



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ROLE AND IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN ADVANCING FOREIGN POLICY

INTERESTS OF HOST STATES: CASE STUDY OF KENYA

By

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R51/7355/2017

RMA 670

**A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of
Degree of Master of Diplomacy to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,
University of Nairobi**

2019

DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in this University or any other Institution of higher learning for examination.

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Supervisor's Approval

This research project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my late sister Violet Masava who believed in my abilities to pursue my dreams. She passed on while pursuing her PhD and would have been proud to witness this milestone.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, praises and thanks to the almighty God for the blessings in my research process.

Special thank you goes to my supervisor, Prof Maria Nzomo, whose advice at different levels made this research project a success

My final gratitude extends to my family for their prayers and encouragement as I journeyed on this road of academics.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Social media -refers to various websites on the internet that provide avenue for users to connect with one another and share information. The most common and popular social media platforms include Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and Instagram, going by the number of users that these sites have registered since their inception.

Diplomacy – Refers to the skill, activity or practice of negotiations between nations through their representatives.

Social media diplomacy - Refers to a country's use of digital platforms, particularly social media sites to push its diplomatic agenda. Countries have to engage with others on various matters such as economic and trade policies, peace and political interactions, environmental conservation and other social issues such as disease and poverty

Foreign policy – is a particular state's way of dealing with other countries.

National interest – is a country's aspirations and desire in culture, economy, military, or otherwise

ABSTRACT

Advancements in technology and specifically social media have transformed how nations relate with each other and Kenya has not been left behind. The exchange of information between nations has shifted to the online sphere, thus changing the social, political and economic outlook across the world. Kenya like the rest of the world has advanced in digital communication platforms. This has made the connectivity in a world perspective more effective as mostly seen in global trade and other social-cultural interactions. There is no doubt that the internet considered as one of channel of communication has revolutionized the way people all over the world transact its business thus reducing the entire globe into a manageable global village. An estimated two billion people and above have the capacity to access social media platforms like Instagram, WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook and on daily basis. Basically, no geographical boundaries extended to social media, and as long as a location has internet access, people can communicate as though they were in the same room, yet they could be thousands of miles apart. International organizations have jumped onto the bandwagon and taken advantage of social media to engage with other players on new policy spaces. It is with these developments that the new media has led to the rise of new concept referred to as digital diplomacy whereby crucial interactions between the representatives of sovereign states take place via online platforms.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The present chapter offers a background on the role of social media in influencing foreign policy interests of host countries with a special focus on Kenya. It illuminates the fundamental themes like problem statement, research objectives, research questions, justification, theoretical framework, and research methodology.

1.2 Background of the Study

Communication is an unavoidable aspect given the sphere of international relations and as a result, changes in communication methods or channels have a direct impact on how nations share information with each other. In the 16th to the 18th centuries, for instance, the expansion of the European imperial territories was boosted by the invention of sailing ships that bridged the gap between continents. The 19th century saw a revolution in channels of communication with the invention of the telegraph while in the 20th century, radio and TV became indispensable channels. In the wake of the 21st century, the world has witnessed a revolution in internet technologies as communication channels have increasingly taken the online route. The main difference the current century has with those of the past is that the internet is fast and changes have occurred at a relatively quicker pace. In the modern day, advancements in technology and specifically social media have transformed how nations relate with each other. The exchange of information between nations has shifted to the online sphere, thus changing the social, political and economic outlook across the

world. Digital communication platforms have brought equal trading systems between countries that are developed and the developing countries such that they can compete effectively in the global economy and markets. Improvements in the development of infrastructure has enhanced globalization and eased trans-world connections.

The world of internet provides an opportunity to exchange, store and publicize information. Currently across the globe, communication has been made possible through the internet. The emergence of social media has contributed immensely to the acceptance of the internet as the chief mode of communication. The world has become some sort of a global village, with research indicating that over two billion people access social media including; Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp on daily basis. There is no geographical boundary with social media as long as a location has internet access, people can communicate as though they were in the same room, yet they could be thousands of miles apart. International organizations have jumped onto the bandwagon and taken advantage of social media to engage with other players on new policy spaces.

With such developments, the internet has led to the emergence of a new concept referred to as digital diplomacy whereby crucial interactions between the representatives of sovereign states take place via online platforms. It has expanded the sphere of global interactions to include not only countries, but also organizations and individuals. However, Bjola notes that there is still very little information available and accessible regarding the benefits of social media in helping nations achieve their foreign policy interests and how these technologies are influencing the advancement of the aims of foreign policies. This study explores the role played by social media and its impact in advancing foreign policy interests of host countries with Kenya as the case study.

1.3 Problem Statement

Countries worldwide find themselves sandwiched between competing national and global interests. Faced with developmental challenges and the emerging threat to peace and security, countries have to find ways to harness the new tool of communication – social media – to advance their national interests.

With the emergence of twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp, as new tools of communication, countries are adjusting themselves on how they interact with each other using social media as a key diplomacy tool.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How has social media influenced promotion of global peace and development?
2. What has social media contributed to the advancement of economic development?
3. What has been the impact of social media in advancing Kenya's social interest?

1.5 Study objectives

1.5.1 Primary Objective

The main objective of this study is to analyze the role and impact of social media in advancing global and Kenya's national interests.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

1. To determine how social media has influenced promotion of global peace and security.
2. To determine what social media has contributed to the advancement of economic development.

3. To evaluate what has been the impact of social media in advancing Kenya's national interest.

1.6 Justification of the Study

The study was important as it focused on the usage of new medial in Kenya, one of the countries with the fastest rising usage of social medial in the African continent.

Kenya was deemed a perfect example of existing media can incorporate online communication with radio and TV broadcasting.

The study is quite significant as it will enable different stakeholders have a clearer understanding of the impact of social media as a key tool in public diplomacy. Kenya's policy makers can use the findings of this particular study to understand why the public embraces social media as their preferred channel of expression.

1.7 Scope of the Study and Limitations

The research focused on Kenya's foreign policies from 2000 to 2015. As already stated, this study focuses on Kenya's foreign policy alone. In terms of limitations, the findings of this study lack universal applicability as data is obtained only from one country. In addition, this study uses the qualitative research method. Qualitative research methods are purely based on subjective experiences. Thus, the findings lack the much need credibility and objectivity. Also, qualitative research methods employed small sample sizes in data collection. Small sample sizes confront generalizability of findings. Ideally, a sample is assumed to be a representative of the large population to be studied and can be categorized as its subset. It is expected that a sample should

have all the characteristics of the population. The challenge of sample sizes is that the researcher is not able to work with all the characteristics in the population. Even further, policy makers tend to rely on quantitative research as opposed to qualitative ones.

1.8 Theoretical Background

Social media has in the past decade risen to become one of the key avenues for receiving and sharing information by the masses. Initially, emerging platforms were utilized for social interactions between friends, family and colleagues at work or at school. However, the usage expanded to incorporate organizations both in the private and the public sector for various purposes. For instance, many business enterprises have increasingly taken up social media as avenues to market their goods and services as well as sharing important information and updates with the public.

Government institutions and agencies have not been left behind. They have increasingly resorted to social media as an avenue to channel important communication to the public. This trend marked the advent of digital diplomacy as players in the realm of international relations found it convenient to communicate with fellow players via these online tools. Social media has proved to be a convenient communication channel due to its relative ease of access and affordability. Recently, there have been concerns raised by stakeholders regarding the safety of social media as a central tool highly considered in communication. These concerns arose following the realization that social media aspects are easy to access. The ease of access bothered some scholars who figured out that they could be infiltrated by individuals or groups with ulterior motives.

Particular focus is given to the role that social media has played in the recent past, more so in during the Arab Revolution in 2011. This period saw many Arab nations experiencing political turmoil and incumbent governments being overthrown by their citizens. Central to these activities was social media. Twitter and Facebook are one of the platforms used for political mobilization and the proponents of these revolutions shared information with their fellow countrymen, urging them to rise up against the oppressive regimes and install leaders of their choice in power. During this period, Egypt, Tunisia and Libya were among the nations where the revolution was rampant and effects were felt across the world. A key observation is that these revolutions were led by young people, who happened to be the most ardent users of social media platforms. Following these events, the world came to the realization that social media was a lethal weapon that needed very careful handling as it had the potential to cause unforeseeable effects.

Security ranks among the key aspects of international relations due to various reasons. To begin with; sufficient security means there is relative calm while insecurity could be as a result of the influx of criminal activities or due to riots and demonstrations. When there is a political revolt, the atmosphere is usually unsuitable for business to thrive and for people to go about their normal routine. It becomes to attract economic investors or even tourists to visit a nation that is undergoing a period of political turmoil. As seen from the situation created during the Arab Spring, violence and insecurity can be instigated through social media. Disgruntled individuals and also groups can use it to mobilize people for mass action, thus it can be viewed as a potential threat to the security of any nation. The Government and security agencies must therefore be on the lookout to ensure

they are not caught flat footed when such activities planned. They should be conscious about the conversations going on in social media avenues such as Twitter hashtags.¹

1.8.1 Evolution of Social Media Diplomacy

As pointed out earlier, the world experienced a long process before the internet age and the era of social media takeover. As early as the 17th century, advancements in communication technology were largely seen as a threat to diplomacy. It appears that those in power recognized the power of information. They knew that an informed population would have greater awareness about their rights and their place in society- which had the potential to spark political discomfort and possible unrest. The invention of the telegraph was viewed as the end of diplomacy by Lord Palmerston, a powerful British Foreign Secretary in the 1860s. His reservations highlighted the fears and reservations that the ruling class had pertaining people's access to information. However, the telegraph craze came and faded away after the invention and emergence of the telephone, TV and radio as the main channels of communication in the 19th and 20th centuries. The internet began to take over with the dawning of the 21st century. An interesting observation is that all these changes were received with a pinch of salt but in essence, they did not in any way pose a threat to diplomacy. The only thing that may have notably changed is how diplomatic functions were conducted. In essence, diplomacy had to adapt to the new communication regimes but it still maintained its crucial role in international relations.²

²Hocking, B., &Melissen, J. (2015). *Diplomacy in the digital age*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Notable with this journey of revolution is that every new invention appears to be an improvement or an upgrade on its predecessor. The invention of the telegraph facilitated easier written communication on a personal level as an individual could write a message to the intended recipient. The messages were short and precise but still facilitated communication. State representatives would write short messages to each other and communicate on important policy matters. The invention of the telephone made communication easier as people could talk to each other more efficiently. Foreign missions would call each other whenever there were pressing issues. They would also call each other to arrange meetings where important issues would be discussed. TV and radio later filled the gap as information on various important issues would be availed to the masses. The fax machine also came in the 1980s and facilitated the sharing of formal documents.

The internet and social media combined all the other aspects as users can share information via text, audio, and video as well as sharing documents and pictures. An important observation is that some of the older inventions are still in use and have been combined concurrently with other channels. For instance, radio and TV are still widely used for communication in the present day. The telephone still ranks at the top of the list of most widely used means of communication. Technology in this area has evolved from the era of phone booths to the era of cell phones. Most people actually use their phones to access the internet, more so their social media platforms. Those in the area of internal relations have had to find a way of adjusting their operations to be in tandem with the technology of each era. In the present day, embassies and foreign missions recognize the social media to release new information to the public, clarify on incorrect information and verify information from official channels.

1.8.2 Impact of Social Media on Diplomacy

Digital diplomacy has been considered a priority in the sphere of foreign policy in the present day. Both state and non-state players are in competition for online space, as they target the over three billion users with the internet accessibility and social media daily. These users have access to mobile phones and can thus access information no matter their location. Online communication has therefore proven to be instrumental in informing the masses on any developments and changes in foreign policy. At the click of a button or by merely swiping on a screen, people can get crucial information without necessarily having to visit embassies or consulates.

A major advantage with using social media over other avenues of communication is its capacity to reach users on a real-time basis. For instance, if officials at an embassy release a particular piece of information via social media, the communication can reach as many people as possible within a very short duration of time. They can also get instant feedback and determine whether the public is in support or disapproves the information. Twitter is given most credibility as a source of information particularly for formal or official communication. The platform boasts of its status due to the measures set up by its developers to keep off fake profiles and verifying users particularly those considered as opinion shapers and news makers. In this regard, if an embassy posts a piece of information on its social media handles, the information is likely to reach many people in a short duration due to the sharing and re-tweeting options.

An important function that digital technology facilitates is in the collection and processing of data. Often, an embassy may find itself having to provide data on the number of people affected by a particular occurrence. For example, if an air crash occurs and kills people from different nationalities, many embassies can use the social media to provide an accurate reporting about the

number of people from their respective countries that may have been involved in the crash. Another scenario would be when an embassy is required to report on the number of the foreign citizens residing or working in a particular country. They can be used to gather information on such facts and report accurately. It has been proven to be a cost effective administrative tool because data can be gathered by simply communicating with relevant individuals or groups as opposed to deploying human and financial resources on the ground to perform functions such as data collection or dissemination of information. It also saves a great deal of time that can be used on other constructive ventures.

Internet users in Kenya have many avenues at their disposal that they can use to access information particularly on matters pertaining foreign policy. Traditional sources of information like radio and TV have now adapted social media as their primary sources of their news. With the high number of news outlets in the country, there is a big struggle for the media channels to capture the attention of internet users. Users have to be careful enough to verify that the information they receive is from credible sources. All in all, users become more conscious of the current events taking place in the sphere of foreign policy. Their response to such affairs also increases as it creates awareness to people on what is happening in the world.

A key area of interest pertains to the evolution from hard news to soft news. Hard news is a classification of news items on topics perceived to be serious content such as politics, foreign affairs, government policies and business while soft news refers to news items such as entertainment, sports and information about human interest topics such as entertainment. The evolution of news from hard to soft takes into consideration the tendency of media outlets to present hard news in an appealing way that can attract the attention of more users. In this regard,

hard news is presented to the audience in a manner that is presentable and appealing to the masses. Social media has enabled more people to become conscious of important affairs. This paradox is a reflection of Baum model that links soft news and hard news. There are various methods used by media houses to incorporate hard news into soft news. A common method is by attaching links related to foreign policy alongside items such as entertainment or sports news.

1.8.4 Theoretical Framework

This study employs the theory of Liberal Pluralism in studying its subject matter. The theory relates to the study as it fully brings out the complex dynamics of the subject matter.

1.8.4.1 Liberal Pluralism

This theory attempts to explain the role of the media in foreign policy while placing `the media as course`. According to this approach, no single factor exclusively dominates foreign policy and excludes the others. According to proponents of this theory the society, is exposed to various form of competition. Media houses are basically private enterprises aimed at making profit; thus, the role of the media is assumed to be that of an independent observer that conveys information in the best way it can. In the competitive market, various media outlets provide news from different perspectives. The audience also comprises of different people that use media in the way they best deem fit. They do not just consume or absorb information as it comes, but they also sieve through information to find out if it suits their needs.

In addition to these two theories, literature presents other predominant theoretical paradigms in regard to the importance of the mass media in decision making while formulating foreign policy.

1.9 Research Hypotheses

The study hypothesised that:

1. That social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security.
2. That social media has contributed to the advancement of economic development.
3. That social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya's national interest.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

This section spells out the major activities in the research process, including data collection and analysis. It describes the study's research design, study area, target population, sample size, data collection methods, and how data analysis is organized.

Mugenda and Mugenda describes research as a deliberate process of inquest into a phenomenon of interest to the society or to specific individuals or groups within the society.³ Research aims at adding onto the existing body of knowledge and improving on previous findings that may have been rendered ambiguous over time. Research aids in the formulation of theories that can be used to explain important matters in the future. Theories in turn help us to interpret and to explain natural and social systems in a very systematic and explicit manner. Theories therefore, merely interpret reality in a more systematic, coherent and explicit manner. Researchers are, therefore people who are consumed by the search for facts and the "truth". Facts that support a particular theory are nothing other than accumulated data from which facts can be constructed. Therefore,

³Mugenda, O.M and Mugenda, A.G., (2003). *Research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Nairobi: Acts Press.

data has particular and special significance in the research processes. Mugenda and Mugenda define data as all the statistics or information obtained in the research study.

Data become of use to the researcher only if the collected data are accurate and reasonably objective. If the collected data does not fulfill these two criteria, it is of no use and therefore should not be used for research purposes. Collecting accurate objective and relevant data requires not only proper judgment but also the necessary technical skills. Researchers aim at providing a logical explanation on the subject of study and can be used in resolving an existing problem in a scientific manner. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, the main objectives of a given study include to discover new knowledge; to make an attempt at describing and explaining the subject or phenomenon under study; to enable prediction; to enable control; and to help in developing a theory.

1.10.2 Research Design

Descriptive research design was used which involves first collecting data that offer descriptions and then organizing, tabulating and describing the data. The research design was found ideal for this particular study as it can depict variables and answer what, who and how questions.

The study design is exploratory in design and uses direct contact questionnaires to gather data. Each questionnaire has similar items addressing the specific objectives and is administered to the respondents from the sampled groups.

1.10.3 Study Sites/Locations

The study has been conducted in Nairobi in Kenya which is the hub for international affairs both regional and global. This provides broad perspective and a triangulation that illustrates various

dynamics of social media influence on foreign policy. This study reviews previous works on data collected by previous studies.

1.10.4 Target Population

This study targeted population consisting of people working in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Media Practitioners, public policy makers, Foreign Diplomats as well as internet users/bloggers.

1.10.5 Sample Size determination

The study employed non-probability sampling technique to determine its sample size. This method of sampling was the most preferred for the study because it ensures that samples picked are a true representative of the study population. It also affords the researcher a chance to deliberately pick respondents due to the qualities that they possess. A researcher employing the technique can also decide what has to be known before setting out to look for suitable people willing to furnish information based on their knowledge or experiences. This methodological triangulation increases credibility and validity of the results. The sample size for the study was 200 respondents and was also settled on after considerations to the time and resources available at the time of conducting the study.

1.10.6 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively in the study. Quantitative data has been analyzed by establishing the frequency of responses and determining percentages. Qualitative data has been analyzed by analysis of content where responses have been organized into common themes and the occurrence of trends established.

1.10.7 Data Collection

The primary instrument of data collection was by use of questionnaires. The questionnaires were semi-structured (with both open ended and closed ended questions). They were issued to targeted respondents to fill at their own convenience and then collected at a later time by the researcher.

1.10.8 Ethical Considerations

The study objectives and methodology have been explained to the study participants. Participants were informed to participate voluntarily. The requirement of informed consent was emphasized to ensure confidentiality. Any information collected was handled confidentially.

All permits needed to be able to conduct the interviews have been applied for beforehand.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter one highlighted the structure of the study as well as an introduction and background to the Study, statement of the research problem, objectives, justifications, literature review, conceptual framework, hypothesis, methodology and structure of the study.

Chapter two discussed the role of social media in foreign policy from a global perspective. It gives a background of foreign policy and the evolution in the 21st century as well as the different dimensions of public diplomacy. It also discusses literature on the correlations of social media and foreign policy, particularly the roles of social media in influencing foreign policy.

Chapter three focused on the impact of social media on the foreign interests of a state. It discusses the challenges and opportunities that social media has in modern diplomacy.

Chapter four analyzed the impact of the internet and social media on foreign policy in Kenya. It discusses how the social media has affected international security in Kenya, the use of social media by the Kenya government and challenges facing social media governance in Kenya. More so it discusses the importance of Kenya and nation branding in the international arena.

Chapter five evaluated the constructs from the study and articulated. The way forward in matters of what should be done to fill the gaps arising and solutions to apply. It concluded on the role and interests of Kenyans as non-state actors in foreign policy enhancement.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 Introduction

The section discusses the role of social media in foreign policy from a global perspective. It gives a background of foreign policy and its evolution in the 21st century and also the different dimensions surrounding public diplomacy. It also discusses literature on the correlations of social media and foreign policy, particularly the roles of social media in influencing foreign policy.

2.2 Foreign Policy in 21st Century

Foreign policy concerns how nations/ institutions/people interact with one in a dynamic international environment. Foreign policy makers are shaped by history and institutional practices. Diplomacy, new media and sanctions are used to enhance blurred lines that occur between domestic politics and also external environments. All characters including NGOs, militaries, lobbyists, UN agencies and other agencies operate in this complex environment, influencing foreign policy resulting in decisions pertaining to war, peace and also prosperity. Foreign policy therefore facilitates the world to appreciate the complex international environment. Conditions, processes as well as decision makers that affect foreign policies should be investigated.

This approach is not only concerned with the involved actors in decision making of the state but also includes sub-national sources given a state foreign policy. FPA emerged as one of the inquiry sections in international relations (IR) discipline as a result of its focus inclusively on how inter-state relations occur and also due to its normative impulse. Scholars in IR area understood

their responsibilities to interpret the international system and its broader features. FPA also took their mandate of actual state conduct and avenues of decisions as they focus on policy processes. It is believed that when motivation, structures of decision making of the actors are scrutinized provides greater analytical base that could be found when IR approach is utilized. Those scholars considered to be working in the FPA their tasks are normative whose aim is to improve decision making at foreign policy level for better outcomes and peaceful state relations.

The state and individual levels has emphasized traditionally as the aspects to understand the nature of the international system. There has been the rise in the number/density of transnational actors (TNAs) transforming the international system, creating interconnection outside of traditional state to state conduct in a more likely manner. Structure-agency debate has been the underlying them in the study of FPA. In terms of analysis of foreign policy decisions and decision making aspects, FPA scholars are divided according to how they influence to structural factors and human agency. The process produces a strong IR emphasis. According to Snyder and colleagues in 1962, information is selectively perceived and also evaluated according to reference of the decision makers. Preferences are pegged on choices made which are determined situational, partial and biographically determined partly.

The scholars under FPA started developing interest in domestic and societal sources of foreign policy. Their interest developed a rich literature described as the domestic structure approach. One of its known strands works on effects of the material attributes of a given country, such as demographic projections, location, size and potential in agricultural and industry on foreign policy. The other strand focuses on domestic structure. The nature of the political institutions is dealt by Risse-Kappen and Muller's work with society and institutions linking state and society.

The societal demands are channeled into the political system. Globalization has charged debate since the 1980s including IR. Held et al. provide tools for examining the globalization of multiple activities that is from politics and organized violence to trade, finance, culture and environmental degradation. Globalization theory is producing a shift in the spatio-temporal constitution regarding human societies. There is also a shift in space and time.

The “Publics” in Public Diplomacy

Hocking identifies publics in four different views: as a target of influence through their own set domestic constituencies to insert pressure on foreign governments or influencing opinion at home indirectly. This is obtaining common public views outside traditional diplomacy domain. The target government is viewed as a different government all together. Public diplomacy is about influencing public opinions, beliefs and agents to actualize the given goals that source of diplomacy bears. For example UN effort their face in the Middle East by use of media broadcast i.e. Alhurra (a public Arabic satellite TV channel) and also Radio Sawa. Their ultimate goal is to add their voice among Muslims and Arabic nations. Fullbright and other cultural/academic programs offering scholarship programs are used to give firsthand experience to key individuals and young people about US life. about 700,000 people inclusive of great leader like Helmut Schmidt, Margaret Thatcher and Anwar Sadat have benefitted in the this scholarship program. Nye terms this as the most effective way in building long term relationship among the nations.

The second view of publics is that they act as a mode of influence on foreign policy makers. This yield as a result of public opinion generated by media manipulation. Public views are shaped by media and goals of setting agendas to insert pressure on a certain government as opposed to that public’s own government for a government to act on a given issue. E.g. in 2014, the ‘Bring back

our girls' campaign in Nigeria. The Boko Haram kidnapped over 200 girls in Chibok. The story was broadcasted by a foreign media and the inaction of the Nigerian government which led to a protest globally. Widow to Nelson Mandela, Michele Obama and Graca Machel also protested to show solidarity and exert pressure to the Nigeria government to act. The pressure led President Goodluck Jonathan to come up with efforts with foreign governments also sending their military support to facilitate the rescue process.

The third view sees public diplomacy as diplomacy by rather of publics. Defining the functions of organization and individuals as participants actively involved in developing international policy. The social media and internet act as communication and information technology tools. The people empowered by CIT revolution participate to shape the international policy through an emergent global civil a society. They are allowed to operate through or act independently of the national governments. E.g. European Union, UN and ECOWAS. Black lives matter movement emerged as a hash tag on social media not as an organization to fight for the brutality focused by government agents to black people. It gives a different perspective on racism among nations

The public is finally viewed as neither a target nor a generator of diplomatic activity but seen as a diplomacy consumer. This is reflected as the twin forces of tourism/ terrorism as well as global mobility. Bravo and Yun posit that global mobility is a result of growing complication of public diplomacy. public diplomacy continues to get complicated as people migrate, travel and face terrorism. Hocking recognizes consumers of public policy like bystanders. For example, in 2002, President Bush in the union speech referred Iraq, North Korea and Iran as the axis of evil where the message was delivered to the local audience.

In this case, foreign publics were also considered to be consumers of this particular message, and they did not in a favorable manner to this phrase. Domestic public travelers come across messaging diplomatically made by their respective governments. The messaging can be for them directly or directed to other publics. However, how consulates treat domestic publics can affect the nation's soft power and public diplomacy.

Bravo termed this as a diplomacy directed to transnational communities and also directed at Diaspora. He brings a view on how Diaspora for national governments is important. E.g. Mexico nationals living abroad recognize that their government cares for them. The only way to give back is to become their country representatives across the globe. Nye argues that the Germany was the first country that established relationships targeting political parties of various nations as opposed to normal practice by the governments. In 2016, the Russia's were involved in the presidential election for US. This is an indicator of the public's expansion targeting public diplomacy.

2.3 Dimensions of Public Diplomacy: Internet Use

Public diplomacy exists in three dimensions: routing communications made to educate and inform the public's on the existing dynamics in domestic and foreign policy goals. The second dimension is on the strategic communication and theme based campaigns (advance a particular goal/government policy) which are the most preferred after dimension in public policy. Information is shared by many practitioners hoping for effectiveness in achieving their goals. However, strategic players view the theme based aspect alone as insufficient.

The other dimension is relational public diplomacy that aims in the development of long lasting relationship with foreign societies key players. Nye argues that the three dimensions help in development of effective strategies for public diplomacy. Dimension of corporate diplomacy can also be considered if any government will wish to wield effective influence. The role of social media and ICT is another dimension of the new public diplomacy which makes the diplomacy unique. The internet gives accessibility as well as adding more players to diplomacy. Herbert cites it has resulted in proliferation of information. Nye on the other hand argues that scarcity of attention is brought about by plenty of information which places a premium on the capability to sift information that is valuable from white noise. Nye also argues that when people are overwhelmed with a lot of information, it is difficult for them to identify what to focus on. On the same note, those who have the capacity to pick out the relevant information from the clutter are considered the most relevant.

The news media is another dimension known as the 'CNN effect'. This is a media metaphor and the role it plays in disseminating information and agenda setting to publics directly than what was offered traditionally. Use of technological devices grants many people access and also causing eroding of traditional confidentiality of diplomacy. Cyber diplomacy becomes challenged if public diplomacy involves winning the minds and hearts of people. Focusing on public diplomacy with exclusive of social media and ICT translates to digital divide that is ignored. This does not mean that we ignore the role of cyber diplomacy but understand what Nye says as narrowcasting through the internet. This means reinforcing efforts made through face to face by the use of internet and not leaving out the internet use. This allows targeting of elite and also information transfer to areas where the traditional media is blocked by the government. Those people with no access to technology, scholarship need should come up on how to reach out to these groups.

Table 2.1 World Internet Usage and Population Statistics

WORLD INTERNET USAGE AND POPULATION STATISTICS JUNE 30, 2017 - Update						
World Regions	Population (2016 Est.)	Population % of World	Internet Users 30 June 2017	Penetration Rate (% Pop.)	Growth 2000-2017	Internet Users %
Asia	4,148,177,672	55.2 %	1,938,075,631	46.7 %	1,595.5%	49.7 %
Europe	822,710,362	10.9 %	659,634,487	80.2 %	527.6%	17.0 %
Latin America / Caribbean	647,604,645	8.6 %	404,269,163	62.4 %	2,137.4%	10.4 %
Africa	1,246,504,865	16.6 %	388,376,491	31.2 %	8,503.1%	10.0 %
North America	363,224,006	4.8 %	320,059,368	88.1 %	196.1%	8.2 %
Middle East	250,327,574	3.3 %	146,972,123	58.7 %	4,374.3%	3.8 %
<u>Oceania / Australia</u>	40,479,846	0.5 %	28,180,356	69.6 %	269.8%	0.7 %
<u>WORLD TOTAL</u>	7,519,028,970	100.0 %	3,885,567,619	51.7 %	976.4%	100.0 %

Source: Internet Usage and World Population Statistics updated as of June 30, 2017

2.4 Growth of Social Media Use in Influencing Policies in Africa

Globally, citizens involved in policy process are emphasized e.g. as recognized in the UN conference on the sustainable development. “We recognize that opportunities for the people to influence their lives and future, participate in decision-making and voice their concerns are fundamental for sustainable development”.

In order to strengthen the resolution on civic engagement, the empowerment and inclusive participation, economic and political sphere was considered critical for sustainable development. This was indicated in the 51st session of the UN on social development to strengthen the resolution on civic engagement. For effective policy implementation and proper feedback, governments need real time tools for civic engagement. 1.32 billion people of the world population use social media for economic, political and social contributions as highlighted in 2014 statistics. Use of social media is increasing every year with 66 percent of Americans being online, 71 million in Arab world with 135 million people use media to boost good governance and social integration of the Arabs. China use media for social transformation and public diplomacy though Facebook and twitter were barred and replaced for online engagement with locally developed ones (like Sina Weibo). Africa has increased its social media use monthly with statistics of 8.6% of the internet users in the world. Social media platforms are used for business development.

Yu-Shan (2003) opines that social media technology has got the capacity to connect the African world and translate to a strong political tool on its continent. However, its credibility for policy making is complicated among various policy makers, scholars and governments globally. In Africa, social media has led to revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It has enhanced best

practices in elections like in Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia and promoted growth in the continent. Few people were involved online as compared to present with 240 million users today. The impact of the internet use on development in Africa by Dalberg show that the internet use is increasing by its usage as a negotiating tool is not practiced. In Africa, public processes are conservative in consideration that public policy influences social problems. This leads to weakened feedback mechanisms, politicization of policy implementation, and inadequate information among others. Social media connects policy makers and relevant governments to its citizens. Conflicts are addressed when citizens are involved in policy processes and also give insights on emerging issues. It gives a platform for citizens to give their opinions in the process of policy negotiation. Social media is a powerful tool in gaining a soft power e.g. in China, they adopted soft power to access under developed countries as seen in South Asia and Africa. They faced a lot of resistance from leaders to get into Africa but tactfully penetrated. Bilateral relations were created in Africa by China leading to infrastructure development i.e. construction of super highways etc. Engagement of citizens by policy makers to know the problem situations, transform shadow knowledge and make policy making process flexible. Participatory approach has been made possible between governments and the citizen. Citizen's participation and empowerment model came up to promote policy processes in a digital age by use of Easton's theory of political systems. Africa should invest more in telecommunication infrastructure for human capital ICT literacy by encouraging ICT private partnership for ordinary citizens to acquire these skills. It should also be integrated in the national and sub-regional plans.

2.5 The Role of Social Media in Foreign Policy

Journalists have been making use of the internet to challenge and alter the ways of reporting news. Reporters use social networking websites use them to disseminate information updates, promote their work and inform people on the major events. Bucy argued that new entrepreneurs are challenging practices in the industry and also transformation of story-telling techniques.

2.5.1 Social networks as public diplomacy means

In the second half the 20th century, there was implementation of public diplomacy concept though, analysts interpret the concept differently. Public diplomacy is seen as the communication of the government with foreign audiences or communication with foreign nations directly to influence their thinking and decisions. It advocates for public opinion in as much as foreign policy is development and well implemented. Bruce Gregory argued that the beginning of public diplomacy singles out to 1980s. The US specialists, government and cultural relations and international broadcasting activities first put it into practice. Social media has enhanced productivity, correspondence, networking and also promoted straightforwardness. This was eluded to e-diplomacy (digital diplomacy). Utilizes use of web developed and the data is used to empower the discretionary target achievement. Better initiatives are brought by adopting web-based social networking. The social media has enhanced modern system of governance, scope of interactions among people and the way government connects to worldwide masses.

2.5.2 Twiplomacy – new mean of public diplomacy

Nations use twitter for public diplomacy implementation. It transmits and gives feedback from other users. Twitter is used by more than 4,100 diplomatic missions with 172 leaders from different states holding personal accounts. Twiplomacy has a personal intention to participate in political

aspect. Through this tool, opinions can be shared and also people get involved in discussions. It helps people reach out to their leaders and diplomats that could not be reached. Transparency and trust has been enhanced and sense of community among people. Twitter creates an opportunity for dialogue among state leaders and government and also develops image of a state. Information is shared by leaders attracting public attention and strengthening of certain positions. It helps to look for contacts, facilitate dialogue with foreign audiences and introduces states foreign policy. Twiplomacy is attributed to two dimensions; daily communication (relates to events reaction to coincide with strategic goals pursued) and strategic communication (the approach to deliver public diplomacy/foreign policy objectives) to understand audiences and develop solutions to change behavior. Twiplomacy assess effectiveness of a state or a leader and collect information on foreign countries' events.

2.6 Findings

The growth in use of social networks enhanced implementers of public diplomacy to implement newest trends. Twitter as a tool allows faster communication among the countries though at the same time, brings change to the diplomacy principles by adding unpredictability aspect. Certain messages relayed can lead to unexpected reaction. Better coordination among leaders and national institution is required for consistent and unified communication.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE FOREIGN INTERESTS OF A HOST: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives analysis on the impact of social media on the foreign interests of a state. It discusses the challenges and opportunities that social media has in modern diplomacy.

3.2 The Impact of New Technologies on International Communication

Users of social media auto present themselves by constructing their identities and establishing a dialogue with other media users. It enhances monitoring of the public opinions both a home and abroad. This helps to discover early signs in case of the coming crises. People's identity is expressed through Facebook. The way people interact gives perception of the profile by other users. It is used to mobilize supporters at the same time constructing alliances to issues for network creation and turn them to real power. There are more Facebook entrances than Google hence gaining popularity considered as a means of foreign policy.

Text messaging predicts real time meeting. When the real time encounter is experienced, results follow so as to preserve memories and experiences. The new public diplomacy through involvement of social media emphasizes on participants mutual benefits to its processes. Therefore, public diplomacy is better understood in global frame (non-state actors, governments and states giving equal patterns equally) but not the international communication. Participants

adapt to network society and to the logics attached to public relations. They also economize their foreign policy by carrying out the foreign image policy.

Commercial entities are also allowed to adjust to the network society. They implement the efforts of corporate social responsibility. New actors in the international relations for example non-state organizations i.e. Multi-National Corporations (MNC). They develop impact resulting from the shift of power from the various governments. Old and new non-state actors of international communication demonstrate their participation in those networks incorporating modern communication aspect. The aim is to interchange potential communicators and receivers roles. Social media therefore give people opportunity in listening and engaging that did not belong to the traditional and classical skills of diplomats.

The development of media sphere controls the limits of the state in public diplomacy. Other groups like civil society organizations (CSOs) and resistance movements use the same tool when it's being implemented by the authoritarian governments. The process ensures the citizens are kept under strict surveillance. Global communication brings a new dimension and also new activities. The function of the added value depends highly on governments as one of the public diplomacy actors. It also depends on other features characterizing participants of public diplomacy and the environment it happens.

Globalization by Giddens gives social media an insight into developments targeting remote areas. It gives relevance that potentially affects the lives of distant communities that contributes to the development of the public opinion globally. Social media in public diplomacy gives more emphasis on power relations.

International broadcasting is one of the important parts of Public diplomacy. Diplomats attempt to use the new tools since the creation of web 2.0 by adjusting and joining to the logic of network society. Cultural, academic and student exchange aimed to building of networks. Social media is a group of internet based applications that create and allow exchange of user generated content (UGC) as argued by Kaplan and Harniein.

The applications provide adequate opportunity for collaboration, networking and meeting with people with similar desires. The World Wide Web use the new media genre (web 2.0) to modify content and applications by use of participatory collaboration e.g. protest in North Africa and middle East in 2011 that was broadcasted by use of media like Facebook and twitter. Public diplomacy should maintain credibility and its role to generate soft power (Nye, 2008). Studies done earlier showed less credibility in the web information given that the internet has rumors and misinformation. ‘Social’ is communication activities in two ways and ‘media’ is defined as the platform used to achieve the activities. Media creates a space for interaction technologies. According to Breakeyridge, social media creates a shift from ‘broadcast mechanism’ to may-to-may model in terms of two way communication. Democratization of content is realized and the shift in the roles played by people while reading and information dissemination.

3.3 Integrating Diplomacy and Social Media

In the period of overthrowing authorities in political sphere in the Middle East, young activists made use of the media to transmit live footage of revolutions and organization of protests across the globe. Stubborn autocrats blocked citizen’s accessibility to Facebook and twitter. Their aim was to disrupt the network of people determined to bring change to their government.

3.3.1 New Opportunities in Diplomacy

Advent of social media in the early 21st century made diplomats and foreign policy makers to face new approaches in engaging with publics abroad. Increased access to online media tools has implications that go beyond a global access period to online to personalized communications tools that are advanced. Its effect is that there is empowerment of public opinion. A public public's collective voice can be tweeted and posted instantly to people in the globe and response given. Diplomats should rethink on how new technology can accelerate social, economic and political change in the world i.e. streamlining the technology of communication to embrace face to face contact and sharing of file across the world. Efforts are made by the public diplomacy to inform and also engage with those from foreign publics. State's intended audience has the mandate to distinguish public diplomacy from state to state diplomacy. Public diplomacy results to decisions that influences and informs foreign publics (what the state presents and how they will be reach them). Public private partnerships should be emphasized to bring new stakeholders on board to generate new trade ideas and other decisions pertaining to international political economic decisions. The process gives opportunities to businesses to conduct diplomacy branding which has effect on political, social and economic interests of a given state. With business diplomacy, businesses develop the capacity to listen to private actors than the way governments could do. Madaleine Albright (former state secretary) was for the idea that multinational corporation leadership to incorporate the stakeholders into the system. Public-private collaboration should focus on technology management in the diplomatic realm. Albright posited that expansion will mark a new beginning for diplomacy especially for Middle-East partnership. Elliot Scrage (Vice President) argues that usage of social media would promote diplomatic function especially when

listening to the local populations. Modern technology has enabled politicians and business practitioners to influence each other though it takes a long process to achieve diplomacy. Attention has been brought to diplomats that increased media usage can lead to cyber war, privacy loss and pervasive surveillance. In as much as network freedom is given to citizens, officials from the government can use the same technology to suppress people. Cyber-attacks are categorized as state and non-state based in their nature. They portray a more conflict-based than competitive environment. Problems may arise for lack of accountability that can affect stability of a nation. When abundance of information persists, governments become subject to the opinion of the public. Foreign ministries in the world may not have the procedural disposition on the abundance of information tools for integration. Integration of technology into diplomacy is based on how the diplomats deal with host and home government. Protocol misses out in institutions to absorb the information.

3.4 Challenges and Opportunities

The modern diplomacy applies new communication technology. This issues get its way to the core functions of diplomacy i.e. representation, communication and negotiation. Diplomacy practitioners develop much interest in the rise of the social media. People adjust from their analogue way of handling issues to absorb information in a new sphere of information sharing. It takes time for enthusiasts to put into practice the new statecraft in terms of digital diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, e-diplomacy as well as twiplomacy. In the digital age, social media should bring change in both domestic and international policy. Global environment is basically characterized by the relationship that state and non-states have thus complex webs in terms of diplomacy which

at some point become collaborative and other times competitive. Various patterns of policy, mutual dependency and actor linkages attract diversity of stakeholders.

Modern diplomatic practice is conceptualized by networking aspect which includes its digital dimension. The digital dimension implicates to practice diplomacy attached to rules on how people are engaged that involves public and private sectors. This also cuts across those officials doing interacting with people from outside. For those working for the government, willingness to adapt to the interface cultures should be encouraged to bring hierarchy in a working environment. New routines and redefining existing ones are created by the tools of the digital age. New dimensions are integrated into the new ones which appear in all human interaction atmospheres. Building of coalition and network diplomatically is affected by the digital developments showing its visibility in experimental human rights and in the field of development aid. Engagement opportunities are opened by digital domain. The domain also helps to support vulnerable citizens, building partnership to cooperate in development issues and encourages participation by the youth.

Traditional media gets way to conceptualize and visualize the news to reach out to large group effectively. The future expects integration of new and old communication modes though diplomacy uses the complex forms with its structures adapting to the new demands. Strategies should be developed to address the challenges brought about by the digital technologies. The book (new digital age) written by Cohen and Eric Schmidt (Google chairman) posit that the government has to come up with offline and online orientations and foreign policies in terms of revolution in communication technologies. The foreign ministries will have to redefine their roles and equip themselves with diplomatic skills. The new technology facilitates the required change while involving emerging digital space and the existing analogue. The issue of trust nationally and

internationally should be embraced. For example in the Malaysian airline case, there was failure in communication involving authorities from Indonesian and Malaysian which caused distrust among the public. Both countries did not take into consideration the multiplier effect brought about by the social media. There is a rise in many forms of diplomacy regarding complex policy agendas. Environmental threats are posed including cybercrime instabilities coming from fragile states. There is no rational processes of solving communication problems. Integration of offline and online will give a more balanced image of where diplomacy stands. Public and digital diplomacy has been mainstreamed. There is no way to treat the two separately.

Diplomacy that is networked should engage with broader constituencies increasing transparency in relationship in information sharing. It will enhance problem solving jointly and policy making that is collaborative. Diplomacy in its conventional nature cannot be replaced though digital diplomacy is in a position to elaborate why certain decisions were reached, outcome and how the process of foreign policy will be influenced. Technology brings impact on the hybrid modes of diplomacy that existed before. Luk Van Langenhove used ICT to explain how closed to open multilateralism has changed. It also includes diverse stakeholders from different network to act on the rising multifaceted policy agendas. Networked diplomacy is a preoccupation that is growing in Asian governments inclusive of Japan, South Korea and China.

Hanson termed e-diplomacy that uses new communications technologies to implement diplomatic objectives. In his study of digital diplomacy in 2012, he noted that the US state had started networked diplomacy conceptual work (moving from traditional to gathering of information in capitals). In this concept, embassies everywhere guard their information using a

networked approach. The relevant information is effectively shared between governments that are like-minded.

Networked diplomacy signify upgrading new functions conceptually, changing external stakeholders relationship to expand policy environments and shifting of roles.

Changing of diplomatic processes cause effect to successful diplomatic behavior requirements. Utilization of online and offline diplomatic network bring effectiveness in the horizontal flow of information that is shared in changing environments. By government accepting that the internal norms cannot be imposed to their external environment enhances their functioning.

Digital diplomacy gives analysis of the way diplomacy changes its character and in ways for example the social media causes impact to the process. Changes in neologisms i.e. twiplomacy reflects less how modification of diplomacy forms can take place. Diplomacy evolved due to increased number of diplomatic roles and its diverse activities. The contemporary diplomacy is based on service that deploys relevant skills. 'One size fits all' digital strategies should be encouraged. Web of issues and processes underlying negotiations and change in communication character should be checked. Diplomacy models vary on different agendas, arenas and also involving actors from different backgrounds. E.g. how social media is employed in campaigns for human rights. Governance that is networked enhances premium on networked diplomacy. Enhanced holistic strategies drive diplomatic spaces that are diverse. It encourages people to work towards accomplishment of goals and maximize their skills to develop proposals, concepts and data for consensus in action. ICT is tailored to address specific issues in a given area. Networking socially opened up new dynamics and opportunities for public diplomacy

Holmes posits that treating the digital agenda synonymously with public diplomacy, discussion can be narrowed downplaying diplomatic activity scope.

Zaharna recognizes these developments in terms of relational paradigm build relationships and networking aspect. Expanded digital communication helps to reach audiences from vast backgrounds. Segmentation of audiences is enhanced hence precise messaging. Digital communication also attracts big data utilization for policy development. In as much as the government is utilizing digital platforms, there is a challenge of losing its control. One of the central functions of diplomacy is to control and establishment of narratives. Government is challenged in the flow of communication that keeps on changing as argued by Manor.

3.5 Findings

MFAs observe the older patterns of public diplomacy by the use of social media platform. They focus on broadcasting of messages instead of direct dialogue with the target audience. Tensions arise among diplomats arising from traditional diplomatic norms and required standards of operating in a digitalized environment. Information sharing sometimes extends beyond the diplomatic wisdom therefore need for strategies to curb the situation. Conventional diplomatic wisdom is necessary to adapt to the changing norms. Social media should come up with strategies at the organization level to upgrade from old style practices of public diplomacy.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA ON FOREIGN POLICY IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the impact of the internet and social media on foreign policy in Kenya. It discusses how the social media has affected international security in Kenya, the use of social media by the Kenya government and challenges facing social media governance in Kenya. More so it discusses the importance of Kenya and nation branding in the international arena.

4.2 Overview of Social Media in Kenya

Kenya is recognized as a member of international community. The country is not immune to social media forces about its use and misuse. Social media introduces security and private measures. This includes the new vectors for cyber attack that cannot be ignored by the government and the military. Terrorist organizations like Al-shabaab and Al-Qaeda use the social media to spread propaganda to radicalize the audience. Hate, alarming and false information are sent to people on national security affairs. There are untraced unanimous users by law enforcers. Monitoring and tracking of the media usage becomes a challenge. National security should embark on a strategy to monitor content of the public conversations shared by them. Strengthening of geopolitical position of the state and international credibility becomes relevant though investing in complex technologies are costly especially to third world countries.

4.3 Social Media effect on Kenya's National Security and Foreign Policy

Insecurity whether from within and without has led Kenya to take an active role in regional security. E.g. Piracy experienced off the coast, criminal gangs, banditry and communal violence. Kenya has been of target in international terrorists attack, a serious concern for the security systems in Kenya.

In September 2013, there was a siege at the Westgate Mall in Nairobi. The shopping mall offer destination for elite, tourists and expatriates. The Nairobi bomb blast attack in 1988 and another terrorist attack and in 2002, Kikambala in Mombasa. Al-Shabaab has made small-scale attacks targeting civilians. Following such, Kenya invoked its constitutional right and invaded Somalia in 2011 and since then has increased military operations in Somalia to date.

Security officials have experienced serious challenges to deal with the complexity and nature of terrorist activities in Kenya. Such rising insecurity, coupled with kidnappings along the Kenya-Somali border, led in the enhancement of Kenyan military in Somalia. However, with an increased attention to security issues countrywide, presence of real security threats are still very ripe, by the availability of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), hand grenades and other small arms.

In the wake of increasing terrorism incidents, technology (social media and other forms) has a role in facilitation of terrorist's social and political discourse. Social media as a tool used by terrorist groups makes this insecurity scenario worse and more complex in nature and operations. Scholars argue political and social movements facilitate their operations by use of social media e.g. recruitment, training and communication of the youth by Al-Shabaab started with social media. Fundraising to organize attacks and for the payment of its members took advantage of the

social media (cyber-crime). Similarly, Al-Qaeda use YouTube and Facebook to increase Jihad-supporters. Islamist groups also use the social media to spread propaganda on successful terrorist attacks with the aim to make Kenya panic. The propaganda can cause serious damages to the country than even those caused by terrorists attacks themselves. Those social networks grow with connections provided by technology framework. More specifically, social media communicates information that is coded. Terrorists acts are planned and management of the training of the new recruits. They give directives on how to overcome a roadblock.

4.4 Kenya Military and Use of Social Media

All governments influence the public through the media despite the media abhor being managed. Global information networks create challenges to manage the news as the networks attached transmits information instantly. The relationship the media and the official establishment have is considered adversarial. Normally, it is not easy to customize news to target one audience since it spills over to other audiences. The military offer the best news management systems with diverse options for standpoint communication. Leaders get interested in what home media relay rather than reaching to the foreign publics via the media in those countries that have visited. Foreign ministries try to ensure equal priority is given to the latter. The Diaspora should spread the messages of a given country and boost its image.

Mbuguawa Mungai argued that media coverage of events that focus solely on national issues and exclude peoples experiences in everyday life does not do people or peace justice. He argued that coverage of Kenyan's experiences of conflicts failed to represent effectively the conflict situation and the condition the people are in. He added that merely presenting the voice of

the officials and government agents who may not be presented at conflicts scenes instead of giving out the opinions and experiences of the public on the ground.

In an unprecedented television coverage to the post-election violence effect on displaced families, Citizen TV brought to the homes of Kenyans in February 2008 images of what life in internally displaced people's camps looked like. The channel also engaged the voices of survivors of the violence as well as families who had lost children and other family members. This enabled Kenyans to feel the pain of their brothers and sisters living as refugees in their own country. Kenyans then mobilized through churches, mosques, social groups, NGO's and the international community to get food, clothes and other necessities to the families living in the camps.⁴ In Kenya, Military uses Diplomacy as an active tool to disseminate and gather information. Through various platforms like Facebook, blogs, twitter and emails, Kenyans can express their opinions towards an issue e.g. Kenyans leant on the results of the general election in 2002 and 2007 through their mobile phones but not the conventional media.

As much as the internet plays an important role in getting Kenyan stories out into the world, where people could be rescued from situations of grave danger because an SMS was sent via the internet, the virtual media can also be seen as a 'double-edged sword'. Mungai also states that Diaspora Kenyans used virtual media such as internet chat rooms and email to actively summon their kinsmen resident in Kenya to dismember the country.

In Kenya the internet has in recent times gained a massive following and is regularly exploited in place such as cybercafés, work place, at home and anywhere through handheld devices and portable electronic devices such as laptops and tablets. The speed and volume of information

⁴ Ibid

available online is cheap to obtain at peoples convenience. The internet's prominence as a medium of accessing information is in the urban areas where internet is accessed through wireless devices. The internet remains weak in some rural areas due to network and high prices. However, cutthroat competition between internet providers has in recent times been pushing the prices down. The recent entry of the fiber optic network in the country has brought the growth of the electronic media. A major drawback in the use of internet remains lack of policies that promote strong and independent.

4.5 Social media Use by the Kenyan Government

The Kenyan government is led by the Jubilee government with its branding as the 'digital government'. It purposed to digitalize its operations in various sectors. In as much as it has not achieved it's digitalization in various sectors, it is marked higher compared to other governments where operations were done manually. President Uhuru Kenyatta was ranked by the Digital Impact Awards Africa (2014) as the most active president in Africa which was done via twitter and Whatsapp. In his pages, there were at least one post with comments responded by his government team. The local TV interviewed President Kenyatta who agreed that he sometimes engages Kenyans through the social media at personal level. He also uses the platform to gauge citizens mood on a given issues for decision making purposes. Various government departments use social media to communicate to the public explaining what they are doing. The Kenya defense forces in its operation 'Linda Nchi' against Alshabaab used its official twitter handles named 'Kenya defense forces 2014' to give citizens progress report of the operation. The chief justice and

president of the Supreme Court give updates to the citizens on matters pertaining to judicial arm of the government.

Social media can be a channel to gain mass support .e.g. In Kenya the government use Facebook and twitter to seek support when they want to make major decisions. For example, before tabling bills in parliament or before signing them into law, the president and his deputy requests for Kenyans views. The interaction gives the marginalized individuals to participate in decisions pertaining their lives. Chief Kariuki of Lanet uses twitter to curb crime in this place (referred to as the tweeting chief). Through this aspect, enhancement of Nyumba Kumi ((Kiswahili phrase meaning ten households) was realized. Communication on matters of gender based violence, crime etc are followed through phones and verbally. Digital technology cannot be ignored by the Kenyan government leading to incorporation of ICT in its operational structures. Social media can promote country's ethics and good governance. Freedom of expression is encouraged and information is easily accessible.

4.6 Challenges Facing Social media Governance in Kenya

In the 21st century, states revolutions are not a guarantee that they will televise but likely to be communicated via other social media platforms. Social media if not controlled keenly can be used to destroy and cause conflict. According to global economic crime survey, challenges faced by social media are as follows; cyber utopianism (belief that any online communication is emancipator). Believes that the internet does not favor the oppressor but the oppressed. Elite view cyber utopianism as stubborn as it plants ideas in the users that cannot be practiced. E.g. in Kenya, citizens criticized the west gate business terror attack. They analyzed on twitter how the Kenya

defense and police forces handled the events. A lot of criticisms were made giving terrorists lee way to divide Kenyans. Cyber crime has been on the rise threatening security and privacy of citizens. In Africa, Kenya is in fourth rank in terms of cyber crime after Egypt, Algeria and South Africa. The various major types of crime likely to be encountered in the cyberspace include the following:

Spams, Scams and Phishing

Spam is defined as the unwanted email sent to a list or group of emails advertising a particular product. Spams are meant to lure the social network users to give vital personal information of the unsuspecting users. Scamming is a situation where people send messages or emails bearing links to users asking for profile information. They inform the users that they would add new followers. Scammers receive the personal details and end up misusing their details in that link. Phishing on the other hand is whereby one creates a fake site that is similar to the original site created. Fake messages come up like specialized themes are being offered. They also update security features and profile. In order to view such updates, the user opens the link and log into it. Thereafter, the attacker steals your credentials.

Click jacking and Viruses. Click jacking is a technique maliciously used to trick web users to reveal their confidential details or they can take control of their while clicking on web pages considered innocuous. Due to browsers vulnerability, it takes a shape of embedded script running without the knowledge of the user. The same scenario follows the domain of the social network. The users get tricked to click on the icons hence trigger running of the background processes without the knowledge of the person using it. Computers get infected with malicious applications while installing the software. They are acquired when you try to open applications connected to

social networking so as to start the installation process. The application asks for certain privileges like accessibility to basic education, updates on the user's wall etc. The criminal sends software that is malicious to computer user to gain access then a link is sent via social media.

Social hacking aim at getting access to information restricted without permission from the user. Hacking impersonates group or an individual directly or indirectly known to the victims through authority representation.

Kenya offers its citizens the right to freedom of expression. Freedom of speech and hate speech should be clearly defined. Differentiation between objectionable content (not prohibited) and harmful content (prohibited) should be differentiated. Communication in social media is not on face to face basis; therefore, users tend to bring a sense of humor and mockery. What follows is a serious debate to address failed attempt to manipulate Kenyans.

4.7 Kenya's International Branding

In a global information village, communication is considered to take place by use of sound bites as well as stereotypes. Globalization brings a view to us that the remote has gotten comfortable. The nation act as a brand viewed by individuals through shorthand that hues tourism/business exercises and the legislative aspect. The pictures portrayed are so intense thus causing a nation to enhance on the way people look at it. They re-brand themselves to their advantages both immaterially and substantially. Open discretion is important to effectively advance culture, values and picture. Ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya is aware of the need to utilize accessible systems for networking to engage partners on the nation's foreign policy.

In the context of carrying out brand concerns, image carries several meanings; it involves the reputation of a country, inflow and memorable slogan of tourism and external economic relations which includes inflow of trade and foreign direct investment (FDI). Business enterprises tend to do business countries bearing good reputation to avoid media and shareholder pressure but to some extent they are forced to engage with states they dislike.

Myriad actions are the fourth image. It ranges the treatment of the visitors when entering airport entry points and during visa application which extends to home brand reputation and products. This affects the government image at both abroad and at home. If self image is damaged and of embarrassment, it can affect the political standing of the government back at home. Country image is of great importance which translates to sound politics. Diaspora community can be of great help to boost a countries picture. If Diaspora groups don't believe in its administration, they cannot give partnership in the efforts for legislatures open strategy. Nanjira points out that in Kenya, emerging issues pose some challenges in foreign policy and diplomacy. Time changes calling for constant updates in diplomacy initiatives and foreign policy. Kenya is geographically and strategically placed with potentiality for trade and tourism. Based on this, the government of Kenya should develop a foreign policy posture that is aggressive to boost its image globally. Kenya foreign policy try to satisfy the people needs multi dimensionally in combination with multilateralism and bilateralism.

Natural disasters and diseases such as HIV/AIDS challenge diplomacy of business and trade, culture and development. Kenya must institutionally develop to be at par with international partners. E-diplomacy through social media is unavoidable where international community is involved.

4.8 Findings

Kenya must implement public diplomacy and strategic communication successfully to address the mass and audiences specifically targeted. Public can broadly be reached by use the media such as radio, internet and television. Public diplomacy efforts are directed to leaders and experts whose roles affect opinions and decisions of other people. Information boarders flow where international politics and affairs affect more actors. There is accountability in Kenya's diplomacy mostly influenced by interest group lobbies and public debate. New ways of communicating foreign policies and ways of assessing should be adopted. Therefore, public diplomacy encourages inclusiveness and collaborative measures to engage the public effectively in two-way manner.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 Introduction

The chapter offers the study's findings, analysis and discussion after the collection of data from the respondents.

5.1 Response Rate

The study employed the use of semi-structured questionnaires (open ended and closed ended questions) as its primary method of collecting data from respondents. Out of 200 questionnaires distributed to respondents for responses, 132 questionnaires were successfully filled and collected in time. This represented a response rate of 66% which the researcher considered adequate to derive a reliable conclusion for the study.

5.2 Demographic Characteristics

Demographic data of the respondents collected for this study included gender, age, and highest professional qualification. These demographic characteristics were collected from respondents to determine if there was a representation of all genders in the responses, whether respondents were old enough for participation and also if the responses offered were valid. The study limited itself to demographic characteristics that it considered relevant to the objectives of the study.

5.2.1 Gender

Out of 132 respondents who participated, 77 were males representing 58% and 55 were females representing 42%. The study therefore finds that responses gathered represent those of both genders from the target population.

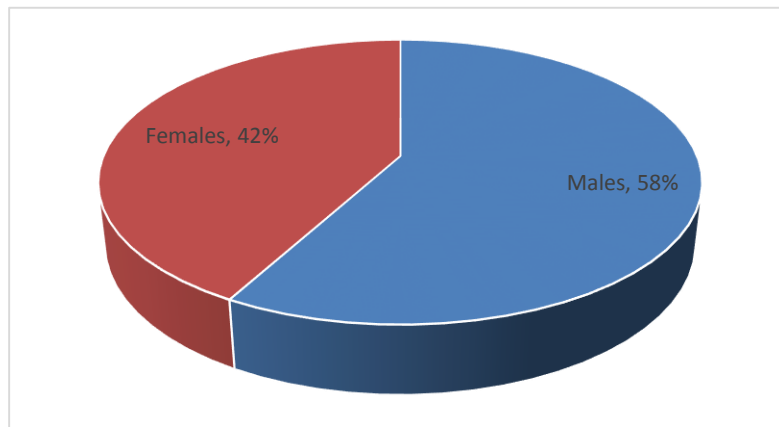
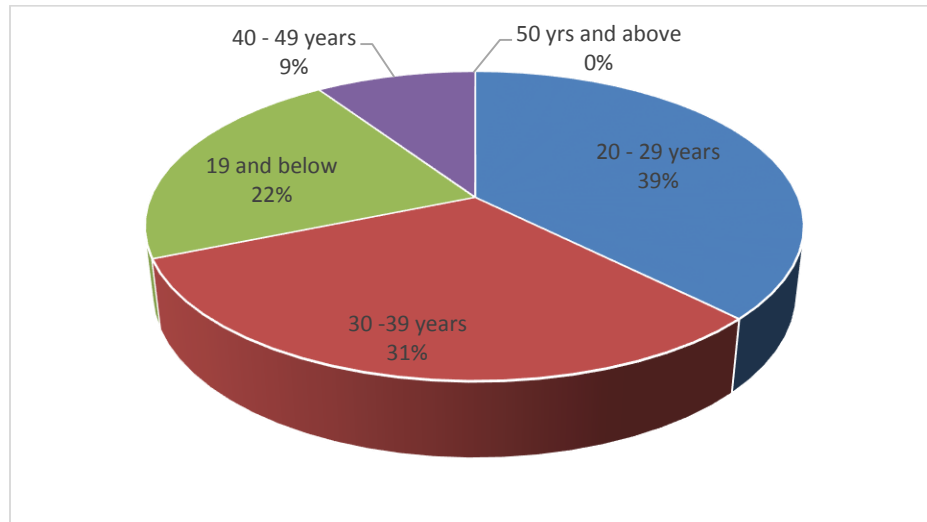


Figure 1: Gender of respondents

5.2.2 Age

Many respondents who participated in this study were between ages 20 – 29 and 30 – 39 years, with 36% and 30% respectively. 21% were aged 19 years and below, 9% were in the age group between 40 – 49 years and 4% were 50 years and above. Most respondents for the study can therefore be considered to have been old enough to participate in the study.

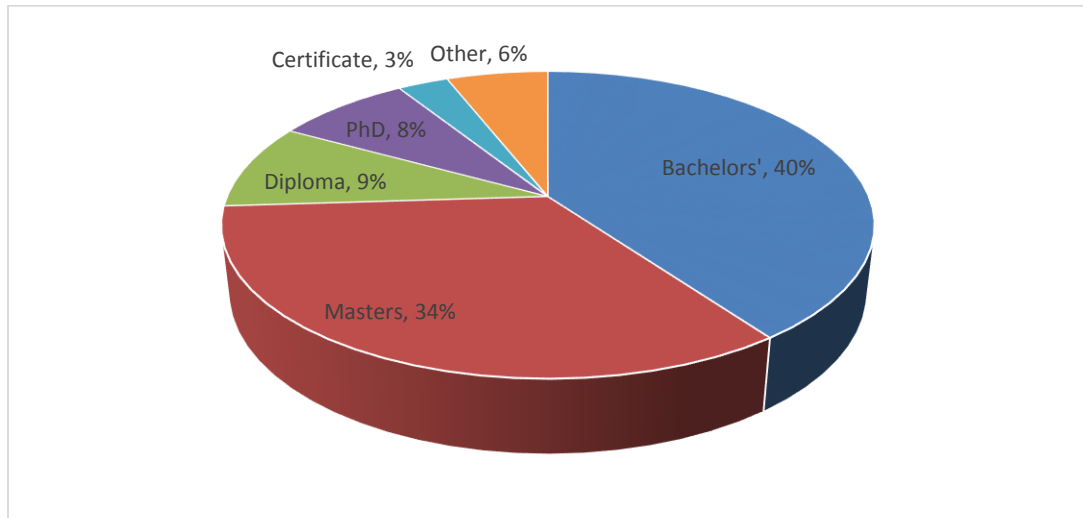
Figure 2: Age Group of respondents



5.2.3 Highest Professional Qualification

Respondents having bachelors' and masters' degree as their highest professional qualification were the majority for this study at 40% and 34% respectively. Those with diploma constituted 9%, those with PhD were 8%, 'other' constituted 6% and certificate 3%. Ascertaining highest professional qualification was important for the study in ascertaining a respondent's ability to comprehend the items in the questionnaire hence the validity of the responses offered. The study therefore having most of the respondents having obtained a particular professional qualification makes most of the responses obtained valid.

Figure 3: Highest Professional Qualification



5.3 Social Media Characteristics of Respondents

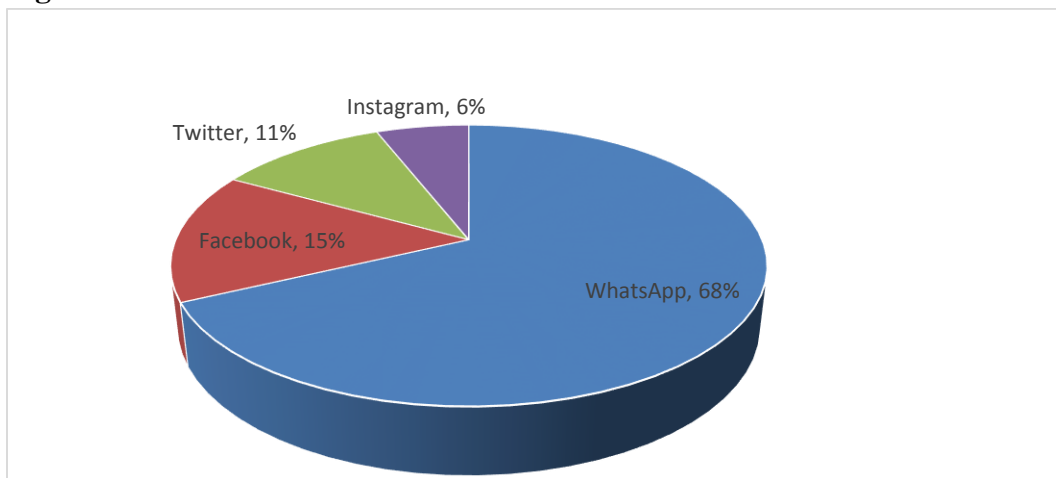
This study sought to determine respondents' social media traits like their favourite social media site, the device they preferred to use in accessing social media, and why they preferred using that particular device for accessing social media. Obtaining data on the social media characteristics of the respondents was important for the study in ascertaining if respondents were conversant with matters touching on social media and whether they were capable of answering the key questions of the study.

5.3.1 Favourite Social Media Site

WhatsApp ranked the highest as the favourite social media site for respondents at 68% followed by Facebook at 15%, Twitter 11% and Instagram 6%. No respondent ticked and specified 'other'. Dominant reasons offered for WhatsApp being a favourite social media site was because it was more interactive and suited the needs of the respondents more than the other social media sites. Most respondents that chose Facebook as their preferred social media site reported that it has

functionalities that enables them to tag other users and that the use of phone contacts was not necessary to connect to other users. The study notes that Twitter and Instagram are not so popular among respondents and the common themes emerging from the responses is that respondents find them less interesting in content and monotonous in their functionalities. The study finds that even though certain social media sites gained more popularity than others, the respondents who participated in the study used social media and therefore possessed some background knowledge on what the study was seeking to investigate.

Figure 4: Favourite Social Media Site

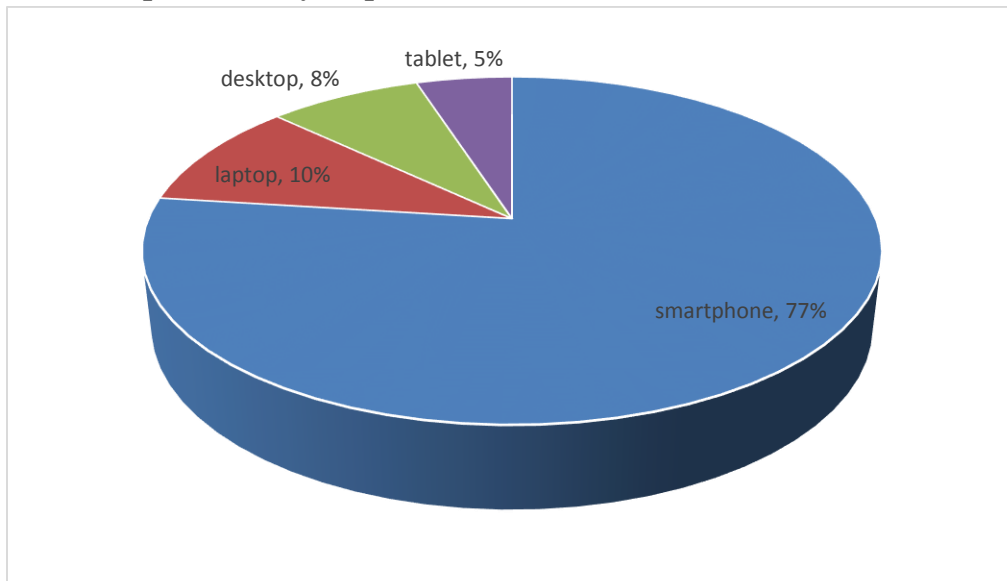


5.3.2 Device preferred by respondents to access social media

The study sought to know what kind of device respondents preferred most to access social media and asked for reasons why. Smart phones were respondents most preferred way of accessing social media with 77% choosing smart phones, followed by 10% of respondents preferring laptops, 8% preferring desktop computers and 5% having a preference for tablets. Many of the respondents that chose smart phones as their preferred way of accessing social media noted that it was the only device that they owned and took with them anywhere they went so it automatically became their

device of choice in accessing social media. The study finds that majority of the respondents preferred a smart phone in accessing social media and therefore indicates that accessing social media is easy and can be done anywhere.

Figure 5: Device preferred by respondents to access social media

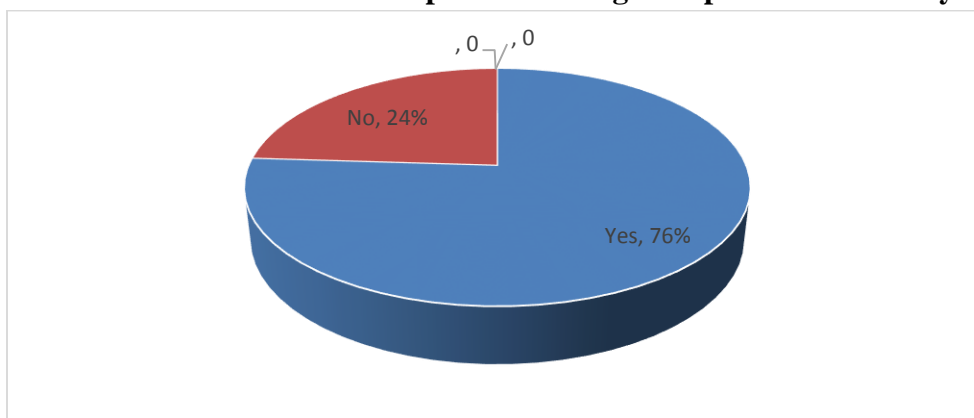


5.4 Global Peace and Security

Respondents were asked under this section whether they agreed or disagreed that social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security and how. Those who agreed with the question were further asked how they thought social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security. Findings indicate that 76% of respondents agree that it has influenced the promotion of global peace and security while 24% of the respondents did not agree it has influenced the promotion of global peace and security. Regarding how the social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security, all the responses offered were grouped and

three common themes generated. The common themes were that social media has afforded individuals and societies around the world a platform to gain and share information, express their views, and interact with each other. A frequency analysis of the common themes generated indicates that 29% of respondents find it as a platform in which individuals and societies can gain and share information, 28% of the respondents stated individuals and societies can express their views, and 25% individuals and societies can interact with each other. 18% of respondents did not offer any response as to how they thought social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security which may imply a lack of awareness by the respondents as to the influence of social media in the promotion of global peace and security. The study therefore finds that social media has afforded individuals and societies around the world a platform in which they can gain and share information, express their views, and interact with each other thus influencing and promoting the message of peace and security around the globe that can transform individuals and societies.

Figure 6: Influence of social media in promotion of global peace and security

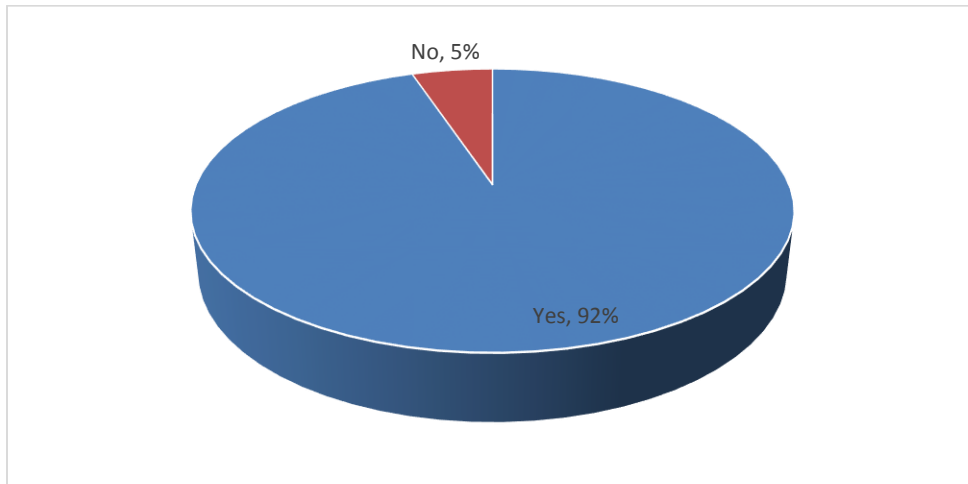


5.5 Advancement of Economic Development

Respondents were asked their opinion if social media has made any contribution to the advancement of Kenya's economy. The study further required those who responded 'yes' to state and explain what contributions social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy. Findings indicate that 92% of responses were ticked 'yes' that social media has made contributions to the advancement of Kenya's economy while 5% of the responses were ticked 'no' that social media has made no contributions to the advancement of Kenya's economy. 3% of respondents offered no response as to how social media has made contributions to the advancement of Kenya's economy. Which could indicate their lack of knowledge as to how social media has made contributions to the advancement of Kenya's economy. Since majority of respondents marked 'yes' the study finds that social media has made a contribution to the advancement of Kenya's economy.

Respondents who marked 'yes' were further asked to state and explain what contributions they thought social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy. The responses were grouped and three common themes generated. The common themes were job creation, promotion of businesses, and skill acquisition. A frequency analysis of the common themes indicates that 42% of respondents think that social media has offered a platform for promotion of businesses, 36% has created jobs, and 14% has offered an avenue for skill acquisition. 8% of respondents offered no response as to the contributions that social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy even though they marked 'yes'. The study therefore finds that the contributions that social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy includes the provision of an avenue for the promotion of businesses, creation of jobs, and a platform for acquisition of skills.

Figure 7: Contribution social has made to the advancement of Kenya’s economy



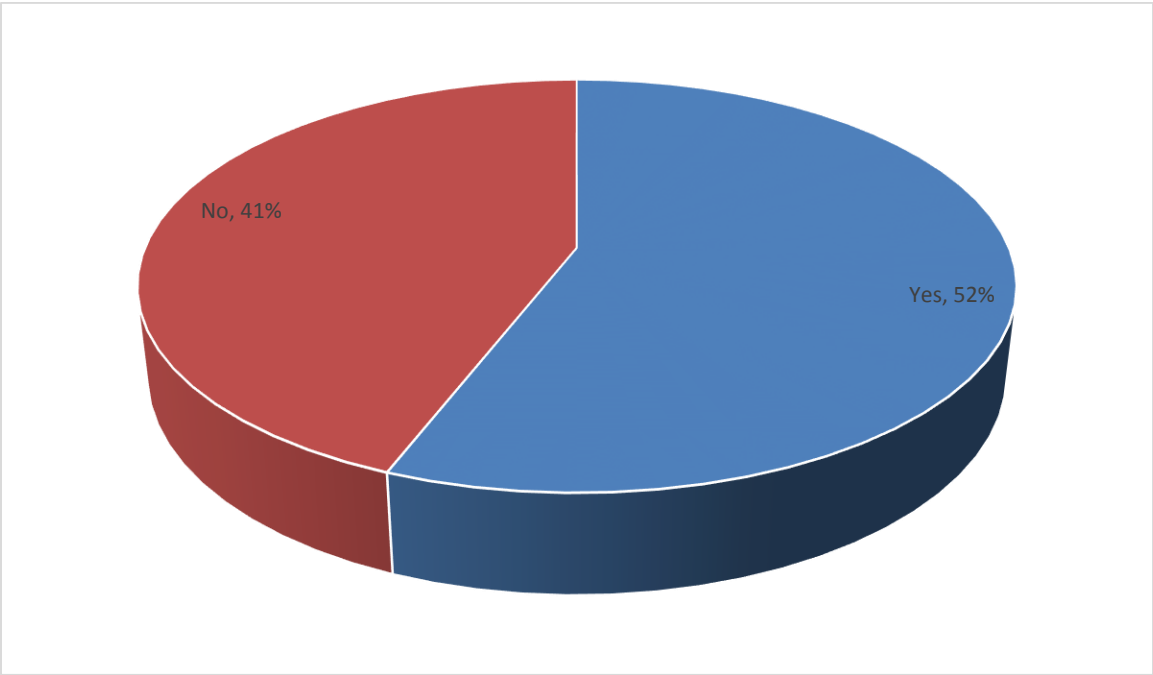
5.6 Advancing Kenya’s National Interest

Findings indicate that 52% of respondents agree that social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya’s national interest while 41% disagree. 7% of respondents offered no response. Based on the majority of the responses, the study finds that social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya’s national interest.

Three common themes emerge from the respondents as the impact of social media: it has helped frame Kenya’s identity and how Kenya wishes to be perceived by other countries; social media has offered an alternative platform to the traditional channels of communication; social media has been a tool for achievement of national goals and an avenue for promotion of interests like foreign policy goals. A frequency analysis of the common themes indicates that 32% of respondents think social media has been a tool for the achievement of Kenya’s national goals and an avenue for promotion of interests like foreign policy goals, 30% think that it has offered an alternative platform to the traditional channels of communication and in turn changed how national

interests are pursued in international relations, and 18% think that social media has helped frame Kenya's identity and how Kenya wishes to be perceived by other countries. 20% of respondents elicited no response. On the impact social media has made in advancing Kenya's national interests the study finds that social media has helped shape Kenya's identity and how it wishes to be perceived globally, social media has offered an alternative platform to the traditional channels of communication, and has been a tool that has assisted Kenya in the achievement of national goals and promotion of interests like foreign policy goals

Figure 8: Impact social media has made in advancing Kenya's national interest



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study based on the findings.

6.1 Summary

The study sought to investigate the role and impact of social media in advancing foreign policy interests of host states with a special focus on Kenya. Its objectives were to find out how social media influences promotion of global peace and security, what social media has contributed to the advancement of economic development, and what has been the impact of social media in advancing Kenya's national interest. The research employed descriptive research design because it can depict variables and answer what, who and how questions. Primary method of data collection was by use of semi-structured questionnaires (open ended and closed ended questions) and achieved a response rate 66%. Demographic data of respondents collected for the study included gender, age, and highest professional qualification. The research obtained more male respondents than female respondents. Majority of the respondents were ages between 20 to 29 years followed by those between 30 to 39 years. Respondents having bachelors' degree as their highest professional qualification were the majority for the study followed by those with masters' degree. Social media site WhatsApp was considered as the most favourite social media site among respondents followed by Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Major reasons offered for WhatsApp

being a favourite social media site was because it was more interactive and suited the needs of respondents more than the other social media sites. The study finds that even though respondents preferred certain social media sites to others, all the respondents were using social media and therefore possessed some background knowledge on what the study sought to investigate. Majority of the respondents preferred a smart phone in accessing social media which indicates that smart phones have facilitated an easier access to social media which can be done anywhere. 76% of respondents agree that social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security while 24% of the respondents do not agree that social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security. Besides a majority of the respondents agreeing that social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security, the study finds that social media has afforded individuals and societies around the world a platform in which they can gain and share information, express their views, and interact with each other thus influencing and promoting global peace and security around the world.

Findings of the study also reveal that 92% of respondents agreed that social media contributed to the advancement of Kenya's economy while 5% reported there is no contribution to the advancement of Kenya's economy. The contributions that the study finds that social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy includes the provision of an avenue for the promotion of businesses, creation of jobs, and a platform for acquisition of skills among users.

On the impact social media has made in advancing Kenya's national interests like foreign policy with other countries, findings indicate that 52% of the respondents agree that social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya's national interest while 41% of the respondents disagree. The study finds that social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya's national interest and

has helped frame Kenya's identity and how Kenya wishes to be perceived by other countries; social media has offered an alternative platform to the traditional channels of communication; social media has been a tool for achievement of national goals and an avenue for promotion of interests including foreign policy goals

6.2 Conclusion

Based on the research findings, the study concludes that social media has had a role in advancing Kenya's national interest including foreign policy and has in turn made an impact on Kenya's national interest. Social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security and afforded individuals and societies around the world a platform in which they can gain and share information, express their views, and interact with each other thus influencing and promoting global peace and security around the world. The high use of smart phones as has been established by this study has facilitated easier access to social media which has enhanced information sharing among people who have in turn spread the message of peace and security. It has therefore offered a platform to influence and promote global peace and security. Social media has also made contributions to the advancement of Kenya's economy which includes the provision of an avenue for the promotion of businesses, creation of jobs, and a platform for acquisition of skills among users. The ability afforded by social media to gain and share information with a large population has bridged the divide amongst people and transformed how individuals interact thus its immense impact in advancement of Kenya's economy. The platform has therefore boosted Kenya in the achievement of national goals and promoted interests in foreign policy which has in turn shaped Kenya's identity and how it is perceived by other countries

6.3 Recommendations

This study makes the following recommendations:

- Given the ever changing nature of technology, it is important for future studies to ascertain how the changes in technology is changing how states utilize social media for the promotion of global peace and security.
- This study is only a representation of the role and impact of social media in advancing national interests like foreign policy of a host state, a need exists for a thorough understanding of how social media has got the potential to shape and transform all aspects of international relations and the available possibilities for change.
- Empirical studies need to be conducted to assess the level of people's awareness on the economic potentialities of social media in Kenya and how their exploitation of the medium can help advance the economy. Such empirical investigations will help complement the conceptual findings of this study and aid in modifying, debunking or validating the findings.

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APPENDIX I : QUESTIONNAIRE

CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)

NAME: MAXWELL MASAVA

REGISTRATION NO: R51/7355/2017

DESIGNATION: MASTERS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES STUDENT, IDIS

MOBILE NO: 0721 327334

PROJECT TITLE: Role and Impact of Social media in Advancing Foreign Policy Interest of Host States: A Case Study of Kenya.

Please tick

I confirm that I have understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. []

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw any time without giving reason. []

I agree to take part in the above study. []

Name of participant

Signature

Date

.....

.....

.....

Name of Researcher

Signature

Date

.....

.....

.....

Part A: Introduction

Dear respondent, my name is Maxwell Masava a student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a Master of Diplomacy degree at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. As part of fulfilling the requirements for my course, I am conducting a study titled Role and Impact of Social Media in Advancing Foreign Policy Interests of Host States: Case Study of Kenya.

Your response is required in this questionnaire to assist in determining the various research objectives of the project and subsequently facilitate its completion. Your response is highly appreciated.

Please note that all the information given is confidential and for research purpose only.

Part B: Demographic Data

- 1. Gender Male [] Female []
- 2. Age 19 years and below [] 20 – 29 years [] 30 – 39 years []
 40 – 49 years [] 50 years and above []
- 3. Highest professional qualification
 Certificate [] Diploma [] Bachelor [] Masters [] PhD []
 Other (specify)

Part B: Social media Characteristics of Respondent

- 4. What is your favourite social media site?
 Facebook [] WhatsApp [] Instagram [] Twitter []
 Other (specify)
 Please state why?.....
- 5. Which device do you prefer to use in accessing social media?
 Smart Phone [] Desktop Computer [] Laptop [] Tablet []
 Please give reasons?.....

Part C: Global Peace and Security

6. Do you agree or disagree that social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security?

(i) Agree []

(ii) Disagree []

If you agree with the above, how do you think social media has influenced the promotion of global peace and security?

Part C: Advancement of Economic Development

7. Do you think that social media has made any contribution to the advancement of Kenya's economy?

Yes [] No []

If yes, what are the contributions you can think of that social media has made to the advancement of Kenya's economy?

Part D: Advancing Kenya's Social Interest

8. Do you believe social media has made an impact in advancing Kenya's national interests like foreign policy?

Agree [] Disagree []

What do you think has been the impact of social media in advancing Kenya's national interest like foreign policy with other countries?

APPENDIX II: NACOSTI AUTHORIZATION LETTER



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NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
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Ref No: 850808

Date of Issue: 01/November/2019

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