

.Research Article

Nature Of Media Diplomacy In Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process In Kenya

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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 at implementation phase. 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 objective of this study was to examine the nature of media diplomacy in influencing foreign policy decision making process 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 article 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.

Keywords: Media Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Decision Making.

Introduction:

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 behaviour is concerned. The Renouvin (2011) guiding standards of the policy are: Peaceful existence with neighbours 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. 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. 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).

1.0.Theoretical Framework

This study 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 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 opinions 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. 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.

2.0.Methodology:

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 objective of the study. The location of study was within Nairobi Kenya. The choice of this region was centred 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 multinational media organizations have their regional headquarters such as BBC, CNN, Agence France-Presse, Reuters among others. 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 employed both probability and non-probability sampling methods. Quantitative data was collected using questionnaires while qualitative data was collected through interview guides. Both primary and secondary data were utilised during the study. 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).Data were analysed by use of descriptive statistics; through quantitative and qualitative techniques. Qualitative data were drawn from open-ended questions in the questionnaire, document analysis, and interview guide 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. 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 analyse primary quantitative data. These are represented in form of tables, charts, bar graphs.

3.0.Study Findings:

4.0. 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 education. Data were collected, analysed 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

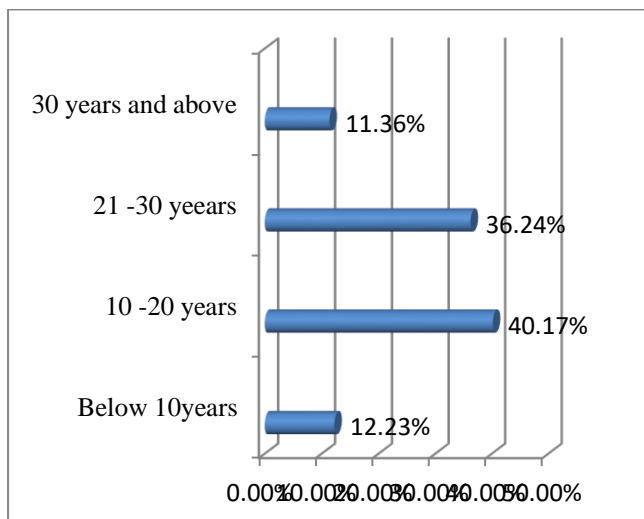


Figure 4.1: Respondents Years Of Professional Experience

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 30 years 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.

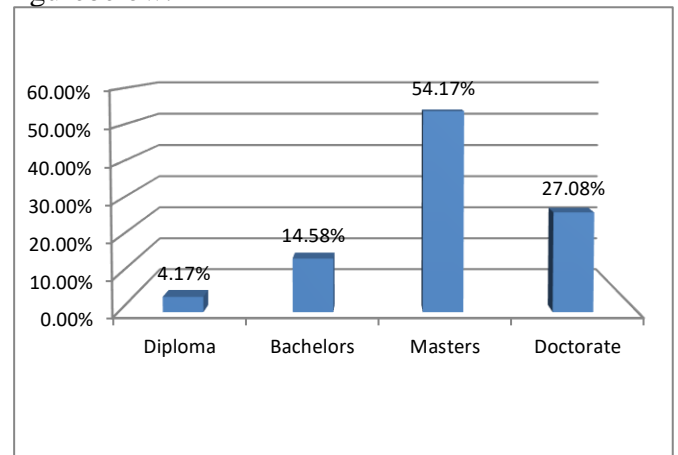


Figure 4.2: Respondents Level Of Education
Source: Field Data, 2019

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. Eighty eight percent 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 beliefs 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 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 neighbours, 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 neighbours, 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-interference 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 Wealth 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).

4.2.2 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. News 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 (Nelet 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 it available nationwide and making 3G and 4G networks locally present in order to allow mobile internet access. All these developments have changed how Kenyans access and consume media. The speed and volume of information available online is cheap to obtain at people's 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 channelled out tends to be 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 lead to unfair representation of public voices and in turn favour opinions of a limited number. The media is considered a tool for promoting the agendas of political elite (Moggi & Tessier, 2001). The Kenya Communications Act was enacted to liberalise 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 and efficient delivery of information and services to citizens, promotes 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 centred, 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: To improve collaboration between Government agencies through reduction of duplication of efforts and enhance efficiency and effectiveness of resource utilization; To improve Kenya's competitiveness by providing timely information and efficient delivery of Government services; To reduce transaction costs incurred by the Government, citizens and the private sector through provision of products and

services electronically; Provide a forum for citizens' participation in Government activities through opinion polls, surveys on Government policy direction, etc. 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; 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; and 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).

4.4 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 larger 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 analyse 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 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’s 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 Ministry of Foreign Affairs 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. Owitiet 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 (Owitiet al., 2006). The media will be effective in image building and branding of Kenya as a country. As noted in the introduction, 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 consensus 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.

5.0.Conclusion:

The study concludes that 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. 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.

6.0.Recommendation

The study recommends the establishment of 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. 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.

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