and equipment. On the other hand, countries Third World countries like Kenya which already have laws related to cybercrime should have their legislations revised to keep up with the emerging media threats, as criminals are coming up with new tricks to evade the law and process of prosecution.

Evidence has pointed out that foreign policy interventions occur where there has been massive media coverage of an issue and coverage only occurs due to interests. This study recommends that there should be a body governing the accuracy of the information the media is projecting either on television, radio or the internet. It is until an independent regulatory body is tasked with the almost daunting challenge of monitoring and censoring information especially in the net that pressure will be applied to genuine issues. Therefore, it remains critical to double check the source of information for both the developed and developing states especially the developed where there are numerous outlets channeling information.

Sensitization

With the emergence of media platforms such as ICT there is a growing concern of users falling prey to fake websites that may still important information that could ultimately hinder effective media diplomacy. The public need a lot of sensitization and training on what computer crimes are, in which forms they can manifest, how to detect them, what to do after detection and how to prevent and minimize them. The Police should also endeavor to build trust and confidence in the population by using the media and otherwise, so that more such incidents are reported to them for proper and unified record keeping.

Africa Should Establish Strong Regional Media Network

Media ownership is also important in pushing Kenyan agenda in the global scene. For Africans to get its story in the global arena, it has to be told by Africans that have access and control to modern mass media channels including old and new media. The emergence of Al Jazeera and Al-Arabiya lends credence to this and demonstrates how international media networks and organize information and dissemination in a way that achieves continental or regional objectives. Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya champion the Arab voice in the globe and Africa should have comparable networks to advance agenda on behalf of Africa. Therefore, there is need for more effort to establish local main stream to advance Africa's foreign policy objectives. Both the state and media owners should create ample conditions to enable the media facilitate MFAs in promoting Africa's liberal values embedded in the foreign policy objectives to the outside world. This is critical at this time when Africa is claiming a place in the international system.

As the CNN effect is now old and passed, governments are now aware and can manage to harness the power of news media. However, the new era of information proliferation with no

boundary to the quantity of information the public can access and whether the content is true or false is a challenge. The media should be keen to influence the foreign policy through availing the right quality and quantity of information to inform policy especially in developing states where the media is backward and media personnel remain inadequately trained and equipped to handle high level issues.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This study focused on the main question asked at the inception of the research and the findings prove that media diplomacy plays a significant role in foreign policy implementation and Kenya should integrate the media in the foreign policy process. As media diplomacy continues to play a major role in harmonizing the international community, the revolution information technology has also provided both positive and negative impacts on the way international politics are conducted. It would be interesting to find out how the new media will impact diplomatic engagements. This study, therefore, recommends further research into the conclusion as a result of these dynamics. Other areas of study should include law enforcement and the fight against cybercrime that hinder media diplomacy, a vivid statistical data is vital in order to understand the dynamics of cybercrime and its threat on digital governance, explore new techniques and procedures that will enhance the process of media diplomacy that will ensure reliability and efficiency. This study has also argued that the major news media conduits are the television and Internet simply because of their capability to carry the hardest hitting of mediums of moving pictures and sound simultaneously. The ways of harnessing these mediums will make an interesting study in the future and, therefore, the study suggests further inquiries into the effective ways of strategic requirements needed to integrate media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation by governments in Africa.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

RE: Request for voluntary participation in research

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a student at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies pursuing a Master of Diplomacy and International Relations. I am carrying out a research on ***"Media Diplomacy Influence on Kenya's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process at Implementation Phase"***. The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which media, as a diplomatic tool, can play a role in foreign policy decision making. This questionnaire is designed to get information from Diplomats, Editors, Commentators and Policy makers. Information shared will be treated with a lot of confidence and will be used for academic purposes only and the findings will be made available through publication of a thesis

Should you wish to get an electric copy of the research findings, please indicate your email address in the space provided at the end of the questionnaire. If you have any questions please contact me on +254711629550 or email me at festusaduol@ymail.com.

Thank you very much for your attention, consideration as you sign your informed consent to participate in this research study.

Sincerely,

Odiemo F. Aduol

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Part A: Personal History

1.   Profession/Occupation………………………………………….

2.   Nationality………………………………………………………

3.   Number of years of professional experience

    a.   Below 10   ☐

    b.   10 - 20   ☐

    c.   21 - 30   ☐

    d.   30 and above ☐

4.   Level of education

    a)   Diploma   ☐

    b)   Bachelors   ☐

    c)   Masters   ☐

d)   Doctorate   ☐

Part B: The nature of Media Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Decision Making Process in Kenya.

a)   Do you agree that media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy? (Choose one)

i.   Yes   ☐

ii.   No   ☐

b)   If your answer in (a) above is *yes,* then explain in what way do you think media has brought changes in foreign policy decision making process?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

c)   Can media be integrated into diplomatic practice and applied in foreign policy decision making process? (Choose one)

i.   Yes   ☐

ii.   No   ☐

If your answer in (c) above is *yes*, then to what extend (choose one below)

i.   Small ☐

ii.   Medium ☐

iii.   Large ☐

d)   Do you think Kenya as a State has utilized this tool of foreign policy in decision making their respective foreign policy?

i.   Yes   ☐

ii.   No   ☐

If your answer in (d) above is *yes,* then briefly explain your answer

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

PART C: The effects of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

In which social- economic areas do you think media can effectively influence another county's foreign policy decision?

i.   Peace and Security   ☐

ii.   Trade and Economy   ☐

iii.   Human rights   ☐

iv.   Environment   ☐

v.   Tourism   ☐

vi.   Sports   ☐

Please comment on your answer(s)

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

i.   Do you think Kenya have the required skills/infrastructure to utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy decision making?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

Do you think Kenya has been able to utilize this tool of media diplomacy in foreign policy decision making effectively?

        i.   Yes   ☐

ii.   No   ☐

Explain your answer in (i) above.

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

ii.   How can you describe the coverage of local/domestic affairs by the Kenya

media in relation to Kenya's foreign policy?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

iii.   What are your recommendations in regard to this study?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

PART D: The challenges of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.

Please read the statements below on challenges of foreign policy implementation; and decide where you Strongly Agree (SA) Agree (A) Neutral (N) Disagree (D) Strongly Disagree (SDA)

Statements	SA	A	N	D	SDA
The principal challenge of foreign policy decision making in Kenya is financial weakness and policy dependence among many African states.					
Collective versus national foreign policy approaches as a result of divergent and overlapping national interests makes it hard for Kenya in decision making of foreign policy objectives.					
Internal and external pressures to democratise have indirect negative effects on foreign policy decision making in Kenya					
Trade as growing foreign policy preoccupation is a hindrance towards foreign policy decision making process in Kenya.					
The nature of foreign policy itself poses a challenge to its decision making.					
Kenya has not shown any concrete solution in response to conflicts in the region leading to the challenge to decision making of the peace and security policy objectives.					
Changes in values, beliefs and ideological framework affect national interests and hence attainment of foreign policy objectives.					

Appendix III: Interview Guide for Interviewees

Dear Respondent,

I am hereby seeking to get feedback to the attached questionnaire. This interview is part of research proposal required for the award of Master's degree at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. Kindly answer the following questions.

Personal data

Respondent No:…………………………….......... (Optional)

Job / Professional title:……………………………...

Interview Guide Questions

1. Tell me about yourself:

2. What is your experience in diplomacy and foreign policy?

3. Tell me about your experience with Kenya foreign policy decision making process.

4. What do you think are the challenges of foreign policy decision making process in Kenya?

5. Has media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy in Kenya?

    a) If so, to what extend?

    b) If null, then why?

6. In which social-economic areas do you think the media can effectively influence another country's foreign policy decision?

7. How would you describe influence of public opinion expressed in media on foreign policy decisions?

8. How can you describe the coverage of local/domestic affairs by Kenyan media in relation to Kenya's foreign policy?

9. As a diplomat serving a mission in Kenya/Nairobi, do you think the coverage of the local affairs by the media has affected the decisions of your country?

10. Has social media been used as a communication tool by government and its citizens? If yes, how?

11. If yes above, to what extent communication been effective?

12. What is the significance of social media as a communication tool?

13. What is the contribution of a communication tool to foreign policy decisions?

14. What are your recommendations towards foreign policy decision making in Kenya?

I really appreciate for giving your time. Thank you.

End.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix IV: Letter of Approval from University- MMUST

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)

Tel: 056-30870
Fax: 056-30153
E-mail: directordps@mmust.ac.ke
Website: www.mmust.ac.ke

P.O Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099

21st February, 2019

Festus Aduol Odiema,
CDR/G/01-55149/2016,
P.O. Box 190-50100,
KAKAMEGA.

Dear Mr. Aduol,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your Masters proposal entitled *"Media Diplomacy Influence on Kenya's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process at Implementation Phase"* and appointed the following as supervisor:
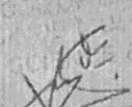
1. Prof. Pontian G. Okoth

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance Graduate Studies Committee; Chairman, Peace and Conflict Studies & Departmental Graduate Studies Committee. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of three years from the date of registration to complete your Master's thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. John Obiri
DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Appendix V: Letter of Authority to Collect Data- NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/19/87290/28687**

Date: **12ᵗʰ April, 2019**

Festus Aduol Odiemo
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
P. O Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Media diplomacy influence on Kenya's foreign policy decision making process at implementation phase"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **1ˢᵗ April, 2020**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO9001:2008 Certified

Appendix VI: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. FESTUS ADUOL ODIEMO
of MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,
19078-40123 MEGACITY,KISUMU,has
been permitted to conduct research in
Nairobi County

on the topic: MEDIA DIPLOMACY
INFLUENCE ON KENYA'S FOREIGN
POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS AT
IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

for the period ending:
1st April,2020

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/87290/28687
Date Of Issue : 12th April,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

....
Applicant's
Signature

....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation