UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

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EFFECTS OF MEDIA ON THE DECISIONS MADE BY GOVERNMENTS WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN POLICY: A CASE OF KENYA'S MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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DECLARATION

I, Pauline Matano hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed…………………………………… Date…………………………..

Pauline Matano

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed………………………………….. Date…………………………….

Dr. Patrick Maluki

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my parents Grace and William Matano and my beloved Faith and Witness.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This research will seek to generate debate on how media has impacted on foreign policy decisions in Kenya. The general objective of this study is to establish the effects of media on foreign policy decisions by the Ministry of Foreign affairs in Kenya and to establish the contribution of public opinion expressed on media to foreign policy decisions. To examine agenda setting by online communities and the significance of media as a communication tool to foreign policy decisions. The study tested three research hypotheses which are: Public opinion expressed on media has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions, Agenda setting by online communities has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions and Media as a communication tool has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions. The findings suggest that individual Kenyans' foreign trade policy preferences are quite rational and competent. People subject their international trade policy preferences not only to the information furnished by the news media, but also to their predispositions on national advancement objectives and destinations for Wealth and Employment Creation. While more research is needed to make more generalizable conclusions and to evaluate the impact of various factors in foreign policy agenda-setting, this research provides a basis for further exploration and for inclusion of think tanks into the foreign policy agenda-setting research.

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ABBEVIATIONS

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
B2B	Business-to-business
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
CNN	Cables News Network
E-GORVERMENT	Electronic Governance
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HIV / AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ISP	Internet Service Providers
IT	Information Technology
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LANs	Local Area Network
MFA, s	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO's	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of Africa Union
PCs	Personal Computers
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WAN	Wide Area Network
WWII	World War II

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The technological revolution has resulted in media advancements in the shape of the internet, social media, and other highly developed communication technologies. These improvements have had their consequences on both local and universal legislative issues. This study will give an applied review of the impacts of media on Foreign Policy choices by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya. This study will draw upon a neo-liberal hypothetical structure for examination. It will show how media can be a way to quay household political developments and also an instrument for determination of the interstate, provincial, worldwide and worldwide administration concerns. To attest media's noteworthiness, this study will defy worldwide relations' most abrogating hypothetical tradition, authenticity. It will challenge its primary suppositions about force by looking at the writings of imperative realist scholars. This study will then guess that media is adding to the mounting impact of outside arrangement, and is putting forth a phase for the broadening of engagement in residential and universal legislative issues.

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

Mechanical improvements have modernized correspondences. Media has increased the speed and brought down the expense of correspondence on an excellent scale in mankind's history. It has additionally encouraged the change of platform, for example, online networking, containing virtual social orders of socially connected systems, allowing for synchronized correspondence and circulation of content, pictures, recordings, and other substance starting with one range of the world then onto the next.

Media has re-depicted the connection amongst makers and clients of online data and has as of late extended both in its mechanical abilities and its all inclusive scope. Media's amalgamation impact has come about not just in the extension of global political and social activism additionally to worldwide attempts to unwind between state and universal administration matters, including people, states and non-state performing artists with practically equivalent to and also incongruent motivation. Moreover, upheld by globalization, media is encouraging the mounting impact of delicate force in universal legislative issues.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Castells[1] posit that the materialization of a contemporary correspondence framework depicted by its ability for intuitiveness is adjusting and will perpetually change our lifestyle. This affirmation by the day's end suggests that media will have a tremendous impact upon the home and universal legislative issues. The hurried change of media in the creating parts of the globe has had broad political repercussions over the previous decade in fortifying grassroots activism, the compass of majority rules system and human rights rehearses, and has more as of late gave a mechanical assembly to marshal city dissents in the Arab world . The drudge of erudite people in the most recent decade of the twentieth century painted the media's capacity as a potential impetus for vote based system and thought the borders and capability of media as a method for influencing remote arrangement and global relations.

Alan Kluver has watched that cutting edge media is not prevailing over more traditional types of media in propelling open talk concerning remote strategy and worldwide relations. Numerous others have differentiated this perspective, and in its place have upheld the

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[1] M. Castells. Communication Power. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 388.

perspective of present day media as a progressive mechanical assembly to advance open political discourses. This examination demonstrates that the field of outside strategy and worldwide relations has just lately occupied with the advancement of media and its deductions for worldwide governmental issues. Kegley proliferated for the estimation of popular supposition in the worldwide age by keeping up that world conclusion is caught promptly and made known all around in the period of all inclusive correspondences, creating a conclusion to the partition amongst home and remote undertakings, as they have gotten to be one. This perhaps gives details why the US regardless of retaining the biggest military spending in the world, it is little by little changing its strategy, and within foreign policy, it is putting larger significance on operating in softer areas, by means of social media as its leading apparatus in making use of its soft power[2]. This shows that a few countries have taken modern media somberly and have prepared purposeful measures to take advantage of prospects that come with it. In the developing world like Kenya however, there is little evidence if any to show the effect of media on foreign policy. This proposed study, therefore, seeks to generate debate on how media has impacted on foreign policy decisions in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives

General Objective

The general objective of this study was to establish the effects of media on foreign policy decisions by the Ministry of Foreign Policy and International Trade in Kenya.

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[2] Keohane R.O. and Nye J.S. "Power and Interdependence in the Information age" Foreign Affairs, vol. 77 no. 5 (1998), pp 81-94, p 85.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives include:

1. To establish the contribution of public opinion expressed on media to foreign policy decisions.

2. To examine agenda setting by online communities and its contribution to foreign policy decisions

3. To determine the significance of media as a communication tool and its contribution to foreign policy decisions.

1.4 Justification of the Research Problem

The findings of this study will have implications for policy and practice. The findings of this study may provide useful information for policy making by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya. An understanding of public opinion on domestic and international issues could shape policies that align with aspirations of many citizens. This not only gives legitimacy to the process of policy making but also makes it participatory as citizens' views in the form of feedback are taken into account by the policy makers.

The findings of this study may also inform best practices by ministry officials on the use of media in shaping foreign policy decisions. The feedback that the ministry officials get when they use media to communicate foreign policy issues to the public may enhance their work. This creates a win-win situation where ministry officials get assistance and help from feedback on foreign policy issues through media and the public gets to know what is happening and the intentions of their policy makers. Information on some of the services offered at the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs and International Trade and where to get them could be relayed through the media. This not only saves costs but also makes service delivery more efficient. It is in the backdrop of these potential benefits that make a study on effects of media on the decisions made by governments with regard to foreign policy relevant.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature

Kegley claimed that the liberal hypothesis' trust in the utilization of the force of thoughts through training to incite world popular sentiment contrary to war helps to clarify the achievement online networking has had up to this point. Also, it will keep on having more achievement even later on in searching for resolutions to differences inside global relations[3].

Briggs and Burke[4] noted that the rise of the thought of popular assessment in the late eighteenth century and sympathy toward the supposition of the masses can be moved back to the mid nineteenth century. The criticalness of popular feeling has by the day's end been impacted by mechanical developments that have helped interchanges in the course of recent hundreds of years. Similarly, online networking has encouraged quick correspondence on an unparalleled scale in the twenty-first century.

Media have allowed expanding quantities of individuals to expressive requests, offer suppositions, and move the political motivation. With the development of the working class and the broadening range of correspondence force, there is likely to be a materialization of a larger

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[3] C. W. Jr. Kegley. World Politics: trend and transformation, 12th ed. Boston: Cengage Learning, 2008, pp 32-33.

[4] A. Briggs and P. Burke. A Social History of the Media, From Gutenburg to the Internet. Cambridge: Polity, 2009, p 1.

category of citizens that is more occupied in politically-inspired associations or networks that are likely to be converted into a ground of conflict and tension between states, and also between individuals and private organizations[5].

Media has unmistakably unlocked a space to air protests and political aspirations. As instruction, pay, and Internet access increment, formerly sidelined actors in governance matters such as women have turned out to be fruitful consumers and users of media which has made them become progressively more equipped for irritating their social orders and administration. Craftsman and Drezner watched that media might change the balance of force amongst people and the state in courses up until now understudied[6].

The improvement of media together with the populace development of the working class in the coming decades does not just stance challenges for governments; it likewise introduces uncommon open doors. As a growing white collar class likens to a rising populace of clients of online correspondences innovations, and also social networking, better open doors will surface for approach creators to relate with their constituents and residents on an unmatched scale. Governments can now work all the more specifically mutually with their constituents to advance the trading of thoughts. Residents of nations worldwide can now without trouble manufacture relations and make collusions with Diaspora people group and non-administrative associations around the globe to endeavor affecting the arrangements of both their own legislature and the strategies in regards to universal administration matters. Existing advances of media concerning

[5] "Global Trends 2030 – Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World", p 15.
[6] C. Carpenter and D. Drezner. "International Relations 2.0: The Implications of New Media for an Old Profession", International Studies Perspective vol. 11 2010, pp 255-272, p 260.

two-way correspondence will likewise give basic nationals the impact to compare with their pioneers to advise approach making resolutions[7].

As a consequence of the development of shapeless systems and the continuous advances in correspondences innovations, more performers, both states, and non-state will grow to be drawn in finding answers to global issues[8]. The means to this accomplishment will be regarding national, territorial and worldwide administration, and also state and non-state performing artists to assemble a tradeoff among different gatherings of on-screen characters. Gatherings of non-administrative associations, encouraged by developments in correspondences innovation, will have increasingly critical influence in developing open cognizance of approach difficulties and dangers, and will have the ability to edify basic leadership.

Governments can't bear to give careful consideration to the impact of interchanges advances upon future legislative issues. Organizations and associations that best demonstration in light of new substances will be most capable to propel their welfare globally. Governments and their organizations will accumulate the prospect to interface with a more extensive, globally associated arrangement of masters to make the most educated strategy decisions[9].

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[7] P. Warr, "Iceland votes for crowd sourced constitution" Wired UK, 23 October 2012, http://www.wired.co.uk/news/archive/2012-10/23/iceland-crowdsourced-constitution

[8] Metzl. J. F. (2001). Network Diplomacy, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 2, issue 1, pp 77-88, p 79.

[9] Nye Jr. J. S. (2004). *Power in the Global Information Age: from realism to globalization*, London; New York: Routledge, p 88.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature

Thousands of think tanks have emerged over the past few decades on national and international political stages, in both developed and developing democracies.[10] As the numbers of think tanks have been increasing, arguably so have their significance and influence.[11] Still relatively new players in the political arena1, think tanks manage to drive economic and political change worldwide, according to the think tanks themselves and researchers who are not necessarily associated with them. Their role of "catalysts of political and economic[12]appears especially significant in developing and transitional regimes - those moving from authoritarianism to democracy. In these countries, alongside on-site organizations, think tanks catalyze reforms and drive democratic changes,-preferred as they image of democracy. They do so through engaging directly with foreign governments and NGOs and through "strengthening the advocacy for the particular policy.[13]

Think tanks bridge the gap between governments, NGOs, and experts by organizing and facilitating conferences, seminars, and other networking opportunities3. Some of their impacts on global democratization and political transformations in the world are not as straightforward, and their influence is not always direct. Wiarda[14] argues that, among trained experts and groups of experts, think tanks (by steering clear from general abstract models, being aware of bureaucratic aspect of policymaking, and by keeping tabs on current concerns among policymakers) have significantly more influence on politics than do their academic counterparts. Despite the fact nature and extent of their [think tanks] contribution to public policy."[15]

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[10] McGann, J. G. (2015). 2014 Global go to think tank index report. from http://gotothinktank.com/dev1/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/GoToReport2013.pdf

[11] Abelson, D. E. (1996). *American think-tanks and their role in US foreign policy*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press; Dickson, P. (1971). *Think tanks*. New York, NY: Atheneum; McGann, J. G. (2005). *Comparative think tanks, politics and public policy*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar; Sanders, K. (2009). *Communicating politics in the twenty-first century*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

[12] McGann, J. G. (2007). The Global "Go-to Think Tanks". from https://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/cdc/files/mcgann.globalgotothinktanks.pdf

[13] Scott, J. M. (1999). Transnationalizing democracy promotion: The role of Western political foundations and think-tanks. *Democratization, 6*(3), 146-170.

[14] Wiarda, H. J. (2008). The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy. *American Foreign Policy Interests, 30*(2), 96-117.

[15] Abelson, D. E. (2006). *A capitol idea : think tanks and US foreign policy*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.

A kaleidoscope's mirrors and colored glass create an illusion of a whole image. Knowing which colors of influence in foreign policy think tanks create and which ones they merely reflect is of great significance in a study of their impact. Before we can see the foreign policy kaleidoscope as a whole, we must examine the interactions among its individual components has to be carried out. Think tanks interact with and adapt to other foreign policy kaleidoscope pieces. As an example of their adaptive strategies, think tanks often adjust their agenda to those of policymakers.[16]

The impact think tanks have on foreign policy, or at least the area of such impact, could be pre-determined, or at least significantly affected, by outside factors including the agenda of policymakers and other elements of the foreign policy system into which think tanks plug themselves. And policymakers are not the only integral part in it. News media also could be affecting or possibly sometimes even determining what colors think tanks contribute to the foreign policy kaleidoscope. Think tanks interact extensively with news media in the foreign policy arena. However, despite the reliance of think tanks on news media and their tactic of deliberately adjusting their agenda to that of others, the relationship between think tanks and news media is often described in academic literature as unidirectional.[17] Prominent think tank researchers mention used by think tanks to reach their goals, mere bullhorns for their messages. While this channel of influence is of high and increasing importance for think tanks, they rely heavily on news media to disseminate and promote research[18] establish visibility[19] (Rich, 2004) for themselves and their sponsors, to militate for both their research findings but also their advocacy positions and to ultimately "shape pub policy."[20]

Regardless of the actual (and generally immeasurable) outcomes of the interactions between news media and media think exposure tanks statistics. In the absence of other tangible

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] O'Neill, R. (2008). Think Tanks and Their Impact. *Asia-Pacific Review, 15*(2), 9-12.

[18] *Ibid. op.cit.*

[19] Rich, A. (2004). Think tanks, public policy, and the politics of expertise. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

[20] *Ibid. op. cit*.

proofs of their effectiveness, this statistic is widely used by think tanks to "foster.[21] Consequently, similarly to how they adjust to policymakers and bureaucracy, [22] thinks tanks may have to make adjustments in order to garner media attention. They have to play by the media's rules to gain visibility determine how much exposure these organizations will be[23] In order to garner such valuable news media exposure, think tanks go to great lengths to accommodate the news media and streamline the work with them. Because news media are important to think tanks, their agenda may affect the amount of attention think tanks pay to a particular topic, similar to how agendas of policymakers affect this attention. After all, news media manage to affect other pieces of the foreign policy kaleidoscope.

News media affect foreign policy in multiple ways. They shape what concerns the public. By virtue of often being an exclusive source of information on foreign policy topics, they tell the public what to pay attention to11[24] , which issue to consider more important and which ones – less so. [25] In doing so, the news media affect greatly salience of foreign policy issues, and through it, directly (in direct reaction from the government to changes in issue salience) and indirectly (issue salience effects how politicians are judged) affect foreign policy. The news media impact on foreign policy does not always have to be mediated by the public. Salience of issues in the news coverage has been shown to affect directly presidential[26] attention and actions, as well as the attention actions of policymakers generally[27]

Directly or through effects on the public, news media influence in foreign policy is often

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[21] Abelson, D. E. (2012b). Thinking Out Loud: Think Tanks and Their Quest for Public Exposure. Research Paper, Number 2. London, Ontario: The Canada-US Institute, The University of Western Ontario

[22] *Ibid. op.cit.*

[23] *Ibid. Op.cit.*

[24] *Ibid op.cit.*

[25] Soroka, S. N. (2003). Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 8*(1), 27-48

[26] Edwards, G. C., & Wood, B. D. (1999). Who influences whom? The president, congress, and the media. *American Political Science Review, 93*(2), 327.

[27] *Ibid.*

carried out though the agenda-setting mechanisms. In foreign policy research, agenda-setting is normally described as an interaction among three inter-influenced entities, the news media, the public, and policymakers.[28]

The very first systematic foreign policy agenda-setting study[29] looked at the president and the news media and interdependence of their attention to foreign policy issues. Congress quickly got injected into the mix of participants in foreign policy agenda-setting[30] and soon after, the role of public opinion in the process gained some attention[31] as well, followed by a good deal of evaluations for strength and directions of influences under various circumstances.

No place has been allocated in the reviewed literature to think tanks in the news media, public and policymakers triangle. An additional element, agenda-setting, buttresses the study's hypotheses. As the connection to the context of the study, in its rather recent application to foreign policy formation, agenda-setting describes the mechanism of issue salience transmission between groups. This application of the theory does not include a possibly significant group, e.g. think tanks, and may need revision.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The strong interconnections facilitated by the data upset overall and improved by the development of media systems especially can best be illustrated and comprehended through a neo-liberal hypothetical structure. Neo-radicalism is the most fitting of the center hypothetical

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[28] Cook, F. L., Tyler, T. R., Goetz, E. G., Gordon, M. T., Protess, D., Leff, D. R., & Molotch, H. L. (1983). Media and Agenda Setting: Effects on the Public, Interest Group Leaders, Policy Makers, and Policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 47*(1), 16.

[29] Wood, B. D., & Peake, J. S. (1998). The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting. *The American Political Science Review, 92*(1), 173-184

[30] *Ibid. op. cit.*

[31] Baum, M. A., & Potter, P. B. K. (2008). The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science, 11*(1), 39-65.

establishments for illuminating and obliging of the ramifications of the innovation's connective force. As per the hypothesis, there is potential development of the current global framework, additionally perceives authenticity's central supposition that the worldwide framework is chaotic. The most important tenets of liberalism and its variants that this study will take into account are: the widespread conviction that states are the key performing artists in worldwide relations yet different on-screen characters are outstanding too, coordinated effort is achievable among states, opened up interconnectedness between social orders, both monetarily and innovatively, brings about a staggeringly assorted example of worldwide political relations from that which has gone some time recently. At long last, that globalization is the finished result of a long haul upheaval of local and worldwide governmental issues.

Kegley(1995), a prominent neoliberal has focused on the significance of correspondences in adding to domestic and international politics Kegley[32]. In his work, Kegley emphasizes the significance of public opinion in the global age. He argues that both home and foreign affairs have become one. He advances his argument by attributing the larger collaboration apparent in world governmental issues past the end of the Cold War to a rebuilt society, one in which, he keeps up, enhanced cross-outskirt correspondence has prompted generally shared and explained moral qualities considerable in more accommodating and good institutional behavior among states.

As argued by neo-liberals, the data transformation extraordinarily propelled globalization in the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. Keohane and Nye (2001) pointed out the rise of

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[32] C. W. Jr. Kegley. "The Neoliberal Challenge to realist theories of World Politics: an Introduction" in C. W. Jr. Kegley (ed.) Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge, London: Macmillan, 1995 pp 6-17, p 17

complex reliance, a condition of universal relations that expands joins amongst states and non-state performers, creating another plan of issues for worldwide relations and the development of various stages for correspondence between various on-screen characters crosswise over state limits[33].

Knecht (2010) argued that conditional theory of political responsiveness can also explain the significance of public opinion in foreign affairs[34]. According to Knecht, the rising agreement in the literature is that political awareness is restricted. Public opinion does not always determine public policy and it is wrong to conclude that it never does. The task then is to recognize the factors that can amplify or dwindle policy makers' understanding of public opinion.

Inspirations for receptiveness can emanate from political causes, such as chronological closeness to the next election, or the height of presidential support. Receptiveness can also differ based on the value of information that leaders hold about a mass opinion or the extent to which citizens' outlooks seriously constrict a leader's independence of action. Logically then, a restrictive advance to political receptiveness advocates that all three underlying rationalizations of the association between opinion and policy can be accurate. Leaders can show the way, follow, or disregard public opinion based on the facets of the circumstances.

There are three notions originating from the restricted receptiveness literature specifically decision stages, public inclinations, and issue salience. Knecht integrated these three concepts into a distinct mould of public outlook and foreign policy relationship. The hypothetical model is based on five straightforward suggestions. Knecht conceptualized foreign policy making as a

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[33] R.O. Keohane, and J. S. Nye Jr. Power and Interdependence, New York; London: Longman, 2001.
[34] Knecht, T. (2010). Paying Attention to Foreign Affairs: How Public Opinion Affects Presidential Decision Making, Pennsylvania State University Press.

sequence consisting of five stages namely problem identification, alternative generation, policy choices, implementation, and policy re-examination. The virtual significance of public opinion as a policy decision foundation is considered at each of these five judgment stages.

The theory looks at two methods that can influence receptiveness to public opinion: issue salience and public inclinations. Policy makers are expected to feel amplified pressure to act in response to public opinion when a huge percentage of citizens are thoughtful of an issue. This is also known as high issue salience. Similarly, policymakers will probably feel augmented demands to act in response when a noteworthy majority of members of the public have equivalent inclinations on a matter. Therefore, it stands to argue that policy makers' understanding of public opinion gets to its zenith when a subject matter is highly salient and enjoys extensive support. When public concentration is purposed somewhere else, or when members of the public are alienated in their inclinations, political receptiveness is expected to diminish accordingly. The logical task then becomes to forecast which of the five judgment stages will see a meeting of high issue salience with a huge majority inclination.

1.7 Hypotheses

The study tested three research hypotheses:

1. Public opinion expressed on media has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions

2. Agenda setting by online communities has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions

3. Media as a communication tool has significant contribution to foreign policy decisions

1.8. Research Methodology

This chapter describes methodological approach to the study which includes the study design data collection method data analysis.

1.8.1 Research Design

This study is exploratory in design and uses multiple approaches. It begins by addressing the definition and measurement of the critical variable for the agenda-setting research, salience. Multiple approaches address the question differently, depending on research questions, groups compared in particular studies, as well the researcher understands of agenda-setting as a phenomenon. It explains the selection of the unit of analysis and the organizations relevant to this exploratory study.

1.8.2 Study site

The location of study is based within Kenya region. The main focus shall be directed at the Ministry of Foreign affairs which shall be the source of my primary data collection. To supplement those views the online communities and the Think Tanks.

1.8.3 Study Population

The population this study targets are policy makers due to the technicality of the topic.

1.8.4 Sampling Frame and Sampling Size

Five ministry of Foreign affairs officials in leadership position are targeted in this study.

1.8.5 Data collection Method

This study used primary and secondary data. Primary data was sought using interviews that entailed five ministry officials. These ministry officials were selected purposively owing to

their position in their workplace that makes them have insightful information on the phenomenon under study. Secondary Data was sought

1.8.6 Validity and Reliability of Data collection instruments

Document review was also used as a source of data in this study. Reports, speeches and other forms of communication relevant to issues under investigation in this study was used for analysis.

1.8.7 Data Presentation and Analysis Methods

Face-to-face interview method was used to collect data. An interview schedule was prepared to help the researcher in data collection. Collected data was analyzed using content analysis method and helped in making conclusions in this study. Document review was also used as a source of data in this study. Reports, speeches and other forms of communication relevant to issues under investigation in this study were used for analysis.

1.8.8 Ethical Consideration

Primary data was sought using interviews that entailed five ministry officials as key informant. These ministry officials were selected purposively owing to their position in their workplace that make them have insightful information on the phenomenon under study. Face-to-face interview method was used to collect data. An interview schedule was prepared to help the researcher in data collection. Responses to these questions were content analyzed and subsequently summed up to form individuals' pre-existing schemas.[35] The merit of this technique is that participants may offer

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[35] Lau, R. R., & Schlesinger, M. (2005). Policy frames, metaphorical reasoning, and support for public policies. *Political Psychology, 26*(1), 77-114.

responses much broaden than the narrowly suggested answers.[36] In addition, researchers could also figure out how key informants weigh each consideration and whether their sentiments toward those considerations are negative or positive.

1.8.9 Scope and Limitations of the research

The scope of this study involved media usage by the public and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya in interacting. The study looked into how this interaction has influenced foreign policy decisions. The focus areas of the study were public opinion, agenda setting by online communities and communication role of media.

1.8.10 Chapter Outline

This study has five chapters. The first chapter presents the layout of the study. It describes the problem in its context and addresses the methods and procedure that the study will use to achieve the set objectives. The second chapter focused on the public opinion expressed on media and its contribution to foreign policy decisions by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya. The third chapter looked into the agenda-setting by online communities to raise issues of domestic and international importance. It also examined how this has affected foreign policy decisions by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya. The fourth chapter assessed the media as a communication tool in Kenya. It looked into its use by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya and how this has affected foreign policy decisions. The fifth chapter presented the summary of study findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

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[36] Baxter, L. A., & Babbie, E. (2004). *The basics of communication research*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC OPINION TO FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the contribution of public opinion to foreign policy decisions. It draws examples from global, regional and local contexts. The chapter starts with a discussion on public opinion and policy and then moves to link public opinion and foreign policy. Political leadership, political representation, and political responsiveness are used to illustrate the link between public opinion and foreign policy. The chapter also shows why in studying foreign policy decision making is important to focus on the executive branch of government. The chapter ends with a discussion of how public opinion and domestic politics have influenced Kenya's foreign policy decisions.

2.2 Public Opinion and Policy

Public opinion influences the manner in which policy is made or viewed in different ways. Outlooks on how public opinion is used in structuring policy are varied. Winston Churchill argued that there is no such thing as public opinion but there was only published an opinion. Abraham Lincoln perceived public opinion in his country as everything. Foreign policy offers a fascinating opening position, with past illustrations demonstrating where popular sentiment has and has not affected government policies[37].

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[37] Hobley, M. (2012). Public opinion can play a positive role in policy making, *Guardian Professional,* The Guardian

Hobley[38] noted that on 15 February 2003, the United Kingdom's biggest ever open expression in conflict with the then approaching invasion of Iraq was held. The degree of hostile to war supposition expanded comprehensively as dissents turned into an overall event. Though these mass open exhibitions did not change Britain's arrangement, they have been cited as a key angle in influencing the decisions of the Canadian government to keep their troops out of the Iraq struggle. It has even been contended that general feeling has the ability to change the way of history. Amidst the considerable US wretchedness, Roosevelt's unwillingness to join the counter German war try was eventually settled on by the besieging of Pearl Harbor. This event changed all in the hearts and brain of the American open, giving the president general society bolster he required. So it is basic to acknowledge how today's open pioneers better utilize popular conclusion to fulfil their clerical set open arrangement intentions.

Public opinion sways foreign policy. Knecht[39] used two illustrations to exemplify that public opinion can, from time to time, persuade presidential decision making. NATO warplanes besieged Serbian focuses with an end goal to end the threatening vibe against ethnic Albanians in the Kosovo locale in March 1999. In the introduction to the antagonistic vibe, just a majority (46 percent) of Americans authorized of utilizing U.S. military to shield Kosovars from Serbian ethnic cleanse. Despite such unimportant open backing for association, President Clinton held that the conditions in the Balkans justified U.S. military commitment. Subsequent to promising U.S. powers to Kosovo independent of the backing of a greater part of the American individuals, Clinton picked a low-risk military approach in particular intended to reduce U.S. fatalities in expectations of growing home support for association. This methodology was fundamentally a

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[38] Ibid
[39] Knecht, T. (2010). Paying Attention to Foreign Affairs: How Public Opinion Affects Presidential Decision Making, Pennsylvania State University Press.

political triumph as no U.S. military staff lost their lives in the Kosovo association, and open

support of Clinton's decision to utilize power jumped to 68 percent before the end of the

contention.

While crusading for office in 1988, Bush vowed that if voted in, he would take care of

the issue of an Earth-wide temperature boost over the span of his administration. Despite this

confirmation, and paying little heed to people in general's anxiety with environmental change (63

percent), humble tries were made to address a worldwide temperature alteration until late in

Bush's administration. In June 1992, a structure to trim down nursery gas outflows was initiated

at the Earth Summit Conference in Rio de Janeiro. More than 60 percent of people in general

comprehended that the United States ought to focus on the Rio Treaty, even at a plausible

expense of billions of dollars to the American citizen. This high level of open backing slanted the

Bush organization's choice to sign the settlement, despite the fact that the organization trusted it

to be principally faulty and disadvantageous to U.S. interests. Two years after Rio, in any case,

emanation of nursery gasses in the United States had bungled to decrease as well as had in fact

amplified.

The two illustrations show that public opinion can have a consequence on policy making,

and also that the public every now and then put forth pressure at various focuses in the basic

leadership course. On account of Kosovo, the general population seemed huge in deciding how

the United States would complete its military inclusion, however not in the genuine decision to

get included. Then again, people in general impacted the Bush organization's choice to sign the

Rio Treaty yet seemed to have an unassuming part in the resulting execution of emanation

standards. Moreover, the time when popular assessment came into the basic leadership course

designed arrangement brings about both cases. In Kosovo, a zero-loss military methodology was effective in mounting open backing for contribution, yet it affirmed to be strategically blemished when the United States committed various military errors. In the a dangerous atmospheric devation case, the decision to sign the Rio Treaty profited from solid prominent backing, yet messy execution of the arrangement subsequently weakened the general population's agree to take care of worldwide environmental change.

2.2.1 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Link

In a popular government, general sentiment is at last deciphered into open strategy either by nationals selecting pioneers who personally run with their own feelings and/or by sensible legislators who are educated as much as important to observe and address their constituents' slants between decisions. Political representation is especially critical with regards to outside arrangement. All things considered, a decision for war infers that officers may pass on; an unhindered commerce understanding can suggest that various employments will soon be outsourced, and overall ecological accords include the hard decisions between a supportable future and present monetary development. To put it plainly, the outside strategy options made affect all residents, whether they are familiar with it or not. Lamentably, the connection between's general supposition and outside arrangement is just insufficiently caught on. There is a solid relationship between the slants of subjects and the outside strategy alternatives that pioneers take. Be that as it may, how to clarify this affiliation has offered ascend to a broad talk around three plausible hidden pathways: political initiative, political representation, and political responsiveness.

2.2.2 Political Leadership

The first account for the association amongst conclusion and remote approach is political authority. This infers political pioneers demonstrate people in general the best approach to hold certain perspectives. The primary entice of general supposition research in the United States of America in the 1950s and 1960s found most citizens were not adequately enlightened and were hesitant about foreign affairs. As a result, leaders by and large pay no attention to public inclinations at the point when settling on their remote arrangement decisions. More concentrates likewise attest that popular sentiment assumes an unobtrusive part in the genuine making of approach, yet with the reasonability that policymakers strive to induce people in general to bolster the choices they have officially made. For example, strategy producers can make utilization of broad conclusion surveying to move general feeling by organizing an issue particularly and taking part in the gifted talk. The aptitudes of leaders to front general feeling is specifically explained in outside strategy with respect to the most piece of individuals from people in general hold weaker suppositions and have less understanding about worldwide undertakings than they do on residential issues.

The official branch can likewise profile general assessment through its considerable control over and cautious appropriation of data. The media are again and again seen as complicit in this political comprehension by devotedly reporting, and barely regularly difficult, the official branch position. While chiefs may not be open to popular feeling by and large, this perspective contends that government officials are without a doubt receptive to the necessities of intense political vested parties, global business pioneers, and factional activists.

2.2.3 Political Representation

Popular sentiment and outside approach affiliation can likewise be illustrated by political representation. This is a condition where chiefs and the general population, self-sufficient of any give-and-take impact, simply end up embracing the same viewpoint of an issue. This clarification appears to be sensible since residents will most presumably choose the hopeful who by and large emphatically reflects their own particular strategy slants. Moreover, both arrangement producers and people in general react to the same outside approach events. At the point when the general population and chose legislators hold comparative conclusions on outside arrangement matters, there is no political initiative or political responsiveness. In its place, political representation happen as decisions work as they were conceivably wanted to work. In any case, the watched proof on the similarity of supposition amongst pioneers and the masses is to some degree differed. In spite of the fact that chiefs and general society have in like manner various remote arrangement slants, there wait broad holes on particular basic concerns. For example, people in general have an inclination to be more on edge than its pioneers about outside financial rivalry and globalization, less grieved about security arrangement, and less eager to send military forces in a foreign country.

2.2.4 Political Responsiveness

Political responsiveness can offer a rationalization for the relationship between popular feeling and remote arrangement. Sound lawmakers save their own perspectives and reliably follow along popular feeling. Contemplates have demonstrated that general society both thinks about remote undertakings and holds outside approach assessments that are reasonable, down to earth and enduring. Irrefutably, individuals from the general population may frequently foot their

voting choice on outside arrangement issues. What's more, the requirement for legislators to maintain or increment political capital can influence the outside approach choices. Out of support outside approaches can quickly wear out underwriting appraisals, and is inconvenient to a government official's projections for a triumphant, and most likely more critical, residential outline. General supposition may likewise influence political pioneers as they attempt to set the constituent field for their successors. All things considered, while political pioneers might need to manage people in general, they frequently find that their ability to do as such is from time to time unexpectedly narrow. In such circumstances, rather than try to show the way an unenthusiastic and at times negligent public, it is regularly easier for savvy political leaders to basically cave into public demands.

2.3 Focus on the Executive Branch of Government

The executive branch of government has a momentous sway on foreign policy making decisions. It includes the president, deputy president, political advisors in the presidency and political deputies in the official branch. There are various clarifications to fixate completely on the official branch of government instead of extending the investigation to involve other political pioneers. To start with, presidents are particularly arranged to assume the most driving part in outside approach making. Presidents don't have an uncontested power in outside arrangement, however as a rule, they have significantly more power in worldwide undertakings than do other residential political performing artists.

What's more, presidents are more probable than other household political on-screen characters to encounter the twofold weights of worldwide and local legislative issues. As the main across the country chose open authority, the president has a solid inspiration to remain for

people in general. Every together, head of official organs of governments are accused of going ahead with state interests in world issues. At the point when these requests struggle, heads of official organs of governments are constrained into a complex political problem including local and worldwide objectives. General society as a general rule assesses other political performers in view of how well they act in light of residential approach and neighborhood issues. The pioneers, notwithstanding, should unite conflicting requests from the worldwide and residential levels which make the executive branch of government a more hypothetically attention-grabbing unit of analysis than other political actors.

2.4 Kenya's Foreign Policy

Academicians hold that Kenya's foreign policy has been without any semblance of independence. Their central argument is that Kenya's foreign policy goals are run by foreign capital. This argument has been used to elucidate Kenya's behavior in global affairs. This approach lays prominence on Kenya's independence devoid of questioning the impression in the reality of the global system[40].

In the phase immediately foregoing WWII clamor for independence got to a fever pitch worldwide. In Kenya, the history was no different. In this clamor, a small number of people understood what sovereignty actually meant. Many thought it meant that the colonial masters would go away from Kenya and that the structure would revert to *status quo ante o*n which they were solemnly in the wrong.

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[40]Maina, T. A. (2014). Dependency Approach to Kenya's Foreign Policy and the Concept of Independence, Foreign policy analyst

Before colonization, little of Africa was linked to the global economic system. Many peoples of Africa went about their business untroubled by the remote world many knew little, if anything, about foreign affairs. Their knowledge was constrained to ordinary routine and inter-communal relations. Conversely, when the colonialists came, the state of affairs drastically changed. Africa was factually recorded out and unexpectedly was plunged into world affairs more so international political economy.

It is through this lens that Kenyan independence should be scrutinized. Independence in the 1960s meant total freedom from any and all western authority. But an understanding of the international system could not permit such an audacious shift. Many African states, Kenya included, were indebted to capital investments from their former colonial masters. Many African states may have been awarded political autonomy but never had economic autonomy. This gave rise to the term neo-colonialism.

Analysts held responsible those in authority for making policies that promoted well-established foreign capital interests in African states. Kenya was in the midst of those countries considered to have given slight opposition to the forces of foreign capital interests. Leaders, particularly Jomo Kenyatta, have been chastised for dumping the Pan-African foundation. Nevertheless, no endeavour was made to contextualize these policies in light of the global structure that was based more on antagonism than collaboration and perforated with disparity.

It was, therefore, unimaginable to anticipate Kenya to take a totally independent foreign policy in light of the circumstances widespread in the international system. Kenya's economy was agriculture footed, with the new government relying essentially on exports for foreign currency. In the course of an aggressive Africanization policy, Kenya would have put the aspects

of production in the hands of the Kenyan African only to have products on its hands that it could not find a marketplace due to policies that would have been considered too drastic to former colonial masters which were the most important targets for these products. Such a move would have been supported by public opinion but would have devastating results in the international system.

Maina[41] established that the global fiscal structure is just as inequitable now as it was then. It concentrates on economic development on the forms of national good at the expense of the common good. Such a structure is footed on negotiating power only now it is based more on economics than military strength. Now, as it was then, the structure is based on how much influence one has to push through their agenda in the international system. Therefore, Kenya, a neophyte with modest sway, could not take an independent strategy if it meant the loss of markets and foreign capital. This was where rightness met reality.

Maina argued that it is supposed that Kenya is independent to make decisions about her foreign policy goals whereas, in certainty, it has very minute space to maneuver while outstanding economically feasible. Most of the leaders of independent Africa related with foreign capital more for private gain than any overarching national interest. Maina observed that the hand of the international system should not be disregarded by dependency theorists in considering Kenya's burgeoning foreign policy.

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[41] Maina, T. A. (2014). Dependency Approach to Kenya's Foreign Policy and the Concept of Independence, Foreign policy analyst

2.4.1 Domestic and Regional Ideological Rifts

Kenya's foreign policy has been correlated to home politics since independence. As Kenya became an independent state, ideological consistency emerged to be short-lived. Just the once companions in opposition to the oppressive colonial system turned bitter antagonists in the effort for the ideological bearing of the new found state. On the one hand, there were temperate or conformists who may have seen things through a cost-benefit analysis and on the other were radicals that perceived things through the lens of emancipation and idealism.

The ideological struggle introduced a very important matter. The difficulty was which way would Kenya go in the bipolar international system? Those in the conformist camp were of the view that Kenya should slant westward while those in the radical camp perceived affluence in both the east and west. Nevertheless, the latter group was more disposed to the east than west owing to the anti-imperialist standpoint that USSR was using to assemble support within and outside the United Nations structure. It was apparent that conflict lines had been strained from definite political affairs that took place from 1963 to 1967. A conflict soon developed to compel those regarded as radicals out of the government. Odinga who led this camp and was interior minister was stripped off his powers and he was given the vice-presidency devoid of portfolio. This happened in 1964 when Kenya became a republic.

In 1965, Kenyan parliament approved a document that steers Kenya's foreign policy to this day: Sessional Paper No.10 titled *African Socialism and its Application to Kenya*. The intent of this document was to steadily put Kenya on the capitalist path and thereby making Kenya side with the west. This infuriated the radicals. In the Limuru Conference in 1966, whose main purpose was to painstakingly disgrace Oginga Odinga, his post of vice-chairman of the KANU

party was diluted to create seven other vice-chairmen posts with analogous responsibilities. To all intents and purposes, Oginga was being told circuitously that his presence in the party and government was no longer plausible. He was annoyed and did not vie for any one of the seats opting to relinquish his position and start his own party. The ideological fight was won by the conformists who were inclined to the west and capitalists. These developments led Kenya closer to the western block of countries than the eastern one.

2.4.2 Regional Coups and Upheavals

Self-government in Kenya was welcomed with tumult and consternation regionally as there were many cases of instability. The Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, had imploded. Congo military was in a mutiny against their mainly Belgian officers. This was to bring with it years of chaos and fighting. Kenya got involved in the goings on when Kenyatta became an OAU panel chairperson which was to pursue peace in the country. These endeavours were unsuccessful due to the extensive issues at stake. The presence of greater powers like Belgium and United States stifled Kenya's endeavours towards peace through the OAU. It fell on irate remarks touching on imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Shortly after independence, circumstances in Kenya wobbled Kenyatta's assurance on the security of the nation. There was a military mutiny in Tanzania led by John Okello. The rebellion led to Tanganyika and Zanzibar amalgamation to form the United Republic of Tanzania. To the west in Uganda, things seemed bad as well because the interior minister had been held captive by a division of the army that supervised by his docket. Nevertheless, the minister was ultimately freed. These circumstances however exposed Achilles' heels in the Kenyatta administration that necessitated adequate control.

Before an appropriate action was taken to address the situation, Gilgil rebellion happened. Some military officers rebelled in Kenya and this made President Kenyatta to realize how serious the situation was and it required immediate action. It became obligatory for him to take his security and that of the country seriously. This came amidst a secessionist fighting in North eastern Kenya. The president realized that outside military aid was requisite. In this period United Kingdom was the only powerful ally that Kenya had. Kenya's relationship with the US was lukewarm since the latter did not see any tangible worth of Kenya at that time. Kenyatta therefore was heavily reliant on support by the United Kingdom to secure his government and fight against any revolt.

The United Kingdom was eager to assist president Kenyatta as they were keen to look after their vast interests most of which were in Kenya. The interests of the United Kingdom and Kenyatta's regime were similar interests. Kenyatta's government was to be protected so long as the United Kingdom's interests in Kenya were taken care of as well. This situation forced Kenya to the western block of countries especially United Kingdom which was more than willing to receive her. Other circumstances in this period could have also significantly influenced Kenya's foreign policy but the discussed events come out as the ones that have had a significant influence on the same than others did.

CHAPTER THREE

AGENDA SETTING BY ONLINE COMMUNITIES ON DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

3.1 Introduction

In the last decade, worldwide Internet access grew seven times from 6.5% to 43%. In Africa, one out of five individuals has entry to the Internet at present, contrasted with just 10% in 2010 (ITU, 2015). All together, online networking use is on the expansion at a staggering pace. As at June 2015, Facebook achieved 120 million dynamic supporters crosswise over Africa. (80%) of these 120 million clients were getting to the online networking stage through portable devices. Online networking has been used in a scope of occurrences worldwide in the latest decade. These utilizations range from observing races and manage issues, for example, joblessness and debasement to offering magnanimous guide for the time of emergencies. Online networking, for instance, helped with preparing individuals for the time of the water lack in the capital of Senegal, Dakar in September 2013. Twitter was utilized to dispatch challenges the inaction by Senegalese government and the city of Dakar. Online networking stage helped arrange regions where water was still accessible (Jeune Afrique, 2013).

3.2 Opportunities offered by Diplomacy

The arrival of new technologies in the early 21st century, policy makers in foreign affairs and diplomats are currently have to utilize innovative approaches to appealing to the publics in Diaspora. Increased access to new technological tools worldwide have repercussions that go further than a stint of worldwide access to highly developed, custom-made communications

technological tools. The result is virtual empowerment of the public opinion. A foreign public's communal voice can be communicated through email, sent through post on social or other new technology platform for consumption by a global audience which is able to respond to the same information instantly. Foreign policy makers and diplomats therefore have no option but embrace new technologies such as social media. These technologies can accelerate desired changes world over. Be they social, political or economic changes.

Twitter and Facebook have been shown to be among the important platforms for mobilizing the crowds especially the youth. The youth constitute a significant portion of the population. In Kenya, 79% of the population is under 35 years of age hence majority of the population is youthful (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Previous studies have also shown that 70% of the youth are eligible to vote (Douai & Olorunnisola, 2013). The youth are the highest subscribers of the most well known online networking stages, for example, twitter and Facebook. It in this manner bode well to draw in the adolescent through online networking. As scientists Douai and Olorunnisola bring up: "Getting the young to settle on educated decisions would likely demonstrate helpful for popular government and may work to enhance society" (Douai & Olorunnisola, 2013, p. 275).

Douai and Olorunnisola (2013) did a study to investigate the relationship between youth engagement on online networking and their enthusiasm for legislative issues. They found that Facebook is a vital wellspring of political data and news. For the adolescent in Kenya, Facebook has progressively been supplanting customary media, for example, TV, radio and daily papers. Youthful Kenyans use Facebook to communicate and to face off regarding political issues, for example, livelihood, youth strengthening and social administrations. The concentrate likewise

found that 47% of youth utilizing Facebook have as of now conversed with a government official through the stage. Furthermore, youth dynamic on online networking were observed to be more intrigued by governmental issues and all the more eager to vote in the following race than youth who were not utilizing any social networking stage . This infers online networking potential can't be disparaged as a critical channel for drawing in youth and has helped getting them more inspired by and included in governmental issues.

Social media influence and facilitation of political engagement has been catalyzed by the development in web entrance in Kenya over the five past years. This development has been so quick with the end goal that Kenya has been marked as a 'silicon savannah'. Kenyans are second just to South Africans in Africa in social media usage. This can be seen in the quantity of tweets they put out some even setting regional and global agenda.

The high social media usage and penetration of internet have a downside too. This can be seen in hate speech propagated through online networking stages, for example, facebook and twitter. Actions that led to post-election of 2007 to 2008 in Kenya can be seen on social media in form of hate speech. Violent acts that were in the streets during post-election violence seems to have migrated online in 2013 with the 18 million-in number web populace congregating in Facebook bunches, behind Twitter symbols, and utilizing websites and also gatherings to tear each other based on ethnic divisions.

Despite the negative divisions propagated online by some who are hate mongers, social media provided a platform for engagement and follow up of the 2013 general elections as well as the residential petition that followed. There were tweets and pictures from everywhere throughout the nation regarding the election process. People tweeted pictures of long queues as

they waited to cast their votes while others tweeted hitches and anomalies encountered during voting. At the point when President Kenyatta's win was maintained in the Supreme Court, Twitter talks went about as the resident's exhibition outside the court.

There is a change from traditional diplomacy that was secretive to a diplomacy that is open to engagement with the public and that embraces technology. Traditional diplomacy is basically the management of international relations by negotiation. New diplomacy however has to take into account the views of the public and other stakeholders. New technologies such as social media platforms have become instrumental in engagement of the public.

3.2.1 Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy entails the influence, information and engagement with foreign publics by a state. The intended audience and in this case foreign publics or the citizenry make a distinction between public diplomacy and the conventional state to state diplomacy. The impact capacity is as often as possible connected to a government office's data administration. Open tact can along these lines be seen as utilization of data assets to gather, control and scatter data that impacts the recognitions and practices of worldwide groups of onlookers. It can likewise be seen to be the way in which government, people and gatherings advises specifically or in a roundabout way those open states of mind and feelings that have an impact straightforwardly on another administration's outside arrangement decisions. Open discretion in this way involves of the state's attempts to illuminate the number of inhabitants in an outside state through immediate or roundabout correspondence. Direct correspondence can be through open gatherings and media communicates while circuitous correspondence can be through expert and instructive trades and social shows.

3.2.2 Citizen Diplomacy

Citizen diplomacy entails the meeting and activity between populations of two countries. Citizen diplomats can be learners, tutors, sportspersons, performers, businesspersons, philanthropists, travelers or vacationers. These citizen diplomats are encouraged by an obligation to connect with the world around them in a consequential, reciprocally advantageous discourse. Increased usage of social platforms such as Facebook and Twitter enabled innovative interaction of communities of different countries spectacularly hence encouraging a universal system of outlook and communication.

3.2.3 Business Diplomacy

Business diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that entails the addition of commercial activities in the global realm as an ingredient in a country's overall diplomatic endeavor. Commercial activities that encourage business diplomacy can be demonstrated by public-private partnerships that engage governments and private companies sourced from different countries. This trend has gained momentum in the 21st Century due to the need by governments to invest in infrastructure projects. These partnerships have been beneficial, as they have brought in new stakeholders capable of contributing new ideas on trade and other international political economy decisions. Through such engagements, businesses are successfully accomplishing their own brand of diplomacy. Business diplomacy can affect economic, social and political interests of the host or home state. This notion emphasizes the opportunity for the use of technology in the diplomatic realm. New technologies brought by the private sector such as Facebook and Twitter have been shown to increase access to information. Social media usage from the private sector

can greatly influence a number of diplomatic functions especially as a way of getting feedback from local population.

3.3 Political activism

Twitter and Facebook have been used in political activism. An example of this is a hash tag in Kenya #Occupy Parliament propagated by Boniface Mwangi. This was used to rally and mobilize people to take to the streets in a protest against pay rise by the legislators. Social media has ushered a new dawn of activism.

Social media gives grassroots groups an indispensable new tool for fostering political change. New technologies have speed and low costs hence encouraging widespread usage. Through inclusion therefore, social media gives the users more power. An advantage of the social media for activists and for the majority of users is the fact that it allows them to dispense with the traditional filters' for news, even by reporters and government officials. It enables users to self-select information they are interested in and to retrieve data in far more depth than in a newspaper or television program.

Most governments find their control loosening in the 21st century as IT gradually spreads to the parts of the world that still lacks phones, computers, and electricity. Even the U.S. government finds some taxes harder to collect and some regulations (particularly those related to gambling or prescription drugs) harder to enforce. Today, many governments control the Internet access of their citizens by controlling Internet Service Providers (ISP). Skilled individuals, in both possible and affordable means, route around such restrictions.

As societies develop, they face the dilemma of trying to protect their sovereign control over information and as they reach levels of development where their knowledge workers and general public demand free access to the Internet, they run the risk of losing their scarcest resource for competing in the information society. Closed systems may become costly, at a time openness turns out to be worth the price.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MEDIA AS A COMMUNICATION TOOL IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

Most developing countries including Kenya, find themselves facing the opportunity cost of pursuing more citizen-centric initiatives. E-government strategizing and execution regularly accompanies enormous social specialized and monetary costs that are past a large portion of the creating nations abilities. One noteworthy test to sustaining the advantages of ICT use in Africa has been its temperamental ICT infrastructures[42].

4.2 E-Government

Kenya initiated and strived to achieve its e-Government structure as one of the primary needs towards the acknowledgment of national advancement objectives and destinations for Wealth and Employment Creation. A viable and operational e-Government that would encourage better and effective conveyance of data and administrations to natives, advances efficiency among open hirelings, support investment of nationals in Government and engage all Kenyans. The administration of Kenya, in this way, dedicated itself to building up e-Government by June 2004.

Kenya's Strategy and targets went for improving straightforwardness, responsibility and administration, making the Government more result situated, productive and native focused, empowering nationals and business to get to Government Services and Information as proficiently and as viably as would be prudent using web and different channels of

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[42] 126   Robert A. Cropf, William S. (2011). Information Communication Technologies and the Virtual Public Sphere Impacts of Network Structures on civil Society, Published by IGI Global p. 233

correspondence. Successful and proficient acknowledgment of e-Government destinations relied on upon the accessibility of aptitudes and the right mentalities crosswise over Government. The Government staffs at all levels were to be enough prepared through pertinent preparing to successfully do the activity. This required an adjustment in the way Government completes its operations and required preparing in change administration. Keeping in mind the end goal to guarantee a proceeded with pool of IT learning base inside Government, all preparation projects were to have an IT part.

Innovation application is seen as far as stages at which it has been connected and nations, for example, Kenya, assess where they remain in this procedure. The principal stage is the utilization of PCs, on a standalone premise, or arranged in ―local range systems (LANs). Most personal computers are web associated. A good number of MFAs, including Kenya and other third world countries, are at this stage even now, which does not at all address the potential benefit of ICT that is available.

The next stage is the foundation of a service wide system (additionally called a ―WAN); regularly this is incorporated with the framework that covers all services. While this had become the norm in many European countries by the mid-1990s, some countries still hesitate to implement this, owing to concerns over the security of such a network in a sensitive institution like the foreign ministry.

The third stage is to broaden this system to cover international safe havens abroad; making an intranet or a virtual private system, or other type of web based correspondence conventions. Many small countries do not use this for reasons of cost and availability of technical manpower. China, India, and Japan have hesitated to use this method owing to serious

concerns over security. The PCs utilized for private interchanges are isolated from general use machines and are not utilized for getting to the web.

Another phase in the use of this procedure is to take it portable, and enable the representative and the moderator to work from any environment or area; topography and area no more matter in holding two-path contact in all circumstances. Representatives work out of inn rooms and in debacle areas, utilizing portable PCs, Blackberrys, and satellite telephone based moment correspondences. In January 2006, the US secretary of state called these its 'virtual nearness' posts, to be set up anyplace as required. There is also a higher stage of esoteric application, where the foreign ministry enthusiastically embraces the 'virtual' medium[43].

News agencies such as the BBC and CNN try not to tell any nation the way a specific global improvement may influence their interests. Nor does any investigation in different stages tell the remote service what opportunity is offered by another outside circumstance. The resident embassy remains the MFA's prime source for sharp analysis and policy advice. But hard news now comes from elsewhere[44].

4.3 Communication with public

Communication with publics has transformed. Sites of outside services draw colossal readership for data and examination of universal improvements, travel exhortation, remote nation, and international safe haven or office data, and so forth. Public diplomacy as it takes place now could not be conducted without the ICT revolution. China is a heavy user of the

[43] Harry W., Charles A. (2011). Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service, Georgetown University Press p. 234

[44] 99 Kishan S. (2011). 21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner's Guide, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 199

internet for outreach to its domestic public on external policy issues. It runs web forum discussions for registered users, making careful assessment of the feedback it receives on the way the country's foreign policy is perceived at home.

Publicity activities aimed at the media are also transformed. Some remote services do their briefings for the media, through their authority representatives, by means of the web on settled days of the week, while on different days the representative shows up in individual as in the conventional way. This advances delicate force. The same applies to financial tact where a few nations use B2B (business-to-business) gateways for business exceed abroad. Canada holds virtual exchange displays through its joined outside and exchange service.

In crisis, diplomats equipped with laptops and satellite phones connection can set up temporary offices in key places where embassies or consulates do not exist. After the December 2004 Asian Tsunami, several Western countries used similar methods to provide urgent disaster and consular relief. NGOs have become providers of vital data to national governments on major crises, in Africa and elsewhere, because ICT enables them to get real-time information from their relief teams on the ground, on situations as they evolve. They are often ahead of diplomatic networks. At the UN in New York, a network has been operational for some years, providing Security Council members with information on crisis situations in Africa and elsewhere.

Technology has impacted strongly on diplomatic systems, bridging to some degree the separation disorder that rules the conciliatory systems. Kenya and other underdeveloped nations have welcomed the way that the web gives inventive intends to effort to wide open streams, at home and abroad. Web offers new conceivable outcomes that are still under investigation. The remote service site, supplemented by the sites of government offices, gives a beginning stage. Intranets license private trades inside the nation's discretionary and open administrations. Online

journals have made their mark both for advantaged correspondence and for open trades.

Through sites, Facebook, messages and Twitter, Kenyans can source and remark on topical political, financial and also social issues. Case in point amid the 2002 and 2007 General Elections, most Kenyans learnt of the outcomes through cell telephones, not the routine media. The web journals and messages permit Kenyans to peruse and remark on issues that customary media houses want to disregard.

Community to ICTs may encourage a show impact, where presentation to outside thoughts or pictures of moves in different nations goads a transformation of rising desires and, maybe, the possible topple of the dictator administration. The utilization of email, Internet visit rooms, notice sheets and the World Wide Web may, then again, add to ideational pluralism and a more progressive advancement of general society circle in tyrant social orders.

Common society associations may utilize the Internet to bolster their exercises in an assortment of ways, including logistical associations and the general population spread of data. By and large, such associations assume a significant part in undermining tyrant governments, either by requiring an underlying political opening or by activating outrages that endeavor to de-legitimize tyrant principle.

Web use in the financial circle may represent different difficulties to tyrant standard. It might, for instance, present noteworthy open doors for enterprise in a creating economy, potentially prompting the development of new residential business tip top. On the off chance that the Internet adds to financial development all the more for the most part, it might encourage the development of a white collar class. These two strengths, a business tip top and a white collar class, may put expanding requests on the principle that test its control of society.

The coercive endeavors of remote governments and multilateral foundations through such measures as the inconvenience of assents, the augmentation of contingent advances and help, or even in the form of compensations (such as hosting the Olympics Games or admission to certain world organizations) are all frequently influential factors in the opening process of authoritarian rule. Transnational promotion systems, social developments, the media, and different on-screen characters outside of the objective nation more often than not assume a key part in mounting effort for such conclusive activity.

Internet use is often crucial to the success of international community activities. The case of China is interesting to observe, with street demonstrations recently becoming daily events, and activists likely to get more feverish as the 2008 Games approach, bringing some 30,000 international journalists to Beijing. These eventual Internet uses can possibly challenge the strength of dictator governments. In situations where Internet use appears to be undermining, states will react and even attempt to appropriate such difficulties, trying to keep up control over the Internet as they have with other media diverts before. Any given reaction is liable to include a mix of two-sorts of methodologies: responsive and proactive.

4.4 Image

In a global information village much communication takes place through stereotypes and sound bites. Globalization recommends to us externally that the remote has gotten comfortable. The nation is a brand seen by individuals abroad through shorthand that hues both its items be it tourism or business exercises and its legislative issues. Pictures are intense, constraining nations to enhance the way they are seen, and re-brand themselves, for both substantial and immaterial advantages.

In a focused and complex world, open discretion is key to effectively advance Kenya's picture, values and culture abroad. Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has understood the need to grasp utilization of accessible advances and stages, particularly online networking systems to speak with partners on the nation's Foreign Policy.

Dealing with this brand concerns outside services and various open foundations similarly as worldwide organizations. In this context image carries several meanings. First, it involves the country's reputation. Second, image governs the inflow of tourism, a major industry in many countries including Kenya. Countries vie to coin memorable, evocative tourism slogans, and exert their utmost to overcome negative publicity. When dealing with disaster, image management becomes a key concern. Third, it influences external economic relations, including trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow. Business enterprises engage with states they dislike, but they prefer to do business in countries with a good reputation both out of civic duty, and to avoid shareholder and media pressure. Fourth, image is made up of myriad actions, ranging from how visitors are treated when they apply for visas and at airport entry points, to the reputation of home brands and products, which rubs off on countries as well. Sporting figures become international icons, and hosting sporting events involves national pride, affecting the reputation of governments at home and abroad. Finally, any deviation between a country's self-image and the actual image becomes a source of embarrassment, to the point of affecting that government's political standing at home. Country image is a concern for all countries, because a good image is also sound politics[45].

The Diaspora is frequently a key multiplier, regarding spreading messages about the nation of source and aiding in picture projection. Diaspora Communities can conceivably assume

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[45] G. R. Berridge and Alan James, A Dictionary of Diplomacy, 2nd edition (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2004).

a colossal part in positively advancing a countries picture then again along these lines, since open discretion attempted to impact mind space abroad and is molded by a general public's faith in itself, a general public that has self-questions and does not have trust in its administration has subjects and diaspora groups that won't be partners in a legislatures open strategy efforts[46]. Kenya has recently developed an explicit diaspora outreach policy.

4.5 Diplomacy

Today the connection as well as the substance of discretion has fundamentally adjusted. The setting of influence to propel national interests has extended to incorporate anybody anyplace associated with and influenced by any of the data and correspondence media. Significantly all the more muddling, the domain of national interests now incorporates in any event worldwide economies, and, progressively, global relocation, ecological emergencies, fear based oppression, drug trafficking, weapons expansion, and digital badgering. Every one of these issues posture worldwide dangers, but on the other hand are endured promptly and most significantly at the nearby level. In this manner, discretion, the act of remote issues, is a subset of residential arrangement, which has been itself molded by the extended plan of national interests.

This new structure is experiencing a decentralized combination of worldwide and neighborhood interest, which Rosenau calls ―fragmegration, an idea that compares the procedures of discontinuity and coordination happening inside and among associations, groups, nations, and transnational frameworks to the degree that it is basically outlandish not to treat them intelligently and causally connected. Alongside fragmegration comes the scattering of

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[46] Evan H. Potter (2009). Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power Through Public Diplomacy, McGill-Queen's University Press, P. 58

power far from states and the developing part of decentralized governments, non-administrative associations, media, social developments, notwithstanding other transnational non-state systems as crucial worldwide on-screen characters. This move period and maybe the rising worldview is portrayed by the bounty of unbalanced connections amongst state and non-state performers, including exercises supported and completed by differing supra-people in the fields of legislative issues, media, innovation and business.

Despite the fact that fragmegration undermines country states'conventional hang on force, adroit states ought to perceive these new conditions as a chance to execute progressive ways to deal with worldwide undertakings, methodologies and administration. What states lose in control, as stressed by Brown and Studemeister, they could regain in influence.

The data Age encouraged hard power (or intimidation) versus delicate force (or influence) refinement has profoundly changed ordinary hypotheses about national security. Famous influence hardball compulsion is neither a simple offer to countries states nor once got a handle on, educated and executed with straightforwardness. As indicated by this point of view, having the methods today to course the most convincing data to the biggest number of individuals the fastest gets to be to be as essential, if not more imperative, than a striking weapon. That being said, access, data, and availability are all crucial parts of using impact to this force. Individually, Information Age investigators Arquilla and Ronfeldt watch that ambassadors will need to understand that another domain is emerging–the no sphere, a worldwide ―realm of mind‖–that may profoundly affect statecraft. Second, they see that the Information Age will keep on undermining the conditions for exemplary discretion in light of realpolitik and hard power, and will rather support the rise of tact in light of what they call non politic and its preferences for soft power.

Most experts agree today that the 21st century has brought along with it a turn of fundamental change, although there is, understandably, much uncertainty about what kind of a world the current global transformation may produce. In order to comprehend these changes and accordingly adapt to them, new conceptual repertories need to be developed. A look into the conventional approaches that have so far inspired theoreticians and practitioners may better help explain how the Internet has had an influence in shaping both local and world politics.

The transformational architecture of global information networks has made territorial borders less significant to a certain extent (state borders are still highly significant when it comes to national security concerns). At the same time, war and peace are evolving in an environment where boundaries between the political space and the military space are increasingly indistinct.

According to Daniel Nanjira, there are new and emerging issues that pose daunting challenges to Kenya in the area of foreign policy and diplomacy of the new millennium. That time changes and issues and dictates change with it. This calls for constant review and updates in foreign policy and diplomacy initiatives of countries in their relations with each other. The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nations present a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world. it is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya's image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels[47].

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[47] Nanjira D. (2010). African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy from Antiquity to the 21st Century, Greenwood Publishers p.318

Foreign policy for Kenya has aimed at satisfying the needs of the Kenyan people in a multidimensional way. A combination of bilateralism and multilateralism in Kenyan diplomacy and foreign policy now serve the nation more effectively, with special relations being pursued by the former colonial power, Great Britain and other profitable benefactor nations, for example, the United States, Canada, Germany, France, and Italy, other than the UN framework and other universal associations. In economic and business terms, the European Union is still the largest market for Kenya. But the diplomacy of culture and development and business and trade as well as globalizations and global finance for development still offer serious challenges to the country, as do the vulnerability to natural disasters, diseases and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola, as well as education, the global environment climate, and self-reliance in development initiatives. Kenya must develop its institutions to be in tandem with its partners and friends in the international arena. E-diplomacy is therefore critical where much engagement with the international community is taking place.

Social media has not only proved to be a powerful medium in influencing the public but also drew the attention of public diplomacy professionals, observers, and political analysts on how it could be positively utilized to enhance a country's image. A study by Ipu sought to determine the tools used in adopting ICT to cultivate public diplomacy in Kenya, its impact and challenges, and analyzes the successes of adopting ICT into diplomacy in order to ensure efficiency in public participation of government policies and other processes. It adopted the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as an explanatory framework of analysis. Ipu outlines his findings in terms of knowledge and expertise in adopting E-diplomacy in Kenya and lays out strategies in curbing challenges such as cybercrime which are inter-twined with ICT[48].

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[48] Ipu, C. J. (2013). E-diplomacy In East Africa: Case Study of Kenya. Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

Chapter presents discussion of the study findings and conclusion. This study sought to establish whether public opinion expressed on media on foreign policy decisions, agenda setting by online communities, and communication role of the media affected the international policy on decision making. This was done through conducting a key informant interview and content analysis of ministry of Foreign affairs staff only one official was cooperative some declined to participate. Secondary data was sought through the local dailies and think tanks contribution assessment.

5.2 Conclusion

The study finding further indicates that a number of forces[49] have been shown to take part in shaping the agenda on policies. These include the agendas of news media, policymakers, [50] and the public.[51] . No role in this process of foreign policy agenda-setting has been allocated yet for foreign policy, [52] think tanks are growing in influence and significance) and could be affecting Kenyan foreign policy agenda. On the other hand, while relying heavily on news media, online communities, foreign policy think tanks have not yet been shown to be affected

[49] Rutledge, P. E., & Larsen Price, H. A. (2014). The President as Agenda Setter-in-Chief: The Dynamics of Congressional and Presidential Agenda Setting. *Policy Studies Journal, 42*(3), 443-464. doi: 10.1111/psj.12068

[50] Wood, B. D., & Peake, J. S. (1998). The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting. *The American Political Science Review, 92*(1), 173-184.

[51] Soroka, S. N. (2003). Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 8*(1), 27-48.

[52] Wiarda, H. J. (2008). The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy. *American Foreign Policy Interests, 30*(2), 96-117.

(like other influential in foreign policy groups) by news media content. This research probes the possibility that new media do affect the agendas of foreign policy think tanks.

 This work is meant to fulfil two main goals, (1) better our understanding of the role think tanks play in foreign policy by means of exploring agenda-setting as a possible mechanism the impact on foreign policy, and (2) advance the knowledge of media agenda-setting effects in foreign policy by identifying another possible channel of media impacts foreign policy think tanks. While employing the agenda-setting theory, this research looked at objects (represented by foreign countries) in news coverage from leading Kenyan dailies, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, and attention to these trade object in the corresponding period (104 full weeks of 2013 and 2014) in the content published on the websites of the top Kenyan foreign policy think tanks.

As an exploratory study, this work concentrated on searching for illustrations for possible relationships between think tanks and news media that would need to be tested in future research. Accordingly, measures were taken to heighten the likelihood of detecting hypothesized relationships. In order to increase the chances of detecting relationships between the attention to international trade from think tanks and their news coverage, the period for analyses was chosen to include presidential election. During elections greater attention is paid to policy think tanks, including those dealing with foreign policy.[53]

National advancement objectives and destinations for Wealth and Employment Creation and Trade issues with more salience in news coverage were chosen for analysis to ensure that measures on the two newspapers were more likely to be representative of the national news

[53] *Ibid.*

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agenda. Appearing in more news outlets, the objects would have more chances to be noticed and possibly adopted as foci of their attention by think tanks. Think tanks are said to adjust their foci to agendas of policymakers[54]

They could, similarly, be inclined to synchronize their agenda with that of influential in foreign policy news media. The first of the three hypotheses of this research, arguing that correlations between objects' in news salience and attention to them from think tanks, was partially supported by the data. Results of Pearson's-correlation analyses correlations showed connections between both concurrent and lagged contents.

While showing strong correlations between the attention think tanks paid in their online content to some countries and the salience of these countries in the news, the data did not provide much support for the hypothesis about issues salience determining the direction of agenda-setting effects between news media and think tanks. The finding suggests that the agenda-setting direction determination may be more nuanced in the case of think tanks than it is in the relationship between news media and presidents. [55] Recent research showed that highly salient objects with spikes of attention were very likely to exhibit similar attention patterns across the news media.[56]

Based on these findings, one could assume that if two dailies, or another prominent national news outlet, periodically devotes a great deal of attention to an object, it is sure to appear as part of the national news agenda as well. Such a rule did not hold true for the propagation countries in the research and advocacy agendas of think tanks in our research. This

[54]*Ibid.*.

[55] Peake, J. S. (2001). Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy. *Political Research Quarterly, 54*(1), 69-86. doi: 10.2307/449208

[56] Atkinson, M. L., Lovett, J., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2014). Measuring the Media Agenda. *Political Communication, 31*(2), 355-380.

finding illustrates that think tanks and news media are governed by different principles in their attention, which overlap in some cases but do not in others.

The international trade coverage with more salience in the news did not appear to be more likely to propagate attention of think tanks; whereas attention from think tanks to less salient in the news issues did not seem to reliably lead news agenda either. While these results are preliminary and bigger samples are necessary to test the significance of different factors determining presence and direction of agenda-setting effects between news media and Kenya foreign policy think tanks, data analysis produced several notable observations. The latter could be used in future research design, as they shed light on possible influential factors and uncover different types of relationships between the amounts of attention think tanks pay to objects and the salience of these objects in news coverage. The relationship between the news media coverage and the research and advocacy agendas of think tanks was strong in some cases and appeared situational and nuanced, as the direction of the agenda-setting effects would vary between cases.

The news media were able to influence the agendas of think tanks more in some cases and not at all in others, and vice versa. The nature of events causing spikes of attention from the news media and from the think tanks, as opposed to the sheer volume and strength of spikes in news media attention could be playing an important role in determining whether media could lead foci of attention in content published online by think tanks.

The news media agenda and the agendas of think tanks were reciprocal in some cases, while the direction of possible influence was clearer in others. Cross-correlation analyses revealed:

(a) Significant correlations in both directions in news coverage and think tanks online media content. In most of the cases where a positive relationship was detected between news

coverage and content from think tanks, lagged and concurrent news coverage correlated with attention from think tanks, suggesting that news media took the lead in bringing these countries within the agendas of the analyzed think tanks.

(b) In other cases, it is difficult to say, who starts paying attention to a particular international trade issues first, as only concurrent salience and attention from think tanks correlated or the influence between news coverage and the content published by think tanks on their websites appeared to be directed both ways. In some cases, one of the two think tanks would correlate with news media in its attention to the country international trade. This suggests that with the exclusive other factors tank could be determining their susceptibility to agenda-setting effects.

(c) While it is difficult to conclude with certainty that agenda-setting effects exist between news media and Kenyan foreign policy think tanks, the data in some cases show correlation and temporal relationship, the necessary conditions of agenda-setting. These relationships and factors contributing to them should be explored in more detail in future research. Interviews with research fellows and the administration of think tanks may shed light on factors enabling and determining the direction of agenda-setting effects between news media and think tanks. The strength of these factors could be tested in future research.

5.3 Recommendation

Conducting another set of content analyses events and including a greater number of objects (enough for statistically significant results) is imperative for a better understanding of factors determining the direction and strength of the exchange between media and think tank agendas. The nature of events, causing increased attention in both institutions, could be one explanation of the situational nature of agenda-setting effects and other factors. These might include the

composition of research teams in various think tanks, their goals, and research and editorial policies. Studying the funding sources, the history of attention to various types of issues from think tanks and other factors interviewing research fellows and administrations of think tank may reveal. Before the next set of content analyses or experimental studies, exploratory interviews and surveys need to be conducted in order to gain a better insight into possible factors affecting the presence and strength of agenda-setting effects in foreign policy research and advocacy. Some of the questions may directly ask research fellows and administration about their decision-making and prioritization of the topics, about sources of information they use for their work and outside work-related activities. Deeper, long-form interviewing techniques may many factors to be tested in the future.

As the sweep and importance of social media are growing, it is important to look into their potential role in foreign policy agenda-setting. Thus, interviews among research fellows and the administration of think tanks should ask questions about preferred and more utilized sources of news and relevant to work information. If social media and/or other sources are identified as valuable for think tanks, their content should be included in further studies.

Other elements of the foreign agenda-setting processes (policymakers and the public) and their agendas need to be considered as factors as well. Effects of think tanks foci on agendas of policymakers need to be tested in order to substantiate the possible role of think tanks as channels of (or amplifiers) of news media effects on foreign policy agenda.

As an exploratory study, this research produced results of limited generalizability. Accordingly, some of its limitations need to be addressed in future studies on the topic. This research project deliberately selected organizations and cases more likely to display relationships between online content in order to explore the nature of such relationships. Drawing a representative sample of organizations is necessary for future research. It is

important to consider objects of wider news salience spectrum in order to test the role of the news salience factor in enabling agenda-setting effects. A possible explanation for some of the relationships between think tanks and news media only existing during unity time might be rooted in the weekly basis of the time series analyzed in this research..

Since content analysis is not necessarily the best method for a test of causal relationships, a natural experiment could provide more definitive proof of agenda-setting effects in foreign policy research and advocacy. This study contributed to our knowledge and understanding of agenda-setting effects by identifying more possible channels of media effects in foreign policy (indirectly, via effects on think tanks, an arguably influential institution). It illustrated that the news agenda could be set by an expert organization's foci or engages- in setting exchanges with such organizations. While more research is needed to make more generalizable conclusions and to evaluate the impact of various factors in foreign policy agenda-setting, providing a basis for further exploration and for inclusion of think tanks into the foreign policy agenda-setting research.

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APPENDICES

Interview Guide for Interviewers   **Serial No…**

Dear Respondent,

I am hereby seeking to get feedback to the attached questionnaire. This interview is part of research project required for the award of Master's degree at University of Nairobi. Kindly answer the following questions.

Personal data

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

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

Interview Guide Questions

1. How would you describe social media in Kenya?

2. How has it contributed or affected government functions?

3. What is the contribution of social media to public opinion?

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

5. Have online communities played a role of agenda setting in the community? If yes, how?

6. If yes above, how has this role of agenda setting in the community influenced foreign policy decisions?

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

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

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

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

I really appreciate for giving your time. Thank you.

<div align="center">End.</div>

<div align="center">Thank you for your cooperation.</div>