



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**CHALLENGES OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN AFRICA: ROLE
OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for an Award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first and foremost; to the Almighty God for giving me the care, strength and grace enabled me to smoothly conduct this study. I also dedicate it my entire family.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM	Africa Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
CAR	Central Africa 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 Fund
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KDF	Kenya Defense Force
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MFA	Ministry Of Foreign Affairs
MPLA	Movimento Popular De Libertação De Angola

NATO	Northern 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	Southern Africa Development Cooperation
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference of Africa's Development
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WBG	World Bank Group
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa. The main objective of this research was to examine and analyse the role of media in bridging the gap posed by various challenges that Africa face in foreign policy implementation. As a case study, this research set out to investigate and determine the role and impact of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya. This study applies *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. This 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 analyses the role of media in projecting Africa's values. This research focused on Kenya's application of the media in foreign policy implementation strategy. The data was collected at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as selected foreign diplomatic missions based in Nairobi. 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 Africa should establish a strong regional media network, an effective diplomacy 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 governments in Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Background of the Study

There are many pluralities that characterize Africa as a continent. Africa has the highest number of states (54) compared to the other 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 colonized. Africa is coupled 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 countries¹. All these diversities reflect individual state's foreign policies and hence no common interests.

The formation of AU in 1963, which is a result of pan African movement, has not made things any better for Africa in terms of forging 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.² Ironically, Africa is criticised 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

¹ Akiyemi. A. B. Africa-challenges and responses: *a foreign policy perspective*. (Vol. 111, No. 21982), pp. 243.

² Constitutive Act of the African Union. The 53 member states of the AU adopted this Act. (Done at Lomé, Togo, this 11th day of July, 2000).

independent in their foreign policy making and decision since they are still bonded by views of their respective former colonial masters, mostly the European nations.³

The AU seeks to promote the 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 cheap⁴. Thus, African countries have not achieved all of their foreign policy objectives and they will not in the near future.⁵ This study focuses on the media diplomacy as an issue area of engagement and hence as a key tool of foreign policy implementation.

1.2 Problem Statement

There is a challenge in implementation of foreign policy objectives in Africa. African countries face the challenge of reconciling principles with the practical implementation of foreign policy⁶. Therefore there is continued lack of peace and insecurity in Africa and hence human rights violations continue to happen in various African states such as DRC, Somalia, South Sudan and 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 implementation techniques and strategies to ensure that these goals are achieved. With the 21st century globalization come rapid communication

³ Ibid. Akiyemi. pp.251

⁴ Jhon, D & Ospina, E. The coverage of China in the Latin American Press: *Media framing study*. (Volume 4.2017).

⁵ Sule. A. Challenges of foreign policy making and implementation in Nigeria: *an insider's perspective*. October, 2012

⁶ A Foreign Policy HandBook: *An Overview of South Africa's Foreign Policy in Context*. For Parliament, 2014.

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 changes 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 implementation. This study analyses the extent to which media diplomacy, as an element of public diplomacy, contribute to foreign policy implementation in Africa. In particular, this study centres on the role of print and electronic media in shaping public policy and action.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What are the key challenges African Countries face in the implementation of foreign policy?
- ii. What role has diplomacy played in foreign policy implementation in Africa?
- iii. What is the role of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy implementation outcome in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objective

To examine and analyse the role of media in foreign policy implementation in Africa.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine and analyse the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa.
- ii. To examine and analyse the role and impact of media diplomacy in the implementation of foreign policy in Africa.
- iii. To investigate and determine the role and impact of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 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 the 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 and controls exercised within the political field. Familiar explanations of the "instruments of implementation" or the range of pressures from "pure coercion" "pure persuasion" 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.⁷ Foreign policymaking, unlike domestic policy, usually involves fewer people and less publicity. The heads of state serve as the chief diplomat and are tasked with executing the country's foreign 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 (State 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

⁷ Clarke M. Foreign Policy Implementation. *Challenges and Problems*. British Journal of International Studies, (Cambridge University Press. Vol. 5, No.2. 1979).

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'⁸ angered the world resulting into the Gulf Persian War. In 2002, President Bush contended that the US has the right to eradicate its adversaries (terrorists) before they wage war on American interests, a policy that is currently referred to 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 practice when he unilaterally sanctioned the incursion (use of military force as a tool foreign policy) of Iraq in 2003 to avert Tyrant Saddam Hussein from unleashing weapons of mass obliteration against the US and its friends.

1.5.2 Challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa

In her foreign policy, Africa 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 constraints⁹. 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 affairs? 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 a consensus

⁸ Ibid. Piers, pp.7.

⁹ William W. Foreign Policy Process in Britain. *The Royal Institute of International Affairs*. George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd. London.

or a majority decision. This came to be known as "the African position," and its adoption not only influenced events on the continent, but usually had international consequences as well.¹⁰

At this point, one could legitimately ask whether we are not seeing here only favourable evidence from selected success stories. What about Chad, for instance, or Western Sahara? It can be contested that these countries cannot be termed failures for the OAU, for the OAU does not claim to resolve conflicts. The Cubans, 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 position on 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 would 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 crisis, the India-Pakistan crisis, El Salvador, and other such critical world problems to appreciate this¹¹.

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

¹⁰ Ibid. Akinyemi, pp.245.

¹¹ Ibid, pp.250.

adequate response to globalisation; to the transformation of the UN (and other multilateral institutions), guarantee all countries in Africa meet the MDGs; and find ways of restructuring of the 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 with other African states. Partnership with civil society is also vital to highlight the problem of external dominance in Africa in the media and other forums¹².

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 hegemonic" and "need to put forward a modern economic model that integrates both democratic governance and a reliable and responsible market place; the model needs 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 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-imperialist.¹³

¹² Landsberg C., South Africa's "African Agenda": *Challenges of Policy and Implementation*. University of Johannesburg. This article was prepared for the Presidency Fifteen Year Review Project.

¹³Ibid. Landsberg.p.3

Because of ethnic diversities within African Countries, foreign policy making requires a structure that will permit classification and ownership of its initiatives by the diverse interest groups. In order to lower the possibilities for misinterpretations and misconception of the aims and objectives of foreign policy in such a scenario, the foreign policy structure ought to be inclusive and accessible. Introduction of such a policy formulation structure becomes a significant limitation in the foreign policy making and implementation. And since introducing the structure is a great challenge, its implementation could be a key challenge is even more. The reason is, such a structure would be participatory and in the perspective of the fast and ever fluctuating sphere of diplomacy it will hinder the practice of foreign policy actions.

Legislature-Executive engagements in 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."¹⁴ In Tanzania, a committee of the members of National Assembly on foreign affairs was established in 1972 to enable legislative members to 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

¹⁴ Ibid. Sule.pp.12.

been much successful in enlightening the public in regard to what is occurring in global affairs¹⁵.

In 2013, Kenya, through the MFA formulated a foreign policy document to guide it in attainment of the 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 frameworks 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 stakeholders¹⁶.

1.5.3 Media impact on diplomacy

In the international politics studies, there is 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 negotiations¹⁷. The experimental conclusions in this field of study attempts to

¹⁵ Kamuhanda. S. The Role of the Mass Media in the Implementation of Tanzania's Foreign Policy: *Reality and Prospects*. African Council on Communication Education. (Vol. 3 No. 3,1989).

¹⁶ Republic of Kenya. *Kenya Foreign Policy Document (2014-2017)*.

¹⁷ Ibid. Willnat.pp.241.

explain the way media, particularly the live Television news, influence foreign policy making¹⁸.

The shortcoming with this scholarly discussion is not so much about the lack of explanations in the kind of consequences of the changes in technologies in the political process. The debate is also not about the difficulty or whether it does not contribute to our understanding. The discussion illuminates the intricate connection between media and political processes 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 only¹⁹.

1.5.4 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 in 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

¹⁸ Cohen, D. 'A Report on a Non-Election Agenda Setting Study'. (Paper Presented To The Association For Education In Journalism. Ottawa, Canada, 1975).

¹⁹ Nacos, B. *Decision Making in a glass House*; (Rowmann and Littlefield, 2000).

international businesses begin to demand diplomatic actors²⁰. 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 network of state and business agents to advance investment gains overseas via diplomatic 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 long lasting and gradual effects. 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 more access to powers. Media diplomacy uses this invisible power. Considering the important international indexes including tourism and changes which have happened in this area and comparing these indexes with the present condition, makes the diplomacy of mass media more clear and important than before. Looking at the deep changes of the last two decades clearly show that the global and local condition have been completely transformed at present and so, the past equations and their nature have been changed and are going toward the new international system to establish multi-dimensional system relying on the foreign relationship to improve tourism industry.²¹

1.5.5 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

²⁰ Naveh, C., The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework, (Conflict and Communication Online 1(2). 2002)

²¹ Abigail H., Media Diplomacy: *The Negotiators dilemma*,(Naval Postgraduate School. 1990).

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 strategies²². 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 governors, plans and governing policies and decision makings for implementing the policies through applying the main lines of the media diplomacy.²³

1.5.6 Media and Foreign Policy

Current observers of transnational matters have raised a concern that media 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 affected foreign policy processes and implementation.²⁴ The media (often referred as mass media) is indisputably a key communication tool globally. Media aids in communicating the foreign policy decision from policy makers to public and vice versa²⁵. 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

²² Carrington, T. and M. Nelson., 'Media in Transition: *The Hegemony of Economics*',pp. 225–48 in World Bank (ed.) *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*. Washington, DC(The World Bank. 2002).

²³ Malek, A., *News Media and Foreign Relations: A multifaceted Perspective*. (Greenwood Publishing Group. 1997).

²⁴ Livingston, S. *Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to type of Military intervention*. (The George Washington University, 1996).

²⁵ Spanier J. *et al. 6th ed.. American Foreign Policy Making and Democratic Dilemmas*.(MacMillan Publishers. New York. 1994).

Vietnam brought overseas war into millions of American homes each night, as did reporters on Iran after American involvement in Vietnam ended.²⁶

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's 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, Newspapers, radio) can serve as an effective tool for image and reputation management and to attain the 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 the ministry of foreign affairs or at the diplomatic missions 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 the global arena.²⁷

Kenya and other underdeveloped nations have welcomed the way that the web gives inventive intends to effort to wide open streams, at home and abroad²⁸.The image carried in

²⁶ Ibid. Spanier.pp.256.

²⁷ Kaneva, N. *Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research*. International Journal of Communication. (University of Denver. 2011), p.117–141.

²⁸ Matano P. *Effects of media on the decisions made by governments with regard to foreign policy: A case of Kenya's Ministry of foreign affairs*. 9University of Nairobi. 2012). p.50.

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 the somewhat protected interests 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-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels.²⁹ However, while the East Africa region has an active media guild, many of the media firms do not function as regional players.³⁰

1.5.7 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 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 objectives that the US sought in Norway was to guarantee government support for US's intrusion to the western Alliance. US also wanted to advance her capability and willingness alongside other Atlantic states to oppose military and ideological risks posed by USSR. Norway then resolved to work with other western states by participating in the

²⁹ Nanjira D. African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy from Antiquity to the 21st Century.(Greenwood Publishers. 2010). pp.318.

³⁰ Kanyagia N. The role of public diplomacy in regional integration. A case study of EAC. (University of Nairobi.2016).pp.48.

European Recovery Plan in 1947-8 as well as joining 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.³¹ This resulted in the change of Norwegian government's initial policy of non-alignment.

1.5.8 The coverage of China in the Latin American Press

The type communication medium defines how the message is framed³². The Latin America's media channels have attempted to inform and present a modern understanding of the Asian country. Media organisations such as Agencia de noticias, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse have shaped the image prior to China's acceptance of Latin America after late 1970's. The number of Latin American 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 their frames of China; and also 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.³³

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 opinions underlining the significance of China in the global sphere. This modern complex

³¹ Helge D. *Making Friends at Court: Slow and Indirect Media in US Public Diplomacy in Norway, 1950-1965: Contemporary European History*, Vol. 18, No. 2 pp. 179-198. (Cambridge University Press. 2009)

³² Ibid. Kanyaggia. pp.50.

³³ Ibid. Jhon, and Ospine. pp2

image of China produces a distinction with the monolithic communist/ socialist perception traditionally held³⁴.

1.5.9 The CNN Effect

There exists little doubt that media 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 implementation³⁵. 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.³⁶

The media are increasingly a part of the process in the communications between governments and publics about international politics. The seizure of the 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 States was pre-empted each night by the latest broadcast by satellite from Tehran. Iran established the pre-eminence of television in instant

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. Livingston.pp.2.

³⁶ Piers.R., The CNN Effect: The myth, foreign policy and intervention. (Routledge.2005). pp47

diplomacy.³⁷ 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 repeated 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.

1.5.10 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. 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 enlighten 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 advent 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 the exclusive domain of professional diplomats who employed (often secret) negotiations to reach consensus founded on power and interest. Advances in mass communication and the augmented consideration to national audiences in a foreign country to

³⁷ Patricia. Karl A.P. Media Diplomacy: *The Communications Revolution in Politics*. The Academy of Political Science. (1982), pp. 143-152. Accessed: 24-02-2017 12:27 UTC

international relations meant that the target of diplomacy had now broadened to include common view as much, if not more so, than traditional diplomatic undertakings.

In other words, effective use of media and propaganda would encourage popular opinion to support a government's policies by appealing over the governments leaders directly to public opinion which would therefore put forth pressure on government policymakers. During the course of the 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.³⁸

Public diplomacy and propaganda have argumentative connection, with the main reason being that both deals with 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 greater range of effect, centring heavily on the making of shared understanding by way of unrestricted 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.³⁹ . Support of a country's foreign policy is probably the principal task of the national propaganda. Serving in this capacity, it encounters special problem. Unless

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Mull.C, and Wallin. M Propaganda: A Tool of Strategic Influence. (2013).

foreign policy is clearly defined, it is impossible for propaganda to make its aims clearly understood⁴⁰.

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 the Cold War's propaganda wars, foreign policy remained to be faltered by images disseminated rapidly across the globe. The age of brazen propagandistic publications and broadcasts 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 and 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 the Cold War has brought along more propaganda.⁴¹ If propaganda is fashioned skilfully — if it is both plausible and satisfying — it can in many cases function effectively. If it is clumsy and confusing, and fails to appreciate the mentalities of those to whom it appeals, it may do more harm 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.

⁴⁰ Newman.R.T., *Propaganda: An Instrument Of Foreign Policy*. Journal of International Affairs Editorial Board. Columbia Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 5, No. 2, Propaganda In World Politics (Spring 1951), p. 56-64

⁴¹ Ibid.

1.6 Justification of Study

1.6.1 Policy Justification

This study provides 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 critiques the current foreign policy implementation mechanisms in order to understand why African Countries have not been successful in foreign policy implementation through the use diplomacy. The recommendations should 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 implantation tools.

1.6.2 Academic Justification.

In foreign policy analysis, there exists a knowledge gap in addressing the foreign policy implementation process. Though scholars of foreign policy have exhaustively discussed about decision-making, little about the implementation is evident from the available literature. The existing knowledge in particular lacks a comprehensive coverage of the role media diplomacy has played in the implementation 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.

This study then seeks to fill the knowledge gap in analysing the role of the media diplomacy in the process of foreign policy implementation in Africa. This study therefore seeks to contribute to knowledge of foreign policy implementation process and outcome.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

1.7.1 Liberalism Theory

This study will apply *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 country⁴². 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.

In a democratic state, public opinion ought to be reflected 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 presentations such as current affairs reporting ought to serve to educate, inform, and advance debate. In other words, the media disseminated news should set the agenda for the public's attention to that minor cluster of concerns around which public opinion forms⁴³. While doing this, a collective agreement can be reached which can then affect government policy.

At the global arena, liberal assertions about free speech and global free movement of information, in particular the media communication, have been linked with the enlightened

⁴² Piers.p. *Et al.* 2nd ed. *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. (Oxford University Press. 2012). pp.171.

⁴³ McCombs.M., *The Agenda-Setting. Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion*. (University of Texas at Austin. 2006)pp.1.

spread of liberal values. The media then becomes a main tool of soft power diplomacy; a means of realizing your international objectives attracting and convincing other countries to wilfully accept your goals instead of forcing them to (hardpower)⁴⁴. 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 inappropriate in foreign policy since foreign policy is the product of inter-state power struggles in international politics. Realists' contents that foreign policy is made by foreign policy 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.⁴⁵ 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.

1.8. Hypotheses

- i. Financial weakness among African countries is a key challenge in foreign policy implementation.
- ii. The media plays a diplomatic role in enhancing the implementation of foreign policy.

⁴⁴ Nye, J.S., Soft Power and American Foreign Policy. (Academy of Political Science. Vol 119, No. 2. . 2004). pp.256.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

iii. Media diplomacy is effective in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section describes methodological approach to the study which includes the study design, data collection method and data analysis.

1.9.1 Research Design

This research used a case study design because Africa is a big continent with several countries. This study therefore uses Kenya to addressing the definition and measurement of the critical variable for the media-foreign policy interaction in Africa.

1.9.2 Study site

The location of study was within Nairobi Kenya. Field visits were made to Swiss Embassy and MFA.

1.9.3 Study Population

This is study targeted policy makers due to the technicality of the topic.

1.9.4 Sampling Frame and Sampling Size

Three officials from the three selected Foreign Mission Offices in Nairobi and Five ministry of Foreign affairs officials in leadership position were in interviewed in this study.

1.9.5 Data collection Method

This study used primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using interviews and questionnaires. Secondary data was collected from the secondary sources, 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 and Africa foreign policies.

1.9.6 Data Analysis

This study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. The data analysis was also done using statistical computer packages for social sciences-SPSS.

1.9.7 Validity and Reliability of Data collection instruments

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 issues under investigation in this study were also used as primary source of data for content analysis.

1.9.8 Data Presentation

Collected data was then analysed using qualitative and quantitative analysis method. Analysis was done using the computer programme- Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

1.9.9 Ethical Consideration

The following are ethical considerations that guided this research.

Plagiarism and intellectual fraud: The researcher did not use another person's scholarly work.

All borrowed authors' publications and works were acknowledged.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Respondents who requested anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed.

Physical and psychological harm: The researcher took preliminary tests and obtained all the background information in an effort to avoid imparting any harm to subjects.

Seeking consent: A letter from the supervisor authorized by the University and the relevant Institute was provided to be produced every time the researcher was collecting the data to

give confidence to the respondents that the study was indeed academic and not for any personal or negative motives.

1.9.10 Scope and Limitations of the research

The scope of this study entails media usage by MFA in Kenya in interacting with foreign governments. The study looks into how media has shaped foreign policy in Kenya outcome. The research is limited to the era after which media diplomacy is academically discussed.

1.20 Chapter Outline

This study has six chapters. Chapter one presents the layout of the study. It describes the problem in its context and addresses the methods and procedure that the study uses to achieve the set objectives.

Chapter Two examines and analyses the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa. This entails a critical look at foreign policy areas of African countries and an analysis of their implementation.

Chapter Three of this study examines and analyses the role and impact of media diplomacy in the implementation of foreign policy in Africa. This focuses on the media coverage that has influenced foreign policy decisions by states in African and the rest of the world towards a given issue in Africa.

Chapter Four of this study focuses on the role and impact of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya. It will entail the analysis of media usage by the MFA in Kenya in interacting with foreign governments. The study looks into how this interaction has influenced foreign policy decisions.

Chapter Five presents the data and analyses the findings. This chapter sums up the key findings of the study based on objectives and hypotheses. It acts as the final and critical result on the issues addressed in the research.

Chapter six provides a summary of the study, conclusion and recommendations. It recommends strategies to assist policy makers in Kenya especially at MFA to effectively engage the media, both local and international with a view to strengthen foreign policy implementation. It also recommends areas for further study in regard to this topic.

CHAPTER TWO

CHALLENGES OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines and analyses the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa. It entails a critical look at the nature of foreign policy of Africa collectively and an analysis of the implementation of those foreign policies. In chapter one of this study, it is established that Africa as a continent is characterised by many pluralities. And based on the unique individual state's national interests, there is lack of common foreign policy objectives as every country prioritizes different policy objectives because of the unique nature of their national interests. Unlike other non-African countries, this poses a challenge in implementation of the foreign policies. However, under the AU objectives, there are common and shared national interests that inform the policy objectives of the many African nations. This chapter thus attempts to describe an overview of the nature of Africa's foreign policy and discuss the challenges of implementation of the common foreign policy objectives.

2.2 Nature of Africa'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.⁴⁶ 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

⁴⁶ Herbert. R., Dependency, Instability and Shifting Global Power: *Influences and Interests in African Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. Occasional paper no 95. South African Foreign Policy and African Drivers Programme. September 2011.

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 and 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 and strategies. Africans perceive themselves as evolving a collective personality to protect their continents' international interests⁴⁷.

Current trends in international relations and diplomacy surrounds the issues of globalisation, human rights and democracy⁴⁸. The formation of the AU in 2002 created prospects that would see advancement in various aspects of their foreign policy objectives⁴⁹. 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 Sule⁵⁰ 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 implementations⁵¹. 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

⁴⁷ Opcid. Ibid. Akiyemi. pp.245

⁴⁸ Okpokpo.E., The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium. African Studies Quarterly. Vol3. Issue 3.2000.

⁴⁹ Tjiurimo. A., Foreign Policies of African States in the Age of Democracy and Human Rights. Policy Briefing. South African Institute of International Affairs, April 2016.

⁵⁰ Sule Lamido is Foreign Minister of The Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 - 2003

⁵¹ Ibid. Tjiurimo, pp.1

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'⁵² a case in point is the Kenya versus 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.

Republic of South Africa, under the Southern Africa Development Corporation (SADC) developed policy agenda for Africa or "African Agenda'. The African Agenda focuses on strategies on an evaluation and knowledge 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.

2.3 Financial Weakness and Policy Dependence

Many countries in African are underdeveloped except few rich states 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 processes 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

⁵² Opcid.Ibid. Landsberg Chris.pp.1

linked to political instability and internal conflicts. The extent of Africa's financial 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 organisations to become greatly involved in many aspects of its internal policy⁵³.

International relations 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 a key in liberalism aspect of international cooperation, such bodies as Interpol, the International Criminal Court and various tax, money laundering and terrorism agreements constrain nations and individuals. International financial markets monitor domestic conditions and punish states that cannot manage their finances such as in the case of Greece⁵⁴. 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 countries⁵⁵.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Explaining Greece's Debt Crisis. The New York Times June 17, 2016.

⁵⁵ United Nations Development Index Report 2016.

The GDP of most of the 54 countries in Africa ranks low⁵⁶. One could separately analyse each of the major global institutions for its effects 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 bilateral support to 47 sub-Saharan African states. The Africa region's top five receivers of U.S. aid in 2012 were Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and South Africa⁵⁷.

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'⁵⁸. 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

⁵⁶ World Bank Group. Gross domestic product 2016.

⁵⁷ Ingram.G. and Rucker.S., U.S. Development Assistance and Sub-Saharan Africa: *Opportunities for Engagement*. Brookings. Wednesday, April 3, 2013.

⁵⁸ Sing J.P. *Negotiating Regime Change: The Weak, The Strong And The WTO Telecom Accord*. (ed). (State University of New York Press.2002).p467.

much wider and stronger than perceived⁵⁹. 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 per cent⁶⁰. As at 2015, total trade between China and Africa amounted to \$188 billion — more than threefold that of India, Africa's next-biggest trade partner. The figure is slightly higher than the \$172 billion total trade value⁶¹.

2.4 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 commitment 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 instances this also includes preference for rules-based international decision-making; but when that runs counter to African interests African states have sought to curtail international intervention. A key motivating factor has been the intensity of Western criticism of African governance and democratic practice, which suggests that if and when the world freely accepted aggressive intervention in dubious democracies, Africa would bear the brunt of it.

⁵⁹ Kiprop, V. China most important African trade partner. *The EastAfrican*. July 4th 2017.

⁶⁰ Yuan, I.S. and Omid J.K., *Dance of the lions and dragons. How are Africa and China engaging, and how will the partnership evolve?* McKinsey & Company. 2017

⁶¹ The United States and China in Africa: What does the data say? China-Africa Research Initiative (Cari). Johns Hopkins University. Policy Brief No 18, 2017.

Working within multilateral frameworks has not meant acceptance of them. Indeed, Africa 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, given the ability of major powers to block reform; 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 best illustrated by the debate over UN Security Council reform⁶². 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 Nkrumah 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 sceptical of the practicality of union and recognised its real and unwelcome potential to mitigate the domestic political power of 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-sectoral economic co-operation organizations in Africa and about 100 single multi-national organizations that are meant to stimulate technical and economic co-operation in Africa⁶³. Pan-Africanism has been

⁶² Ibid. Herbert.pp.18

⁶³ Mazrui.A.,... General History of Africa• V Iii Africa since 1935 (*Ed*). (Heinemann-California-UNESCO1993).pp.744.

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 a growing preference for a loose continental organization; and the enunciation of the national interest as an integral part of the nation-building process⁶⁴.

Nkrumah 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 Nkrumah spared 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 plans⁶⁵. Until his most recent travails Libya's Muammar Gaddafi was the most persistent and vocal advocate of a United States of Africa and his actions reveal Africa's continued ambivalent but constructive responses 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 sovereignty⁶⁶. The majority of African states quietly express doubts 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

⁶⁴ Kadhiagala G.M and Lyons.T., African Foreign Policies. *Power and Process*. ed. (Lynne Rienner Publishers. USA. 2001).p.20.

⁶⁵ Ibid.pp21

⁶⁶ Sarrar.S., *We can build United States of Africa, Gaddafi says*. Reuters. July 2010.

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 African 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 federation⁶⁷.

2.5 Internal and external pressures 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. State 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.

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 state, with few real checks on executive power. Centralisation contributed significantly to the rise of corruption and was a key enabler of a central political strategy based on clientelism and patronage; this in turn demanded centralised management but also

⁶⁷ Ibid.Herbert.pp.18

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.

The combination of political and economic centralisation with patronage politics led to inflexibility, while routine pricing changes provoked protests 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 privatisation also offered a social cushion because the target of protests was no longer government but new private sector owners⁶⁸. Until market liberalisation took firmer hold, however, the political climate was marred by economic shocks, corrupt manipulations of price controls and widespread 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 pushed in Africa (and Latin America) in the 1980s was a reversal in the centralisation of state power through privatisation, deregulation, trade and foreign exchange liberalisation 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 Barack 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 or face cut of foreign aid to his country. A US

⁶⁸ Ibid

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 engagements⁶⁹.

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 outsiders⁷⁰. African leaders have been fighting the West over what they term as internal political interference. The Western media have painted African leadership, through their headlines, as undemocratic. Take for example *The Economist's*⁷¹ coverage on Rwanda's President Paul Kagame 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, as portrayed by the coverage. Mr. Kagame no longer engages as much with abroad, partially since donors lean on him but mainly because he has eradicated his greatest threats. At home, however, he keeps a choking grip over his people.⁷²

2.6 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

⁶⁹ US imposes sanctions on Uganda for anti-gay law. BBC. 2014.

⁷⁰ President Museveni's full speech at signing of Anti-Homosexuality bill. Daily Monitor. February 2014.

⁷¹ *The Economist* is an English-language weekly magazine-format newspaper owned by the Economist Group and edited at offices in London. Continuous publication began under its founder, James Wilson, in September 1843.

⁷² Intimidation nation: *Many Africans see Paul Kagame's Rwanda as a model. They are wrong.* The Economist. July 15th 2017. pp9.

eventual customs unions, which represent another dimension of linkages between domestic and foreign policy. African states remain substantially dependent on customs duties for government revenues, and proposals to eliminate regional trade barriers could weaken state finances. Intra-African trade, however, represents only 9% of total African trade with the world. Africa remains greatly reliant on the sale of a few commodities to more industrialised markets such as USA, China and Germany. For example, Although Africa accounted for only 4% of China's transnational 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 countries⁷³.

Trade provokes some political anxieties, particularly among poorer, less industrialised nations concerned about the greater economic heft of some 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, which set the stage for the shift from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade system to the WTO, developing countries largely opted out of global trade talks and relied on unilateral trade preferences granted by developed countries. Developing countries were not obliged to reciprocate and could protect their infant industries. Before long, however, Western and Asian powers, feeling the political tensions associated with the rise of Asian manufacturing in

⁷³ Gamache.L., etal. China's Trade and Investment Relationship with Africa. USITC Executive Briefings on Trade. (2013).

the early 1980s, sought to entrench a global rules-based system that would address accusations of unfair trade practices.⁷⁴

Developed countries are currently seeking to bring a wider and deeper array of issues within the ambit of the WTO. These include regulations on labour, environment, food safety, intellectual property, services and government tendering, 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. Nominal 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 wield a veto over any further talks that do not address developmental concerns. Africa as a whole perceives more risk than reward in further trade liberalisation and remains substantially defensive and reactive in its approach. Little effort has gone into building supportive coalitions or finding acceptable compromises.

European trade negotiations 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

⁷⁴ Ibid.

through Economic Partnership Agreements with each African REC. This would require the elimination of substantial overlaps between RECs. For example, the COMESA includes most members of the SADC and the Southern African Customers 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 subsidised in developed nations.⁷⁵

Africa competes 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 prices the South cannot compete against. Such produce includes butter, cheese, dried milk products, maize and frozen chicken. Cotton and sugar are two key products produced in both the North (on highly subsidised terms) and South, where unsubsidised 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 state have written opinion articles in Western newspapers calling for an end to Northern subsidies, but Northern agricultural interest groups are highly organised 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.

The liberalization components of the international regime have been 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

⁷⁵ *ibid*

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 states since the 1970s has facilitated liberalization, but it is doubtful whether it was largely responsible for the significant changes in international telecommunications politics in recent decades. It is unquestionably the case that the United States expedited the liberalization process—perhaps by a decade or more. It is, however, doubtful whether American interests and influence are the central forces behind the long-term movement toward greater commercial openness.

2.7 Patterns of conflict and African responses

African foreign policy for years focused on conflict resolution. Africa a continent has since 1960s been marked by persistent conflicts, revolutions and emigrants, all of which resulted in key foreign policy fears for particular 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 these foreign policy crises. 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 re-

vote. Mismanagement of the Kenyan and Zimbabwean crises offers incentives for other incumbents to use violence to avoid free and fair elections⁷⁶.

Liberal democracies, as liberalism proponents would argue, have 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 Africa 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 seizures of power and gives the body authority to intervene in such cases through the African Peace and Security Council and the Panel of the Wise and also by way of diplomatic delegations to RECs⁷⁷. The development of this diplomatic architecture reflects growing concern 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

⁷⁶Roberts.M.J., Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post- election Violence in Kenya. (September 2009).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

internationally assertive presidents of Nigeria and South Africa, respectively Obasanjo and Mbeki, ended their terms of office⁷⁸. 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 the 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 a 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 African 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.

2.8 Societal learning and ideological change

The idea that foreign policy in any country or region may be described necessarily 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

⁷⁸ Ibid. Herbert. pp12

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.

Firstly, although Africa was caught up in Cold War rivalries and several regimes declared themselves to be Marxist or socialist, there was more symbolic rejection of the West than political substance in this self-labelling.⁷⁹ With the exception of modest 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 marginalisation [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 blame and criticize the world, especially its Western parts, for both imperialistic and disinterested policies yet nowadays they rarely threaten economic sanctions or diplomatic breaks. However, contemporary scholar, Bradford Delong⁸⁰ observes that there is a strong resistance to globalisation in the 21st Century and attributes to various reasons among them changes brought about by neoliberalism.⁸¹

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 that it was also characterised by the same

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Bradford Delong is professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research.

⁸¹ Delong, B. Opinion: *Anti-globalization is truly the new socialism of fools*. The EastAfrican. Adapted from Project Syndicate. August 12-18, 2017.

coercion and abuse of power that plagued Africa. This change in attitude 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 strategy⁸². Globalisation allows foreign producers to export goods and services to distant markets and reduce cost for the other side⁸³. Once this important shift occurred, Africa became more active in investment promotion and trade negotiations. African foreign ministries, however, remain poorly geared to the 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 import substitution.

2.9 Chapter Conclusion

The sum up of foreign policy objectives of Africa, either 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 Africa. 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

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

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, African nations must use a variety of processes and institutions in order to advance a coherent trade agenda. Liberal theorists argue that pluralisation of global information flows enabled by the internet and the international media have unlocked the field to loosely structured linkage of organisations 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 agendas⁸⁴. The findings in this chapter confirm the hypothesis that financial weakness among African states is a key challenge in implementation of foreign policy objectives.

⁸⁴ Opcid.Ibid. Smith.pp.183

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIA AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

3.0: Introduction

The previous chapter examined and analysed the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa. It entailed a critical look at the nature of foreign policy of Africa collectively and an analysis of the implementation. It was established that African states have been unable to fully integrate democracy, globalization and human rights in its diplomacy, because of various challenges that include financial weaknesses in Africa. And because of dependence on foreign aid, Africa shares its sovereignty to foreign donors who in turn strain the domestic policies. This Chapter examines and analyse the role and impact of media diplomacy in the implementation of foreign policy in the continent. Here, this study focuses on how the media has influenced foreign policy decisions by states in Africa and the rest of the world towards a given issue in Africa.

3.1 Media and Democracy in Africa

The 1990s will perhaps will be remembered as the period of widespread democratic and economic improvements in African. The reason is that governments periodically yielded to growing internal demands for political changes brought about by growing dissatisfaction coup de ta and single party 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 nations 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 African.

Because of this, about 10 years later, the start of this reform started in Africa, and states that had not yet started democratic track openly admitted that politically Africa is ahead in long term obligations 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 Africa media- mainly the print media⁸⁵.

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 the 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. The media should be given more attention to investigative 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 issues in order to promote

⁸⁵ Ibid.

positive peace after an event. Training of journalists on the entire subject of media coverage on international relations dealing with Africa 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.

3.3 Role of Media in conflict Resolution in Africa

Africa and Asia still witness 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, as do the features of violent conflicts, not only from one region to another but also in terms of why and how violent conflicts are battled. Conflict resolution requires diplomatic intervention, either through state or non-state others. But the most crucial mediation tactic is a medium of communication between the adversaries or warring parties.⁸⁶ 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 and 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, is repeatedly 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, balanced and fair account of events. Effective and democratic media are necessary to transform and make society shift to prefer peace and

⁸⁶ Kuusik.N., The Role of the Media in Peace Building, Conflict Management, and Prevention. (2010).

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. Failure to access information during conflict makes 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 independent press on the other hand offer an opportunity for debate and diverse opinions. Conversely, the media can be abused to facilitate spread of propaganda, to spur animosity and spread false news and thus falsely create tensions. Different media types 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.⁸⁷

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 enables publics in diverse locations to stay informed. As a result, their own individual 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. Local 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 not 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 extent and provide a keen eye on the state leadership, the political antagonists and the publics. The media can also assist in handling

⁸⁷ Ibid.

conflicts and promote democratic principles through distributing trustworthy information and reaching a large audience.

The roles media play in conflict resolution have been 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.⁸⁸ 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 overthrew 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 Hutus), aggravating what had already become a total humanitarian crisis.⁸⁹ Thus, the mass media should go beyond reporting outbreak of conflict, to exploring and covering remote and abrupt causes of the crises.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ International Journal of Advanced Academic Research - Social Sciences and Education (Vol.1 Issue 1, Oct. 2015)

⁸⁹ The Rwandan Genocide.(2009).

⁹⁰ Awofadeju .P.*et al.* Impact of Mass Media in Conflict Resolution. International Journal of Advanced Academic Research - Social Sciences and Education (Vol.1 Issue 1, Oct. 2015)

3.4 Media and regional integration.

According to an article in the Guardian,⁹¹ 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 enhancing customs unions 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 Africa Regional Integration Index (ARII) Report⁹², 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 further concludes that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity.⁹³

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 the lack of trust, as well as inadequate 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.⁹⁴ Example of a way news reporters can comprehend regional issues is by acquainting themselves with documents

⁹¹ Rugwabiza V, and A. González. Economic integration is helping boost trade and investment in Africa. (2016).

⁹² Mwencha.E., Africa Regional Integration Index . (2016).

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Kayizzi .S.M, etal. *Regional Integration in Africa: An Introduction*. (2014).

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 journalists to ensure accountability of the integration agendas. A major setback however is biased reporting such that most media tend to emphasis more on the failures and on minor issues 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.

3.5 Media and African 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 19th century, recognized that they ought to project the voices 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 liberation. It uncovered the brutality and misuse of colonialism, aided in rallying the African societies towards their liberation struggles.⁹⁵

The push to allow editors from the African Editors Forum (TAEF) to become observers 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

⁹⁵ Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the former chairperson of the AU Commission said during the 27th AU summit held in Kigali Rwanda here that she will push the request of TAEF to get the observer status.

understand the resolutions made in AU and monitor the implementation progress with the aim of informing the African citizens. African media, in its great diversity, has a role to play in promoting Pan Africanism and in implementing the policy of AU's Agenda 2063, and at the same time make leaders accountable during implementation process.

3.6 Media and economic acceleration in Africa

In the past four decades, the continent of Africa has been hit by low annual economic and political growth which is due to (among others 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.⁹⁶ Indeed, Africa's economic performance during the past one and half decade relatively reveals n 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.⁹⁷

Recent weather patterns, in particular the El Niño phenomenon, have caused significant variations in food prices 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. Africa has enjoyed a period of strong and sustained GDP growth over the past couple of decades. Increased trade with – and investment from – major emerging markets, as well as

⁹⁶ Nwokea.C.U, and, K. Langmia.. *Media and Technology in Emerging African Democracies. (ed)*. (University Press of America. 2010) pp.182.

⁹⁷ Economic Insight: Africa Quarterly briefing Q2 2016. Oxford Economics.

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 the subsequent Eurozone slowdown of 2011–2012.⁹⁸

The absence 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 crucial roles which include transfer of ideas and models from one African nation to another one 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.⁹⁹

The role played by the media in African nations 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. Examples are the Rwandan genocide and the 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.

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Schramm, W., *Mass Media and National Development*. (Stanford University Press. 1964).

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 would measure the extent of their coverage of any issue including conflicts no matter who may have been involved in the news¹⁰⁰. 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.....”¹⁰¹

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.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.Nwokea.pp.182

¹⁰¹ The Economist. Clouds over a continent: *Cheap commodities and poor policies are causing a painful slowdown*. June 3rd 2017.

3.7 Chapter Conclusion

This Chapter established that media plays a diplomatic role in enhancing the implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Africa seeks to promote regional integration, democratisation, 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 Africa through multiparty systems and the spread of liberal values across the continent. To accelerate economic growth in the continent, 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 liberalism theorists' argument which places a high regard to the significance on the function of public opinion and the media and hence it's 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 states are supposed to be reactive to the public.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIA DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY OUTCOME IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role and impact of media diplomacy in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya. It will entail media use of media in diplomacy by the 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 foreign policy outcome in Kenya.

4.2 Kenya's Foreign Policy: An Overview

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 use as Africa's model country from its developing youthful population, a dynamic private sector, a new leadership structure, and its vital role in EAC.¹⁰²

Throughout the Cold War, Kenya 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 globalisation, regional integration and threats to global peace and stability. The goal is to protect Kenya's

¹⁰² The World Bank Group Report March, 2016.

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 arena¹⁰³.

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, Kenya pursues sub-regional and regional integration and intra-African trade cooperation as the cornerstone for Africa's socio-economic and political unity¹⁰⁴. It is clear from the above that Kenya that Kenya believes in liberalism values and uses soft power to implement its foreign policy objectives.

4.3 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

¹⁰³ Odipo L., *Sharpening foreign policy for prosperity*. Daily Nation. Nairobi. May 29, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Kenya Foreign Policy Document (2014-2018)

international influence and relations as result of a multi-polar world system and the growing effect 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 a structure that guarantees a steady Africa and produces a facilitative atmosphere for viable growth. To fully utilize the emerging socio-economic expansion and evade side-lining, Africa is reinforcing regional integration as a means for leveraging on continental collaboration and firmness. Kenya identifies herself as an essential player in the Continent of African and recognises 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 emphasised the complex link between domestic independence and humanity's larger freedom, justice and the absolute right to a shared legacy¹⁰⁵.

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 countries globally are her objectives at the international level. Even though Kenya's independence fight boosted the country's image and stature internationally, this heroic history, ironically, also risked playing into the East-West political split. So as to tactically place the country in the international arena, the foreign policy decision makers followed a

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

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 working with the East through her foreign policy of progressive economic and political neutrality.

Globalization has led to the advent of transnational interconnectedness of social and economic systems which have both positive and negative impact in 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 areas 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 menace has turned into a major aspect of Kenya's external relations and a focus of its strategic partnerships¹⁰⁶.

4.4 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 objectives entails protection of her sovereignty and territorial integrity, promotion of sub-regional and

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Kenya Foreign Policy document.pp.11

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 the interests of diaspora and enhancing collaboration with the diaspora and offspring.

4.4.1 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 hard power-military. This can be explained with the Kenya's involvement in an armed conflict with Somali people termed *shifita* war that started in the Northern Frontier District with the aim of curving it out to become part of Somalia. Kenya's military then was weak hence depended on the British troops to train more men to fight. Kenya also approached Ethiopia for support and in 1964 defense agreement was signed between the two Governments since Somalia insurgency was a shared problem¹⁰⁷. 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 February of 1976, Ugandan 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 it 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

¹⁰⁷ Maina T.A. Studying Kenya's Foreign Policy: *Seminal Events that shaped Kenya's Foreign Policy*.1963-66 (Part I). August 9, 2013.

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 one 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 dispute¹⁰⁸. 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 approach¹⁰⁹.

In November 2011, Kenya made a military entry into 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 Kenyan Coast where Kenya's tourism sector booms Kenya responded to the mounting threat 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.¹¹⁰ In some way, this mission to

¹⁰⁸ Shaka. J., Migingo Island: Kenyan or Ugandan Territory? (Journal of Conflictology November, 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Agutu.N., Migingo Island row to be solved diplomatically, says CS Omamo. The Star. August 31, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Opanga.K., Operation Linda Nchi failed; *let military return*. November 29 2014.

Somalia was partly an implementation of the 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.

4.4.2 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. 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 methods 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 that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity.¹¹¹

4.4.3 Tourism and Diaspora as crucial Kenya's foreign policy 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

¹¹¹ Mang'era.S.D., *Media and Regional Integration: A Case Study of the East Africa Community*. Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, (University of Nairobi. 2012).

pillar 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 efforts¹¹². Tourism sector is a major source of employment accounting for 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 employments 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, social and financial effect of tourism in the nation.¹¹³ 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 the brand image.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ Past research¹¹⁶ 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 regard 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 Kenyan stories.

¹¹² Kenya Tourism Board, (2014).

¹¹³ Getting the Balance right: *Gender Equality in Journalism*. Brussels, Belgium: (IFJ 2009).

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Wausi.p83.

¹¹⁵ Lamb, David, *The Africans*. New York: (Vintage.1982).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.wausi.pp.124.

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. Kenyan Diaspora injects a significant percentage to the GDP from the dollar remittances they sent back to the country.¹¹⁷ The Diaspora pillar intends to utilize the resources of Kenyans living in foreign countries and integrate them into the national development programme. To achieve this 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 fields including athletics, environment, science and arts. Image building (branding) will make Kenyan populations popular and enable them access various opportunities.¹¹⁸ 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.

4.4.5 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

¹¹⁷Owiti.P., et al. Strategies to Increase the Number of Kenyan Diaspora in Southeast Asian Countries under Under The Accreditation of Kenya Mission in Bangkok. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 2016, 6, 123-133

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

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-party 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 party, KANU.¹¹⁹

That change from one to multiparty governance was not 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 quiet 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.¹²⁰

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

¹¹⁹ Wanyande.P *Mass Media-State Relations in Post-Colonial Kenya*. Michigan State University Library.

¹²⁰ Wanyande.P., *The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya*. Peter Wanyande is Senior Lecturer, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.

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 democratic 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 perform 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 a platform for public debate and dialogue.¹²¹ 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 by the media. Both print and broadcast media in Kenya have provided a platform to put forth their views on governance issues. Political parties, for

¹²¹ Ibid

example, utilize the press to convey their manifestos and agendas to their supporters and the general public.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

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, 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 the foreign policy.¹²²

Domestic policies are inseparable with the external policies. In domestic politics, media plays an important role in cases 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 on consensus that are arrived through such debates. Both print and broadcast media 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 this chapter confirm the hypothesis that media diplomacy is effective in shaping foreign policy outcome in Kenya.

¹²² Wausi E.W. *Role of media diplomacy in driving destination competitiveness and the development of tourism in Kenya*. (University of Nairobi. 2006).

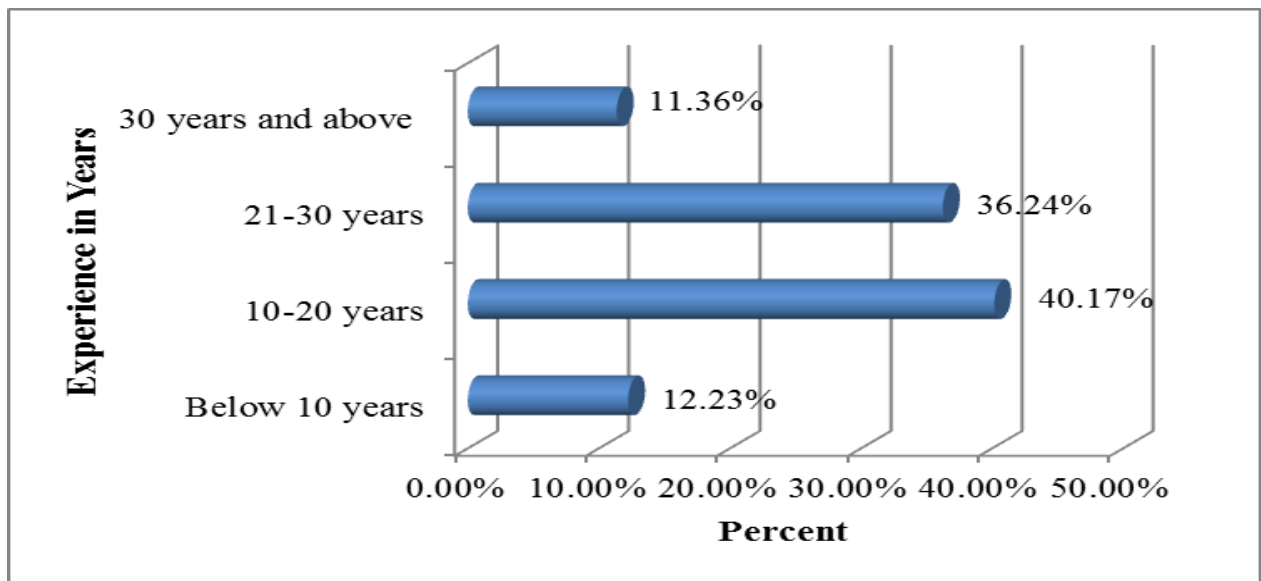
CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Demographic Data

5.2.1 Number of years of professional experience

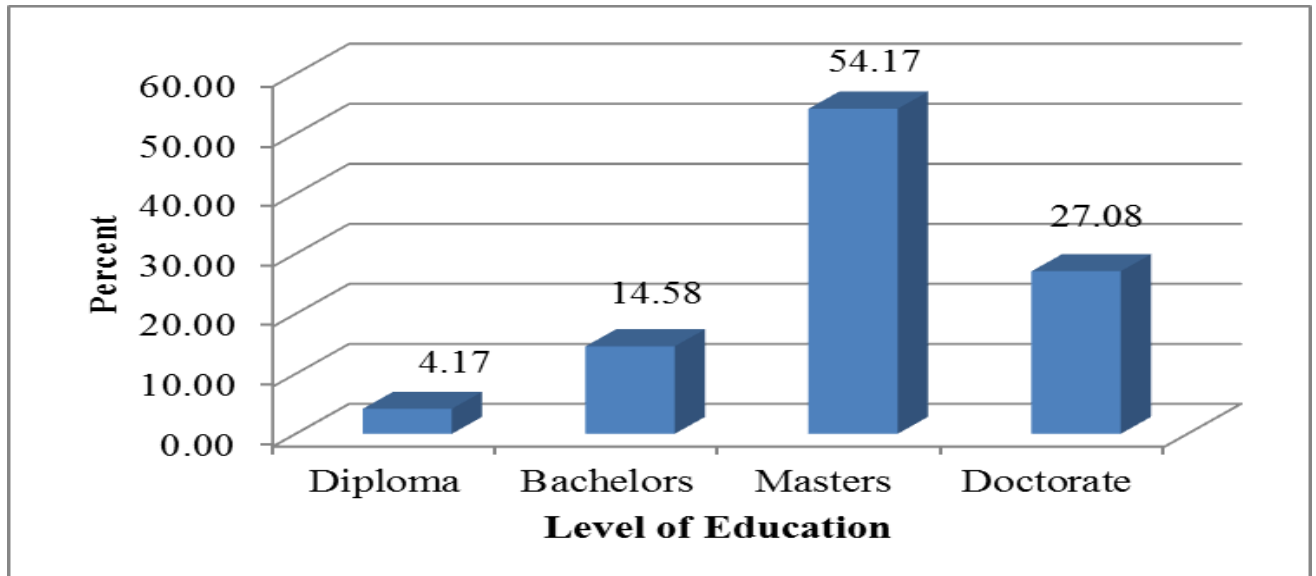
The respondents were asked their number of years of professional experience. The results were as shown by the figure below.



According to the findings, 40.17% of the respondents indicated 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 years 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.

5.2.2 Level of education

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

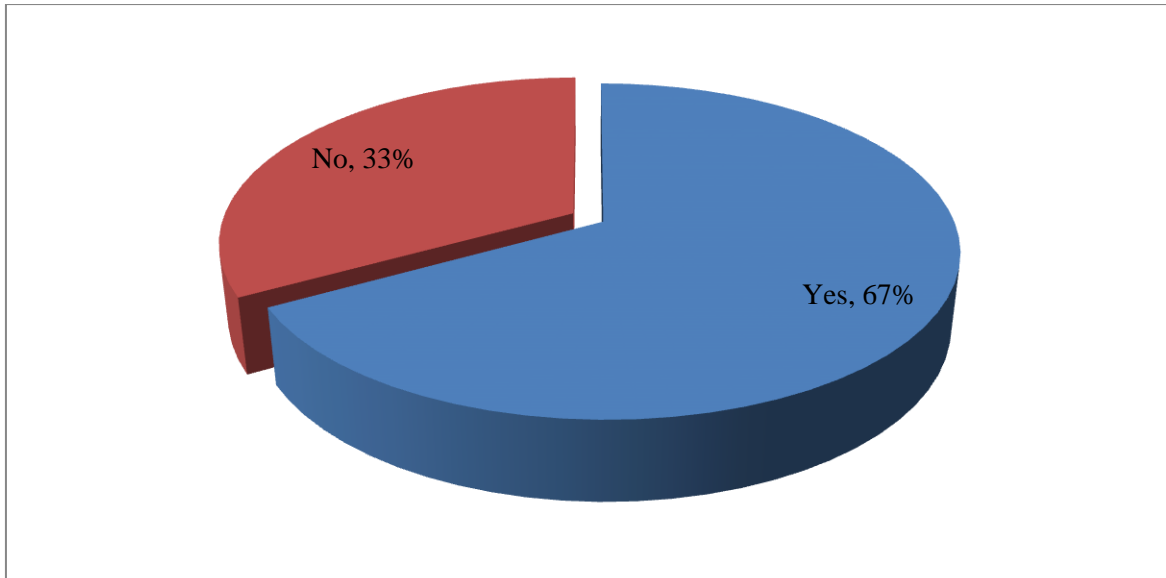


From the findings, 54.17% of the respondents had masters, 27.08% had doctorate, 14.58% had bachelors and 4.17% of the respondents had diploma certificate. This depicts that most of the respondents has Masters and doctorate has a vast knowledge of the role of media in foreign policy implementation.

5.3 Media Diplomacy and Kenya's foreign policy implementation

5.3.1 Effect of media expansion on conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy

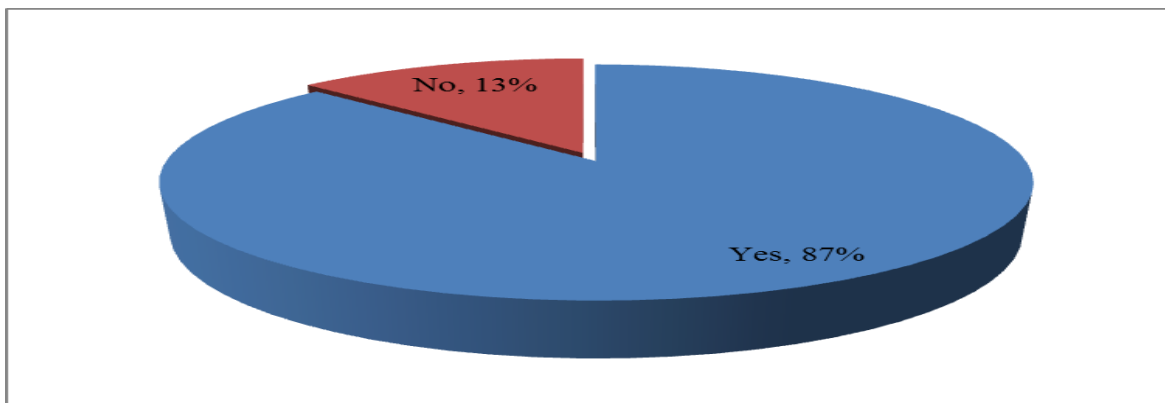
The respondents were asked whether the media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy. The results were as shown by the figure below.



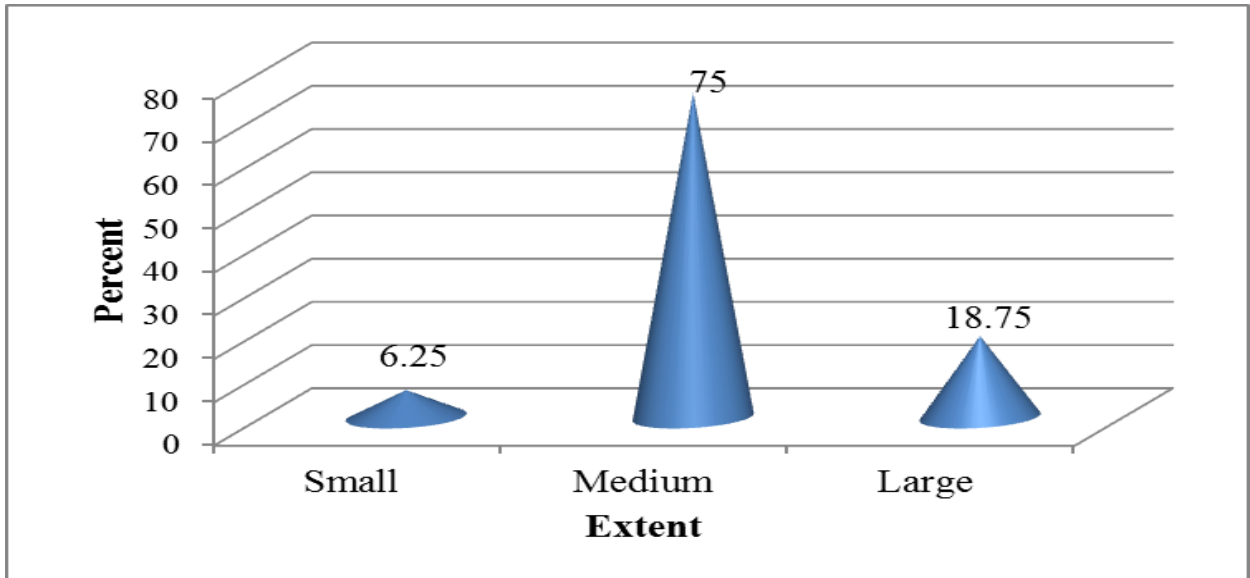
According to the respondents, 67% of the respondents agreed that media expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy while 33% indicated otherwise. The significance of this statistic is that media is crucial in the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy implementation.

5.3.2 Media Integration into Diplomatic Practice

The respondents were asked whether media can integrate into diplomatic practice and applied in foreign policy implementation.



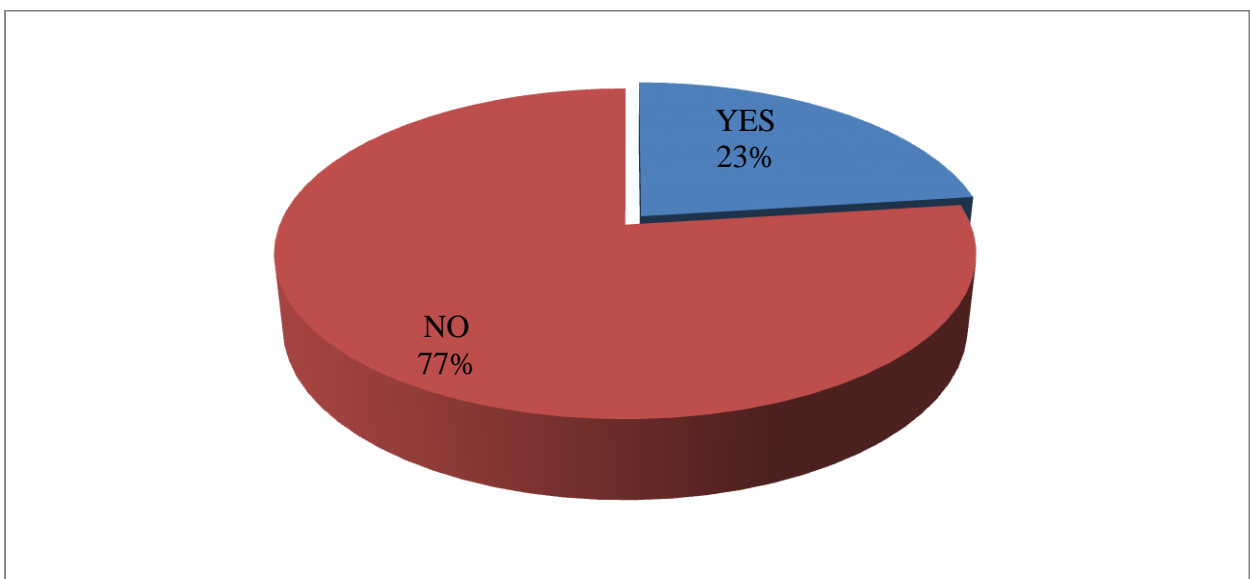
From the findings, 87% of the respondents agreed while 13% of the respondents indicated otherwise. Further, the respondents were asked to indicate to what extent did the media integrate into diplomatic practice and applied and foreign policy implementation. The results were as shown by the figure below.



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% indicated 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.

5.3.3 Utilization of tool of foreign policy by African States

The respondents were asked to give an opinion, on whether the African states has utilized tool of foreign policy in implementing their respective foreign policy.



From the study findings, 77% of the respondents believe that the African states have not utilized this tool in implementing their respective foreign policy but 23% were of the contrary opinion.

5.3.4 Areas in which media can influence another country'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 foreign policy decision. The results were as shown by the table below.

	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
Sports	20	40.00

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 trade and economy. Also, 41(85.42%) 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 40% were of the view 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 mediate peace in an international dispute.

Media impact on policy-making can ‘have an influence on the capacity of policy-makers to turn their ideas into policies that are adopted and implemented’¹²³. 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 only 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 implantation 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 media holds a lot of potential in influencing change in any many social-economic policy issues. 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 the 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.

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

¹²³ Piers. R., *The CNN Effect: The myth, foreign policy and intervention*. (Routledge2005).

governments. This was evidenced by outbreak of hurriedly organised media briefings 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 governments¹²⁴. 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.¹²⁵ 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 arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki never gave the OAU/AU priority in their governance. Uhuru Kenyatta has something which was forced on him by the urgency to rally the continental body to back his case against the ICC.

5.3 Media's role and soft power in Kenya's foreign policy

Like anywhere in the world, soft power in Africa is connected to globalisation and regional integration. In the past, Kenya has heightened its soft power resources 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. 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

¹²⁴ Wesangula, D. *Uhuru Kenyatta's sugar deal with Uganda now turns bitter for Jubilee regime*. The Standard. August 16th 2015.

¹²⁵ Lang'at, P., *Kenya nominates Amina Mohamed for AU chair job*. Business Daily. (Nairobi) October 3, 2016.

over country's leadership in 2013¹²⁶. Kenya has in recent times heightened its “soft power hegemony” which includes media diplomacy¹²⁷. Since 2013; Kenya has displayed its soft 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 to 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 happen 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 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.¹²⁸ 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

¹²⁶ Kagwanja.P., *Economic diplomacy transforming Kenya into a global soft power*. Sunday Nation. September 4 2016

¹²⁷ The strategic use of wide-ranging economic tools and opportunities available to the state to achieve its national interest.

¹²⁸ East African Index (September, 2016)

Narendra 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 KSh2 billion with the Kenya Chamber of Commerce.¹²⁹ On the other hand, the TICAD conference held in August 2016 attracted 36 heads of state, 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.

5.4 Media diplomacy and Kenya's influence in East Africa

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 players. However from time to time they will air news and documentaries on regional matters. Dominance of national media prompted for a partnership program that is envisioned to place the national media networks at the centre of the EAC communication strategy¹³⁰. For a progressive integration process intended at a Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and eventually a Political Federation, the accomplishment of regional communication is measured by how it associates with the publics¹³¹. 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.

¹²⁹ Ibid. Kagwanja.

¹³⁰ The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy, (2014). East African Community, Arusha Tanzania.

¹³¹ Ibid

Not only does each country have its own each country has its own branding initiative, but the EAC has a communications strategy that prioritises regional branding¹³².

However, Kenya have 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 isolate her have being 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 same time, 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 Kenya¹³³.

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 (Sh1.3 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 threatens 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 conflict¹³⁴. In the recent years, Tanzania has been reducing its imports from Kenya. Tanzania, under its new President John Magufuli, imported Sh5.2 billion value of goods from Kenya from the beginning of the year to March 2017, from Sh5.7 billion during the same period in 2015 and Sh10.1 billion in 2014¹³⁵. The largest importer of Kenyan goods, Uganda — have been reducing her imports since 2011 due to a more developed

¹³² Ibid.Kanyaggia.pp.76

¹³³ Achuka. V., Why Kenya's influence in East Africa is under threat. Daily Nation. (Nairobi).May 22 2016.

¹³⁴ Patrick Magero is an international relations and peace studies lecturer at the United States International University Africa (USIU-A)

¹³⁵ East African trade Report 2014.

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 tools 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 the 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 suspicions of foul play and put the citizens need at the forefront.

The treaty¹³⁶ 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

¹³⁶ Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. (As amended on 14th December, 2006 and 20th August, 2007).pp.2

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 improve 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.

5.5 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.¹³⁷ 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 to online. Social media provides a platform to know the inner feelings of publics. The information in social media is raw as they cannot be subjected to any editorial filtering. In April 2014, South Africa's Sports and Recreation

¹³⁷ Rao, N. *Diplomacy in the Age of Social Media*. The Wire. July 2017.
Nirupama Rao is a former foreign secretary of India and was ambassador to the US. She is currently a Public Policy Fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington DC.

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.¹³⁸ The comments risked a diplomatic rift between South Africa and Kenyans.

Social media gives grassroots groups 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 for activists and for the majority of users is that it enables them to do away with the traditional filters¹³⁹ 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 governments 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.

5.6 Media diplomacy and Kenya's diaspora relations

The Diaspora pillar of Kenya's foreign policy objective is to benefit from its citizens abroad either through their gotten skills, finances 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 nationals have been notorious in mistreating the Kenya diaspora, employed as domestic workers. MFA approximates that there are between 85,000 and 100,000 Kenya nationals living in Saudi

¹³⁸ Mitchley. A., *Mbalula's 'drowning' comments spark twitter rage*. The Citizen. 30.4.2014.

In Kenya, the diaspora and consular activities are to promote and protect diaspora interest. To effectively do that, there is need to have database of the national 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 problems of illegal migration and human trafficking. Apart from media role in highlighting the conditions of prisoners, human trafficking and suffering of Kenya's diaspora, it helps also in explaining the need for or content of legislations such as the Prisoners Act 2015 which aims to curb these transnational problems as well as speed implementation.¹³⁹ By conducting investigations, providing talk shows and advising the international community on these international problems, the media helps countries in standoff engage in debate regarding implementation of rules of engagement.¹⁴⁰ This proves the critical role of media diplomacy in diaspora and consular activities in implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

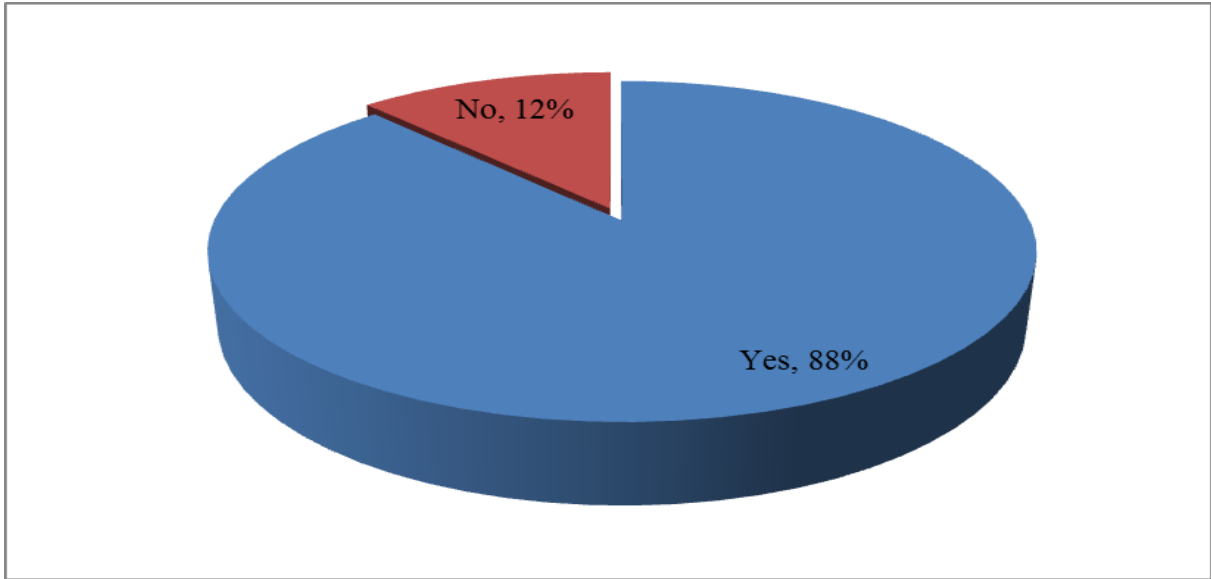
5.7 Strategies of media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy

5.7.1 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 below.

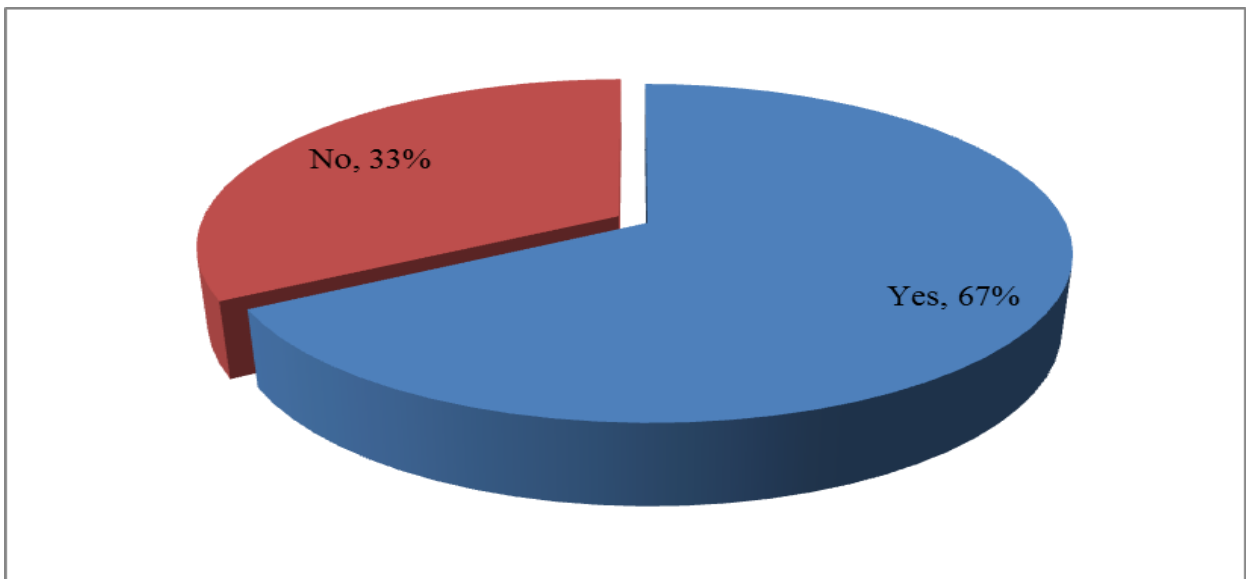
¹³⁹Tonui B. Interview with Peter Opiyo. Senior Officer at the Diaspora and Consular Department. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. August 29th 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.



According to the findings, 88% of the respondents agreed while 12% of the respondents 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 Kenya has been able to utilize this tool media diplomacy in its foreign policy implementation effectively. The results were as shown by the figure below.



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 to utilize media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy implementation. Therefore, there is need to come up with an overall strategy for media diplomacy.

5.7.2 Challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa

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 below.

Statements	Mean	Std Deviation
The principal challenge 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 democratise 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 implementation 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 conflicts 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

In relation to the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa, the respondents strongly agreed that Africa's financial weakness hinders the effective implementation of its foreign policy as shown by a 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 interests makes it hard for Africa to implement foreign policy objectives as shown by mean of 4.454 and standard deviation of 0.429. They also agreed that internal and external pressures 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 the foreign policy itself pose a challenge to its implementation as shown by mean of 3.967 and standard deviation of 0.850. Respondents also hold that trade as growing foreign policy preoccupation is a hindrance towards foreign policy implementation process in Africa as shown by mean of 4.132 and standard deviation

of 0.644. The respondents also agree that Africa has not shown any concrete solution in response to conflicts in the region leading to the challenge to implementation of the peace and security foreign policy objectives as shown by 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.

5.8 Chapter Conclusion

The number of years of experience of the respondents was measured and majority 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. Most respondents agreed that media has expanded the ability to affect the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy. Most of them indicated that the media can be integrated as a diplomatic tool in foreign policy implementation to a medium extent. A majority of the respondents believe that the African states have not utilized this tool in implementing their respective foreign policy. The findings also showed that media diplomacy is effective in implementing peace and security policy objectives.

This chapter established that Kenya subscribes to tenets of liberalism beliefs in many of her foreign policy objectives. Liberalism links the important role of public opinion, facilitated by the media to the states policy decisions and hence influences its behaviour in the global affairs. Powerful and influential countries employ the use of media to set the global agenda,

hence driving the global thinking. However, In regard to this study, this is not yet the case in Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDEATIONS

6.1 Summary

This study was guided by four objectives; three of which are specific. The objectives sought to examine and analyse the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa as well as explain the importance of media diplomacy in bridging the gap posed those. This study established that there are various problems that hinder effective implementation in Africa. This study established that media diplomacy can play a role in the foreign policy implementation and hence suggests that Africa should establish a media diplomacy strategy to bridge that gap. While looking at the objective 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.

6.2 Conclusion

Africa is yet to achieve most of its foreign policy objectives. Africa'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 Africa understand and handle regional and global politics. This has often led to criticism about Africa, especially the leadership. However, Africa has potential to communicate principles and ideas about the nature of a common foreign policy such as the African 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 principles 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, Africa's treatment of global affairs is at times much unplanned and subjects the continent 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 Africa¹⁴¹. This assumption is erroneous as the problem lies with the governments' failure to involve the media in some of important state affairs especially in foreign policy and diplomacy.

Additionally, Africa continues to witness alteration or under-reporting of events and issues about the continent. The continent needs a vibrant media to advocate Africa's interests and portray the continent'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 policies in the international system and gain support from other states, they must utilize well the media¹⁴². This then reveals the importance of media in the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy implementation.

The media has the ability to shape Africa's image in a number 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 government 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 system 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

¹⁴¹ Tonui.B., Interview with Victor Bwire. Deputy Chief Executive Officer of Media Council of Kenya on 28th August 2017.

¹⁴² Ibid.

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

6.2 Recommendations

Train diplomats on media relations

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 Africa's political agenda. Africa's diplomats ought to be trained on the effective utilization of media and media relations in order to enable them engage and use both national and international media to express and articulate Africa's affairs in global arena. Through this, they can enhance Africa'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 states' foreign policies and decisions on current global affairs.

Establish effective Media diplomacy policy

The media is crucial to restoring the image of Africa 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 states' embassies and representations of AU institutions in communicating Africa's foreign objectives and policies would also greatly assist in enhancing the AU's international identity. Also, there is the need for 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 implementation and to plan future action.

Africa should establish strong regional media network

Media ownership is also important in pushing African 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 can 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 media 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.

6.3 Areas for further research

This study focused on the main question asked at the inception of the research and the findings proves that media diplomacy plays a significant role in foreign policy implementation and Africa 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 impact 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 result of these dynamics. This study also 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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APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION LETTER



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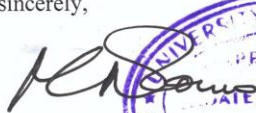
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
RE: KIPNGENOH TONUI BOAZ – R51/81847/2015

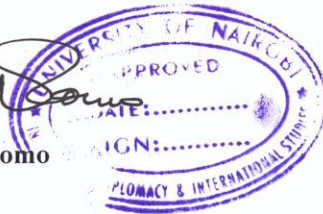
This is to confirm that the above named person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing **M.A.in Diplomacy**. He is working on research project titled: **“CHALLENGES OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN AFRICA: ROLE OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN KENYA”**.

Any assistance given to him to facilitate data collection for his research project will be highly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,


Prof. Maria Nzomo
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&
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RESEARCH AUTHORISATION



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Date: **12th July, 2017**

Kipgenoh Tonui Boaz
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *Challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa: Role of Media Diplomacy in Kenya,* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **12th July, 2018.**

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.

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student at University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies pursuing a Master of Art Degree in Diplomacy. I am carrying out a research on ***“Challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa: Role of media diplomacy in Kenya”***. The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which media, as a diplomatic tool, can play a role in foreign policy implementation. This questionnaire is designed to get information from Diplomats, Editors, Commentators and Policy makers. Information shared will be used for academic purposes only and the findings will be made available through publication of a thesis.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Name: Boaz Kipngeno,

Tel No: 0724047778

Email: kipngenoboaz@gmail.com

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: Media in implementation of foreign policy in Africa

a) Do you agree that the 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 implementation?

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c) Can media be integrated into diplomatic practice and applied in foreign policy implementation? (choose one)

- i. Yes
- ii. No

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

- i. Small
- ii. Medium
- iii. Large

d) Do you think African States has utilized this tool of foreign policy in implementing their respective foreign policy?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

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

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To examine and analyse the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa

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	SD
The principal challenge of foreign policy implementation in Africa 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 Africa to implement foreign policy objectives.					
Internal and external pressures to democratise have indirect negative effects on foreign policy implementation in Africa.					
Trade as growing foreign policy preoccupation is a					

hindrance towards foreign policy implementation process in Africa.					
The nature of the foreign policy itself poses a challenge to its implementation.					
Africa has not shown any concrete solution in response to conflicts in the region leading to the challenge to implementation of the peace and security foreign policy objectives.					
Changes in values, beliefs and ideological frameworks affect national interests and hence attainment of foreign policy objectives.					

In which social-economic areas do you think the media can effectively influence another country'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)

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

Yes

No

Please explain your answer in (i) above

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Do you think Kenya has been able to utilize this tool- Media diplomacy in its foreign policy implementation effectively?

Yes

No

Explain your answer in (ii) above

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

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

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

Date of Interview:

Interviewee information

Gender:

Name:

Nationality:

Occupation:

Current Position:

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the research is to examine the extent to which media, as a diplomatic tool, can play a role in foreign policy implementation in Kenya.

Interview questions

1. Tell me about yourself:
2. What is your experience in diplomacy and foreign policy?
3. Tell me about your experience with Kenya's foreign policy implementation.
4. What do you think are the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Kenya?
5. Has the 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 can you describe the coverage of local/domestic affairs by the Kenya media in relation to Kenya's foreign policy?

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

9. What are your recommendations towards foreign policy implementation in Kenya?