

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIAL MEDIA IN PROMOTING KENYA'S
FOREIGN POLICY GOALS (2003 -2018)**

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DECLARATION

I confirm that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for any kind of an academic award.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my loving and supportive parents, Mr. Maurice Otieno and Mrs. Merab Otieno. My siblings; Marvin Edgar Odhiambo, Phoebe Achieng, Fredrich Oluoch, Valentine Rosemary Atieno, my nephew Maurice Okinyi Odhiambo and close friends. Thank you so much for choosing to believe in me.

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I recognize the Grace of God that has enabled me to achieve all these academic success up to this level. Thank you Lord for Your care!

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I thank you all!!!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	: European Union
ID	: Identity Card
KFP	: Kenya's foreign policy
UK	: United Kingdom
US	: United States
CSO	: Civil Society Organization
KDF	: Kenya Defense Forces
NARC	: National Rainbow Coalition
SPSS	: Statistical Package For Social Sciences
NACOSTI	: National Commission of Science Technology and Innovation

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish the influence of social media in promoting Kenya's foreign policy goals globally. The study was anchored on a conceptual framework and on Soft Power theory by Joseph Nye. The study adopted a mixed methodology approach where it used both the questionnaire and the interview guide in collecting data from the field. It adopted the descriptive survey design as its research design and purposive sampling technique. The study analyzed data using the descriptive statistics and the content analysis method. The study found out that social media had a very big influence in the formulation and execution of Kenya's foreign policy goals. Secondly, the study established that the use of social media in making of foreign policy is facing a lot of resistance from the Foreign Service officers and government bureaucrats. The study further established that social media is not entirely an effective tool of executing foreign policy because it is difficult to filter the information that goes in and out of social media and government secrets and strategies cannot be subjected to such a scenario. Finally, the study established that although social media is an effective tool for mobilization and passing of information to the citizens, it possess quite a number of security risks to the country's enemies such as the terrorist groups and the enemy states. The study therefore recommended that the government bureaucrats should find a way of including social media as one of the tools of formulation and conduct of foreign policies. Secondly, all government bureaucrats who in one way or another are part of formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policies should also consider joining the social media so that it becomes easier for them to understand public interests. Thirdly, the study recommends that a specialized task force should be formed so that it may look at ways and means in which social media can be used in making Kenya's foreign policy goals without posing any security risks. Finally, the study recommends that every government agency that is associated with the formulation and conduct of foreign policy to create a social media platform at least for passing information to the public and to mobilize the same public in any activity that requires their support.

CHAPTER ONE: THE INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Background of the Study

The conduct and formulation of foreign policy goals of any state relies on various actors. The traditional media sector has been the key actor and it has been seen as one of the tools which influence foreign policy goals of any state (Nyakweya 2013). For instance traditional media has been known to be the main mouthpiece of the ruling elites in agenda setting, thought control as well as the spread of propaganda (Tullah 2014). Media is inclusive of both print as well as broadcast. However most of the media stations have been known to be very structured and owned by the elites. Skeptics have always accused the traditional mainstream media of manipulating and relaying information which reflects the interests of the elites and the political class (Marstellah 2011).

In the recent past there has been a serious resurgence of the new media which is popularly known as the social media. It has been very steadfast in channeling emerging information to the general public (Cuman 2012). Examples of these social media platforms according to the author are; Facebook, twitter, WhatsApp, google chat, skype, yahoo chat as well as the blogs. The major reason as to why they are very popular is because they are easy to access from mobile phones and almost every person across the world is a mobile phone user (Cuman 2012). The wake of social media has given public an upper hand in influencing various government programs either in support or opposition of a particular policy. The process of executing Kenya's foreign policy has greatly been affected by mounting pressure of the general public that has been exerted on the foreign affairs ministry through the social media on various issues. As a result of this, the foreign affairs ministry has opened up a twitter handle, Facebook page account as well as opened up various blogs where it can engage with the public in the process of executing its mandate. This whole scenario is what prompted the researcher to conduct a study on this particular subject.

Social media in the modern world has been cited to be amongst most significant tools in advancing the foreign policy goals of any state (Cuman 2012). For instance, president Donald Trump of the United States relies so much on his twitter handle to communicate his foreign policy goals to other states. The ongoing trade war with China is being fought at the social media level (New York times July 2018). In the United Kingdom, the proponents of the Brexit vote used social media to advance their goals which led to the success of the Brexit vote. In the same breath, during the Scotland referendum in which they were to determine whether they should succeed from Britain or not, the United States together with other European Union Powers prevailed upon the Scottish people through the social media against voting to succeed from Britain (Boaz 2017).

In the African continent, during the Arab spring, the civil strife that Began in Tunisia was able to spread to Libya, Egypt, Morocco, Middle East and the Republic of Sudan courtesy of the social media influence (Odero 2013). The effect of social media, led to the internet being completely shut down by presidents Muamar Gadhafi of Libya, and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt because they felt that social media was not advancing their foreign policy goals. The end result is that social media alongside other factors led to the overthrow of these dictatorial regimes in Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and some countries in the middle East (Odero 2013). The situation was similar in South Africa whereby President Jacob Zuma was forced to resign from power courtesy of the internal and external pressure he received from the social media. Pressure of social media that consisted Zimbabwean republics both from within Zimbabwe and outside Zimbabwe was able to convince the whole world that the continued stay of President Mugabe in power was untenable (Boaz 2017).

In Kenya, the process of designing and implementing foreign policy goals has always been vested in the ruling elites such as the presidency, the military, parliament as well as Kenyan embassies abroad. As a result of these, it has always advanced interests of upper class as well as the ruling elites and not the majority of the Kenyan masses (Kipkorir 2015). However with the advent of social media, almost every Kenyan has become an active player in the formulation, conduct and the implementation of the Kenya's foreign policy goals (Kipkorir 2015). This has made it very difficult for the ruling elite to accept the fact that the majority of the masses can be key players in the foreign policy making. For instance,

Kenyan government over indulgence of loans with the Chinese has caused a lot of hue and cry among Kenyans on social media. The second instance is the deportation of the Chinese nationals who misbehaved in the Kenyan soil; the other instance is when there was the importation of maize from Mexico, importation of cheap and contaminated substances such as sugar and rice. It led to a lot of spat in the social media which influenced the Kenyan government to react and redesign foreign policy goals to resonate with the interests of the masses (Muluka 2018).

Therefore, Social media is a new tool influencing foreign policy goals to most citizens. However the extent to which social media influences countries foreign policy. goals is still not clear.

1.1 Problem Statement

According to the Writings of Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1954), the practice of formulation, conduct and the implementation of the foreign policy goals must be a very straight forward exercise from the state level, since foreign policy goals are just an extension of public policy goals. The authors continue to argue that foreign policy goals of a country are usually communicated to the citizens of a state through the traditional media such as print media as well as the broadcast media. This therefore means that its majorly the elites who are able to push for their interests to be attended to in the foreign policies of a country. This is so because it's very few people who were able to access the television and newspapers where foreign policy objectives were articulated. Modern world upholds the interest of the elites which is still dominant in the formulation and comporment of a country's foreign policy goals. For instance the practice of the formulation and conduct of foreign policy goals in Kenya encounters a lot of vested interests which are contradictory and in most cases the ruling elites usually carry the day in the issues of advancing their interests through Kenya's foreign policy goals. Furthermore, interests of the general masses have been ignored in the process of designing, formulating and implementing foreign policy goals. This makes Kenya's foreign policy goals to be elite-driven rather than citizens driven. One of the reasons that explain this situation according to Kipkorir (2015) is that, the tools of foreign policy making favors the elites rather than the general masses. However with the emergence

of the social media, the general masses have had a platform upon which they are able to make an input in as far as the formulation, conduct and the implementation of foreign policy goals is concerned. This phenomenon has been faced with a lot of resistance from the officers concerned, since they have a feeling that it negates the diplomatic principles and foreign policy tenets making. Therefore there is a very big standoff in the concerned ministry as to whether social media should be factored in as an official tool of foreign policy making or not. Therefore a policy gap exists at that level.

Secondly at the level of literature gap, literature concerning role of social media in revolutionizing most traditional professions have been done by a number of scholars. For instance Rosenau James in his study “Turbulence in World Politics; A theory of change and continuity”, he reiterates that in modern world, there are constant dynamics which puts various states in a state of uncertainty on how to relate with various nations. For instance author cites issue of globalization, increased movements of people and goods across state boundaries technological improvements as well as increased migrations, rising cases of the refugees amongst others as some of the key issues that puts us in an awkward position when it comes to the formulation and foreign policy comporment. The scholars have come up with findings and recommendations on how states could adopt in order to the challenges raised by Rosenau in 1990. However the findings of these scholars have always been contradictory. Again, no single study has been done pertaining impact of social media in promoting foreign goals in Kenya. As it can be seen from the above narrative, the studies on social media and its effects on many activities and profession has generated mixed findings and conclusions. Whereas some scholars advocated for social media to be accepted as an instrument for conducting business in various professions, other scholars are vehemently opposed to the social media use since its counterproductive to society. It is therefore upon this background researcher sought to critically analyze the role of the social media in advancing Kenya’s foreign policy goals.

1.2 Research Questions

The following were study questions.

1.2.1 Main Question

- 1) What role does the social medium play in influencing Kenya's foreign policy goals globally?

1.2.2 Specific questions

This study had these specific questions.

- 1) To what extent do the social media affect the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals?
- 2) What risks do social media pose in the process of the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy goals?

1.3 Research Objectives

The study had the following objectives

1.3.1 Main Objectives

- 1) To establish the role which social media play in influencing Kenya's foreign policy goals at the global level.

1.3.2 Special Objectives

The study had these specific objectives.

- 1) To determine the extent to which social media channels of communication affect the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals.
- 2) To establish the risks that social media platforms pose in the formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals

1.4 Justification of the study

The value of this study was two pronged; academic value and policy value.

1.4.1 Academic Value

The practice of the formulation and foreign policy goals in Kenya has always adhered to existing traditional tools such as the mainstream media, political class, the presidency and the bureaucracy. However in the modern world, social media has come up as a tool of advancing foreign policy goals in Kenya. It's upon that background this study identified a big literature gap in as far as social media and KFP goals are concerned. Therefore, study results and recommendations were useful to academicians and the students of law, politics, diplomacy and foreign policy, since it created a platform of academic discussions, debates and the basis for further research.

1.4.2 Policy Value

The policy value was that the bureaucracy that exists at the foreign affairs Ministry and KFP Service has continued to rely on the traditional tools of foreign policy making and therefore there has been a weak, slow and ineffective method of advancing KFP interests at the global level. Secondly in the past, KFP has been advancing interests of elites instead of the ordinary Kenyan citizens. Therefore this study identified the legal and policy loopholes that exist which hinder the adoption of social media as a tool of foreign policy making which ensured that the views of as many Kenyans as possible are factored in during the process of designing, implementing and analyzing KFP goals.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research concentrated on the influence of social media in formulation and conduct of KFP goals. The researcher put much emphasis on the periods between 2003-2018 because this is the time that Kenya's foreign policy goals were actively pursued under the NARC regime and the Jubilee administration. Secondly this is the period when social media became a common platform of communication and its very popular among all Kenyans. Finally it's the period when the influence of social media on a variety of issues locally and internationally has been felt by everybody.

The limitations included, interviewing the key foreign policy makers at the top-most level of government because it was only them who could give relevant information in as far as this study was concerned. Finding time to have an interview with these officers was so hard since most of them were out of the office or had a very tight and busy schedule, hence failure to have their input could have greatly limited this study. Secondly, the research was limited by the issue of getting consent from respondents before engaging in an interview with them. The researcher was aware that because of the strict rules in government offices, there exists a code of conduct which does not allow junior officers to speak on behalf of the ministry, or the government. Some officers out rightly refused to participate in this study for fear of being quoted. This may put their jobs at risk. However the researcher will maintain high levels of confidentiality in such circumstances.

1.6 Definition of Key Concepts

Foreign policy : according to James N Rosenau (2008) involves all the attitudes and activities through which organized national societies seeks to benefit from their international environment and cope with it. Foreign policy may also refer to the strategies. For the purposes of this study, it will mean the national interests that the government of Kenya is pursuing beyond its boundaries.

Social media: According to Brelsford (2013) refers to the interconnectivity of people from different parts of the world through use of apps which are internet-based. In this research, it

implies to the applications such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, google, Gmail, snapchat, Instagram as well as yahoo.

Diplomacy: According to Lee, Donna and Hocking (2011) refers to persuasion and negotiations. For the purposes of this study, it will mean the art of pursuing Kenya's national interests through persuasions, dialogue and other peaceful means other than war and threats.

Elites: Elite according to (Hartmann M 2010) refers to a group of people who are isolated from the rest of the general public in terms of lifestyles, aspirations and vision. In this research, it implies ruling class, the capital owners in Kenya, the political class, the military as well as the government bureaucrats.

Soft Power: According to Joseph Nye (2008) refers to the ability of one to influence the actions of the other person through peaceful means.

Blogs: According to Stakes (2008), these are online journals with entries that invites people to make their comments on a specific issue under discussion. These blogs are managed by an individual or a group of individuals, visitors to the blogs have the permission to give their ideas or reactions. These blogs can either be inform of write-ups, photos, films, videos or sounds. For the purposes of this study, blogs would mean all those online pages that the foreign affairs Ministry uses to pass information to public and where the public can post their suggestions to the ministry.

Social Networks: These according to Mayfield (2006) refer to sites which enables people to build their own website pages which enables them to interconnect with people from various parts in the world as well as communication. In order for it to be operational, they reassure technologically aided software. For the purposes of this study, social networking sites includes Facebook, WhatsApp, twitter, Instagram, snapchat, to go and google chat, just to mention but a few. In Kenya, Facebook boasts of having six million registered users, while twitter has got more than 25 million registered users.

Forums: According to Mayfield (2008), Forum means those platforms that give people opportunities to have candid discussions. These discussions are mostly centered on topical issues as well as emerging issues. For the purposes of this study, forums would mean all those social media channels that the general public uses to engage with the foreign policy makers and implementers.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 The Introduction

Chapter two reviewed two bodies of literature. One set of literature focused on influence of social media on foreign policies of states while the other set of literature looked at the challenges that social media pose in the implementation of the country's foreign policy goals. This section reviewed the existing literature as advanced by various scholars. The section reviewed and established the knowledge gap that needs to be filled.

2.1 The Nature of Social Media and Its Challenges

Mayfield (2008) argues that social media has got five major characteristics, namely; participation, openness, conversation, community and connectedness. These characteristics may be of great benefit to any state or pose a serious challenge to the same state depending on how it is viewed. These characteristics are so crucial in influencing the foreign policies of states whether positively or negatively. For instance, through the attribute of participation, the practice of incorporating individual's contribution and relying of feedback by the foreign affairs Ministry to people is promoted. This means that social media offers a podium where public participation that allows all Kenyans to have a say in the formulation, conduct and the promotion of Kenya foreign policy. However these public participation if not properly guided may pose a serious security challenge in cases where there is negative mobilization towards a negative course. For instance the Arab spring where the social media was used to mobilize citizens of various states to overthrow their governments.

The second attribute according to Mayfield (2008) is that of openness where by the services of social media are free to enter and exit. Therefore, there is nobody who has been denied that chance of making an input towards the formulation of Kenya's foreign goals. However these openness should be limited pertaining matters of national security where existence of state is threatened. The third attribute is that of conversation. The author suggests that through social media, communication goes through all directions and the ideas emanate from any direction. However filtration of these information is need so that it may not turn out to incite communities against others, nations against other nations, or nations against

other communities. A good example is South Africa where problem of xenophobia were spread using social media and it resulted to massive killings of many immigrants. The fourth attribute is that of the community whereby through the discussions on that platform, a community that shares same interests is quickly formed and it advances the foreign policy goals of a country. However the problem with most developing states such as Kenya is that most communities are formed along tribes, religions or sectarian interests. There is no community that can emerge or be formed around ideologies or philosophies. Finally, the attribute of connectedness. The author notes that, most of the social media platforms makes use of other links, online resources that makes it to access information and to further research. Whereas Mayfield's research was meant to shed more light on what social media is, the attributes he gives i.e. participation, openness, conversation, community and connectedness can be very useful or at the same time disastrous in advancing any country's foreign policy goals. These ideas therefore help to improve the knowledge of interface linking social media and foreign policy making.

2.2 The Influence of Social Media on the Implementation of Foreign Policy Goals.

Webkes view (2014),the social media use has expanded communications by government institutions and their audiences, for instance, the author carried out research pertaining social media use in public diplomacy in Germany foreign missions, he established that although social media cannot be adopted as stand-alone communication channel, its use ids growing on a daily basis and in future, it may be turned into the main channels of communications, this therefore means that all the states must consider seriously in social media adoption while conducting its foreign policy the author was however quick to note that most governments are keen to follow what's going on in social media, but very few governments across the world such as Germany are willing to relay critical information with regards to foreign policy to their audience via the social media.

Rubenner (2015) conducted a study on Social media Foreign policy; analyzing the use of social media by political class in America. The researcher established social media use has caused intergenerational divide in United States, he cites two cases where some acts of oppression have seemingly taken place in as such as the Guantanamo bay, it's the young

people on social media with the aid of the activists who have constantly condemned these inhuman acts. The author further reveals that on various issues of the day, there is always a sharp divide on the opinions of the old people as compared to those of the young people. This is partly because the young people are able to easily mobilize themselves through the social media, the author further gives an example of where the US government was forced to change its foreign policy towards Cuba through a surging force from the social media. This is because it was greatly used as a channel of Advocacy. In addition, the author has pointed out that the dominant communities in the United States have got serious and active social media pages while these which are less dominant and weak are likely to possess a serious social media channel.

Olubukola (2017) conducted a study on Foreign policy in Digital Diplomacy, author established that the world has been revolutionized by social media use where he reiterated African states have no option but to read the signs of times. He therefore advocated for the states to rely so much on social media in getting to know perception of general public wants and as a way of executing the foreign policies with the external publics this will ensure that the foreign policy goals of their respective states are achieved within time.

According to Nying'uro (1997), in his publication entitled "The external sources of Kenya's democratization process", he observes that quite a number of external persons influences the behavior of the Kenyan government, he cites the developed countries which are active in lending Kenya foreign aid, secondly he mentions organizations such as the NGOs, Multinationals, international organizations such as the UN, Organization for Africa Unity just to mention but a few. Although the writings of this author are still valid up to date, he did not mention anything to do with social media as one of the tools which impact Kenya's democratization process or the behavior of the Kenyan government towards the process of the formulation and conduct of foreign policy goals.

Bourgalt (1995) noted that most states in the African continent promoted a non-hierarchical communication which did not adhere to any form of order. This was during the advent of democracy and democratic wave of expansions in the continent. This was in the periods between 1960s and 70's. However in the period between 1980s and 90's there was a huge

democratic reversals in the African continent whereby most African governments wanted to control the flow of information so as to ensure that there is no opposition to what the said governments thought were the national interests (Hyden & Leslie 2002). Whereas the two scholars are making valid arguments on how most African states have been conducting their foreign policy goals, they do not tell us anything about social media as new instrument in influencing a nations foreign policy goals. But their views help in analyzing African states historical sense.

Ndavula and Mberia (2012) noted that social networking sites have played a big role in regulating the relationship between the state and the market which do not always see eye to eye. He further argues that as much as government bureaucracies are adamant in accepting social media as part of the foreign policy making, however they are still unable to ignore the influence that social media has in influencing their decisions.

Leslie and Hyden (2002) argued that social networking sites have become tools of mobilization by the political leaders. The said leaders according to the authors can mobilize their supporters to buy a certain line of thinking. They give an example of the civil society organizations and the political parties which have exploited social media to set the foreign policy agendas of the respective states. Apart from advocating for public policy goals in the outside world, the civil society organizations have also used social media to demand for government accountability. This view differs with that of Barasa (2014) who carried out a study on the efficiency of social media in advertising in Kenya. She found out that social media is a vital tool in modern era for advertising for any company, business organization or any brand, also that social media has revolutionized how a company communicates with its market. Whereas her study concentrated on social media as an advertising tool her findings greatly informs the researcher conceptualization of the social media.

Tullah (2014) did a study on the impact of social media on engaging citizens on government matters. He found out that it's a significant channel in enhancing citizen participation; it opened a free medium of expression. However the author warns that governments all over the world must not embrace social media in its raw nature, there has to be some level of intervention which will restore order and sanity in society. He argues that freedoms come

with responsibilities and therefore governments must be very keen on what goes in and out of social media. Filtration of information is good for the government. However the results indicated that it greatly boosts the benefits and threats of social media in promoting citizen participation. Therefore, this study warns that incorporation of social media as foreign policy enforcing tool must be approached with an extreme caution. The findings of this study is further enhanced by that of Kimutai (2014) who did a study on social media as threat to National Security. He found out an existence of direct impact as it contributed greatly in fanning ethnic animosity in Kenya. Whereas his study concentrated on social media and National security threats, his findings greatly inform this study about the dangers that social media may pose. Therefore the two authors warns social media use has got its own merits and demerits.

Wanjiru (2014) did a study on the Here. The study greatly helps this study in the conceptualization of the likely threats that social media may have on foreign policy formulation and conduct. However her study is contradicted by the findings of Odero (2013) who did a study on influence of social media in installing peace in Kenya. He found out that many respondents were on social media which had followers between 101-1000; that mainstream media was used

Tonui (2017) carried out research on challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa, Role of media Diplomacy in Kenya. He found established media plays key part in the foreign policy implementation; he therefore recommended that African States should establish a strong regional media network, an effective diplomacy strategy to bridge the gaps in foreign policy making, accesses and train diplomats on effective media relations. He also recommended for research into the new media impact on diplomatic engagements and on inquiry into the effective ways of strategizing on ways in which African governments can incorporate social media amongst their tools in implementing foreign policy. This study is simply a follow up on what the previous author had recommended. The study is also reinforced by that of Mwangela (2015) who conducted research to establish the ways in which social media has revolutionized media houses processes in Kenya. The researcher revealed that media houses have incorporated social media in their day to day operations particularly in gathering news and dissertation, however the use of social media should be

approached with precaution as most of the information in these platforms lack credibility which may hamper objectivity. That art of using social media without any fear of contravening professionalism is what this study is interested in.

Therefore as it can be seen in the above literature review, there exists a big knowledge as well as policy gap on the impact of social media on many professions, namely journalism, security, trade, diplomacy as well as foreign policy. It is upon this background that this study wishes to critically analyze the role of social media in advancing Kenya's foreign policy goals.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Joseph Nye Concept of Soft Power

This study was anchored on Joseph Nye's concept of soft power theory as prescribed in the early 1980s (Nye 1980). The author first agrees to the fact that the main goals of a state is to promote its national interests which is survival and protection of its territorial integrity. Therefore nations will have to acquire power and more power in eyes of other nations. The author further argues that in order for a state to effectively pursue its national interests beyond its borders, the state needs to possess both the hard and soft power. Hard power in this case implies use of force including sanctions, wars and intimidation of other states. Soft power on the other hand refers to the use of persuasion and pacific ways of engagement to influence other states to do things according to the interests of the state in question. For instance, the state can use issues such as grants, aid, promotion of culture, values, ideals as well as creation of foundations just to mention but a few strategies (Nye 1980).

Nye(1980) argues that the major assumptions of the soft power theory includes but are not limited to; first, there has to be an existence of liberal democracy among the states, this means that these states must always be agents of peace and engage each other using peacefull means. Liberal democracy would also imply that these states observe human rights, and pay their allegiance to the global institutions which are responsible to give directions when it comes to the interstate interactions. Again the theory assumes that democracies do not go to war. Secondly the theory assumes that there is maximum cooperation between states, this maximum cooperation is related to all fields that the states

can afford to engage with each other. It's on this platform of cooperation that a state will be able to influence the behavior and the perception of other states through convincing and appealing ideas. Thirdly, the theory assumes that there is a heavy existence of economic dependence between states which makes one state to be in apposition to influence another monetarily and through dependency. Finally the theory opposes the possibility of war and instead encourages cooperation among states. This means that military power does not matter when it comes to interstate relations. Instead it's the power of ideas which matters. Therefore its these four assumptions that will pave the way for a state to use the power of the social media either to market itself, its products, its ideas, its cultures, its heritage among others to other states so that they are able to influence other states to cooperate with it.

In summary therefore, this approach argues that Kenya is able to use soft power tools like social media and not through force, wars, intimidation and coercion to advance its foreign policy goals.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The study this conceptual framework.

OTHER INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

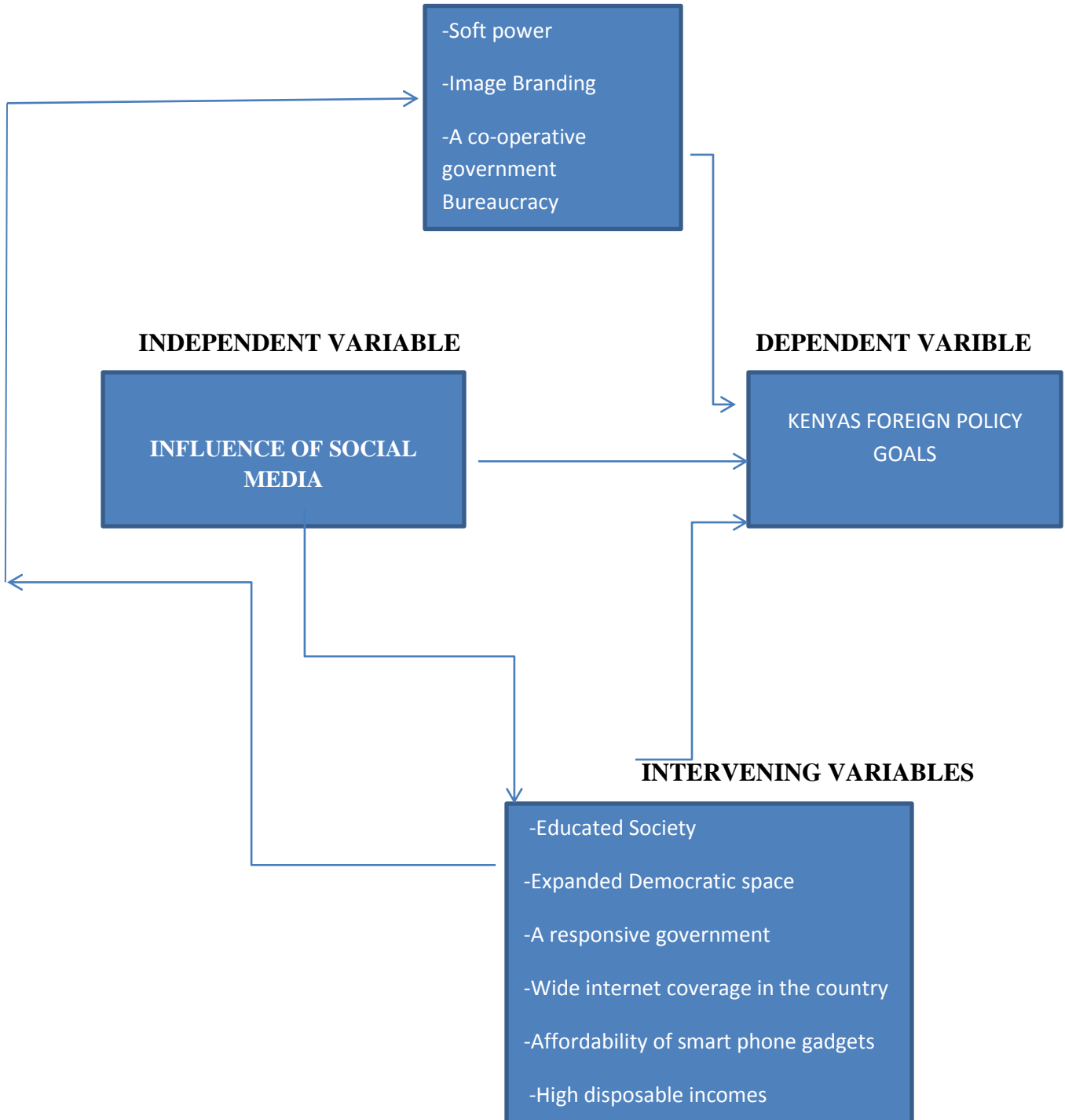


Figure 2.3 (Source Author 2018)

From the conceptual framework which has been expressed in the above figure 1.9, the independent variable which is social media can effectively influence the dependent variable which is Kenya's foreign policy goals only if the following conditions exist. First is an educated citizenry who are able to effectively utilize the social media. Secondly, is an expanded democratic space in a country which allows the citizens to express themselves freely without fear of arrest. A responsive government which is willing to listen and address the concerns of its citizens as regards to the foreign policy goals. A wider internet coverage across the entire republic which will ensure that all the citizens from all parts of the country are able to effectively air their views using the social media. Affordability of smart phones by the citizens. This is because it's only the smart phones that contain the applications for the social media. Finally, the citizens should have a high disposable income in order to be able to purchase enough data bundles so as to effectively use the social media to influence the country's foreign policy goals. All these factors are known as the Intervening variables. On the flipside, other independent variables that could also positively influence a country's foreign policy goals alongside social media among other factors includes the amount of soft power that a country has and the extent to which it utilizes the soft power. Secondly, the extent to which a country brands itself in terms of its image and finally the extent to which the bureaucracies that exist at the ministry of foreign affairs and a country's embassies abroad co-operates with the citizenry.

2.4.1 Conceptualization of Social media

Social media according to Brelsford (2013)' refers to the interconnectivity of individuals through internet which allow users to generate content, distribute and engage with each other. This definition is similar to that of Ekkola (2008) who notes that social media refers to the technology-based and structural processes whereby people develop and share ideas. The two definitions rhymes with that of Kanga (2007) who revealed definition of social media is incomplete without three elements, namely content, communities and website. The author further argues by using social media, socio-political and economic way of life of individuals and the governments all over the world have been changed since it has altered completely the modes of production, distribution as well as consumption of goods and services.

2.4 Research Hypothesis

The study tested these research hypotheses.

- i. Social media channels of communication positively affect the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals.
- ii. Social media platforms pose a lot of risks in the formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.0 Introduction

Chapter three explained methods of data collection, research design, target population, the sample size of the study, the sampling design adopted by the study, data presentation and analysis techniques. In addition to this, ethical considerations were also explained.

3.1 Methods of Data Collection

This study relied on mixed methods of data collection, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data will include the use of questionnaire and the interviews from the respondents, while secondary sources will rely on books, academic journals, articles, publications, speeches as well as documentaries. The use of questionnaires was justified in that it enabled the researcher to get the views of as many respondents as possible within a very short period of time. While the interview guide assisted the researcher to have a sit down talk with a few of knowledgeable respondents who gave an in-depth insights in this issue

3.2 Research Design

Descriptive survey design, was used in accordance with Kerlingers views (1973). This type of design was suitable for the research because it enabled the researcher to acquire accurate information for a large number of people using a small sample, to establish link among study variables which was able to paint a picture of what he observes through interviews which he described, because it allowed generalization across the population. Secondly the descriptive design describing present occurrences and the prevailing conditions.

3.3 Target Population

The study targeted officers at the ministry of Foreign Affairs, officers at the Foreign Service institute, Academicians, renowned bloggers, Security officers, and officers at the Kenya Defense forces, officers at the immigration department, Journalists with specialization in international affairs and the ambassadors. The researcher aimed at conducting interviews specifically with the Foreign service officers of various ranks, Academicians, renowned

bloggers, Officers at the KDF, Officers from the immigration department, security officers in charge of diplomatic matters, and members of the civil society groups all of whom are in charge of dealing with diplomatic matters either as policy makers or as policy implementers. Questionnaires were distributed to the remaining population under each cluster in order to obtain the perceptions of the study population of various variables under the study. The targeted population was estimated to be 950 respondents.

3.4 Sample Size

The research had intended to have a sample 95 respondents. This figure had aimed at representing 10% of the target population. The justification of this figure was drawn from Mugenda & Mugenda's ideas (1999) on a descriptive survey design whereby a large population can be studied using a small sample that will cut across all the categories of the respondents and it was representative of the special features of the target population. The study interviewed at least 30 respondents and distributed the questionnaires to the remaining 65 respondents in each category. From the distributed questionnaires and interview guide, the researcher succeeded in interviewing 18 respondents and 40 questionnaires were returned. This made a total of 58 respondents which a turnout of 61%. There were 16 officers from the MOFA, 4 officers from the FSI, 4 academicians in the field of diplomacy and foreign policy, 10 bloggers, 18 security officers, 16 KDF officers, 12 Immigration Officers, 9 journalists with a specialization in International affairs and 6 ambassadors and high commissioners. This totaled up to 95 respondents. Out of the sample size of the 95 respondents, at least 32 respondents were of either gender, this was in line with the constitutional requirement of 1/3 gender rule. These members were picked because they were better placed to give information pertaining to the topic under study.

3.5 Sampling Design

For convenience and economy, Purposive sampling was used for the purposes of obtaining primary data. Purposive sampling technique allowed the researcher the authority to choose whom to include in the study and whom to leave out. The purpose of employing this technique was to ensure that the study only contacts relevant respondents who will give the required information that this study sought to obtain and to sure that population was

represented equitably. The respondents in this study included all the officers from the relevant administrative offices that are tasked with the duty of foreign policy making, implementation and policy execution from the mentioned categories. The researcher distributed the questionnaires and the guiding questions to all the respondents prior to the interviews.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Methods of Data Analysis

Since this study was both quantitative and qualitative data. In content analysis, information collected from primary sources was coded in and merged with that information derived from the raw questionnaire. Data from secondary sources was analyzed with the interview responses, they were used in drawing conclusions on the subject matter. Descriptive analysis was used to enable the researcher to avoid generalizations in her findings beyond the sample.

3.6.2 Validity

In order to boost the validity of the research instruments, study adopted the split half method and hand over the research instruments to different experts like the supervisor and course colleagues in research to ascertain their content and construct validity. Their suggestions were included in the research instruments in order to improve on them.

3.6.3 Reliability

The researcher adopted a test and re-test of the study hypothesis. This means that the researcher analyzed the data collected both qualitative and quantitative three different times and it was able to replicate the same findings. This actions were meant to raise the reliability of the study findings.

3.6.4 Ethical Considerations

The major ethical problems in this study were as follows; getting consent from the respondents, maintain high level of privacy in the conversation with the respondents, and maintaining the levels of confidentiality with each of the respondent's. In an ideal set up, the

study should be able to freely engage with all the officers in relevant security and anti-corruption agencies that are tasked with specifically dealing with trans-border corruption, because this study is aimed at improving the war against trans-border corruption for the good of all Kenyans, however this was impossible because most of these officers are not comfortable in discussing anti-corruption matters with the public for fear of losing their jobs and being quoted. Finally in a bid to promote transparency and identification which are part of ethical considerations, the researcher carried along herself, her national identity card, student ID card, and the introductory letter from the university.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four presented study findings by considering the following issues; the gender type, age brackets, educational levels, the occupation of the respondents and their working experiences. Data presentation in terms of each item which was asked in the questionnaire and the interview guide, data analysis and presentation of the study findings.

4.2 Demographic Information

4.2.1 The Response Rate

The response rate of this study comprised of 58 respondents out of the 95 respondents who were supposed to participate in this study. This constitutes 61% of the sample size. This percentage (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003) is good for any serious study.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

The table below reveals specific number of participants in the study either by filling in the questionnaire or by participating in the interviews.

Response	Questionnaire		Face-to-face interviews	
	Respondent	N/ respondent	Respondents	N/ respondent
Frequency	40	25	18	12
Percentage	62%	38%	60%	40%
Total	65	65	30	30

4.2.2 The Demographic Characteristics of the Key Respondents

The following tables, and pie-charts indicates the gender of the respondents, category of respondents, age, educational levels, working experience, birth place of the respondents among others.

4.2.2.1 Gender Composition

Participants were required to indicate their gender inclinations and these were their responses.

Table 4.2: Gender Composition

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	37	64%
Female	21	36%
Total	58	100%

The table above shows unequal gender representation however the one third gender rule was met. This imbalance between men and women perhaps is a pointer to gender imbalance which exists in the public service and something needs to be done in order to rationalize that kind of imbalance.

4.2.2.2 Age of the Respondents

The individuals who participated in this study had the following age distributions; the age distribution was specified in between the interval of 10.

Table 4.4: Age of the respondents

Age of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
20 -30 Yrs.	8	14%
31-40 Yrs.	10	17%
41-50 Yrs.	12	21%
51-60 Yrs.	28	48%
Above 61Yrs	0	0
	58	100%

The above table shows that majority of participants were aged between 51-60 years which stood at 48%. This was a very shocking statistics to the researcher since half of the Government employees are on their way to retirement and there is no learn succession plan which has been put in place. This is a clear testament of how the young people in this country are marginalized in terms of employment and promotions in the public service. This was followed by those of between 41-50 years which stood at 21%, those between 31-40 years constituted of 17% and those between 20-30 years was 14%.

4.2.2.3 Educational Level of the Respondents

Table 4.5: Educational Level of the Respondents

Educational level	Frequency	Percentage
O-level	12	21%
Diploma	16	28%
Degree	22	38%
Masters	6	10%
PhD	2	3%
Total	58	100%

The table above shows many participants had university degree education and Diploma education which fell at 38% and 28% respectively. 12 respondents had an O-level certificate while 6 had a master's degree, its only 2 respondents who had a PhD degree. This clearly testifies that majority of the respondents are averagely educated hence they had a clear understanding of the issues that were under discussion.

4.2.2.4 Occupation of the Respondents

The respondents were asked to state their occupation. This is how it turned out.

OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Academicians	2	3%
Civil Servants	18	31%
Diplomats	2	3%
Immigration Officers	10	17%
Security officers	15	26%
Bloggers	11	19%
TOTAL	58	100%

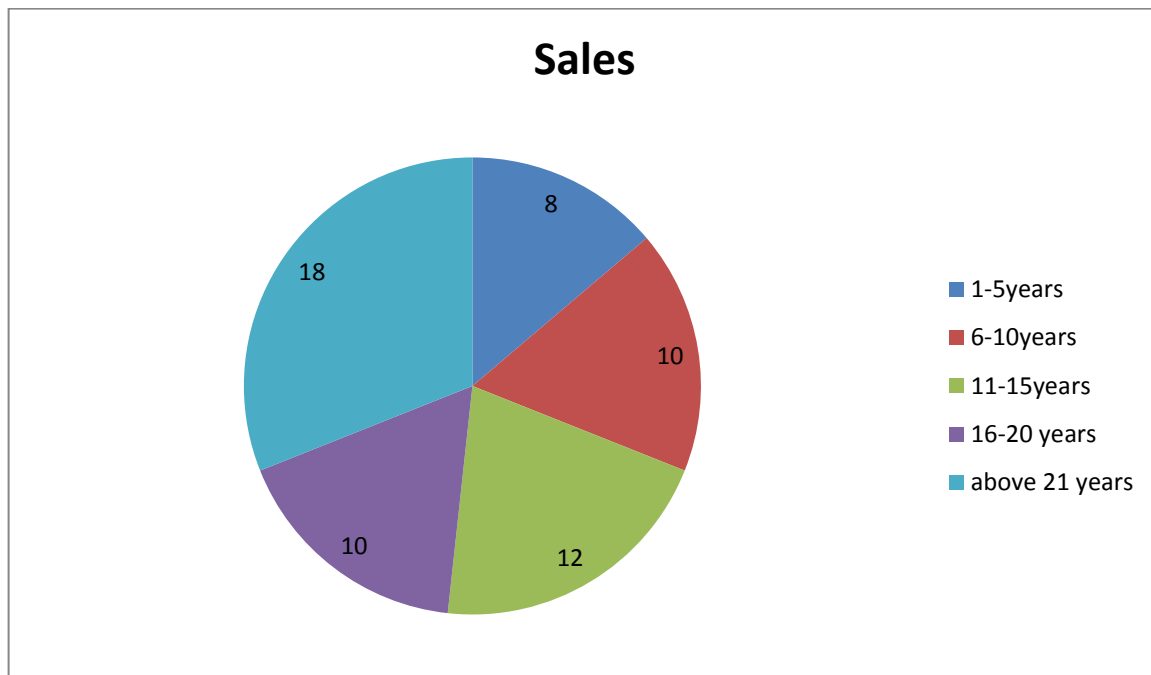
The above table shows that there were two members from the world of the Academia, 18 civil servants from the line ministries and state departments which were in one way or

another responsible for the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy, 2 diplomats who were responsible for the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy, 10 immigration officers who were responsible for the issuance of passports and other travel documents, security officers who were working in the line ministries and state departments which were responsible for the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy goals, and lastly 11 bloggers who were known to have a huge following in their blogs. This therefore means that the respondents who formed the sample size of this study were well representative.

4.2.2.5 Working Experience

This study attempted to find out the period that each respondent had worked in his area of work.

Figure 4.1: Working Experience

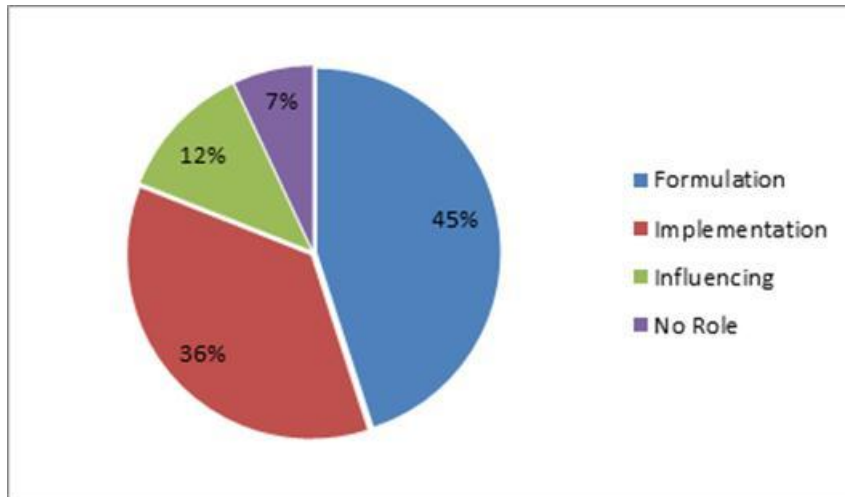


This study revealed that of all the respondents whom this study managed to interview, 18 respondents worked for a period of 21 years and above, 10 respondents had worked for between 6-10 years and 16 to 20 years respectively. While 8 respondents had working experience ranging from 1-5 years. This signifies many participants had worked for more than 15 years in Government. This signifies that they had a clear understanding of how the Government works.

4.3 THE NEXUS BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

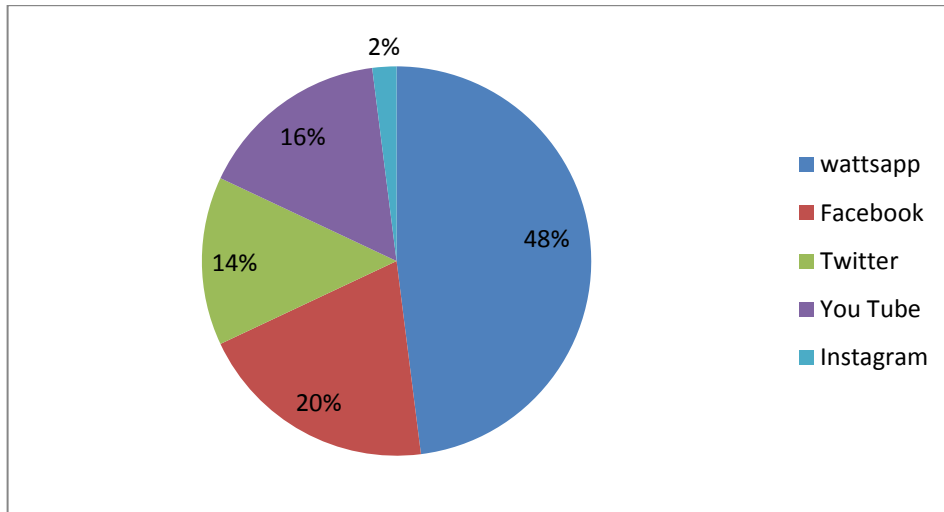
Under this sections, there were multiple questions which the respondents were asked to give their ideas on. This how the respondents gave in their ideas.

4.3.1 what role do the individual respondents play in influencing Kenya’s foreign policy goals?



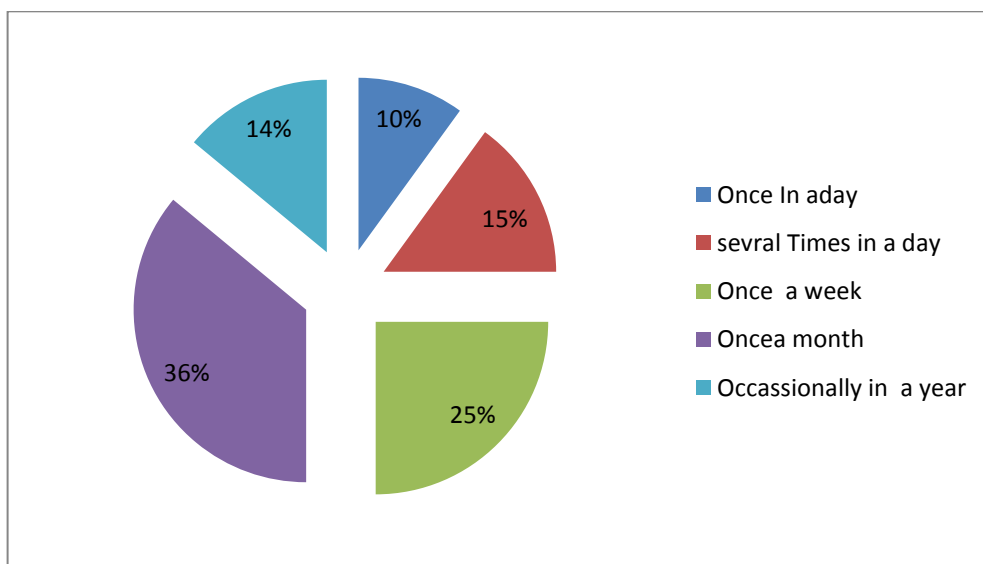
The above diagram, reveals that from all the respondents whom this study contacted, their personal role in formulation and conducting of KFP goals was split into four parts. Those who formulate directly were 45%, those who implement were 36%. Those who Influence directly or indirectly were 12% and those who believed had no role at all in as far as KFP was concerned was 7%.

4.3.2 Which of the Social Media networking sites do you use quite often?



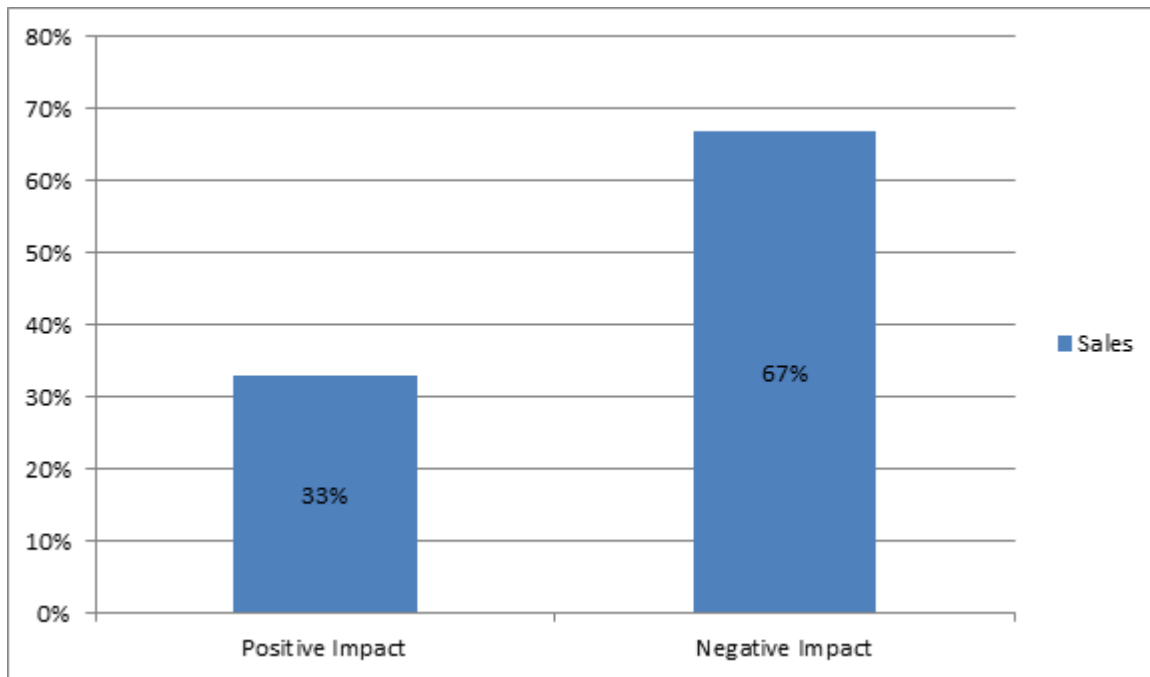
From the above diagram, it can be noted that the use of WhatsApp was the most common social media sites which most of the officers have and use quite frequently. Then it was followed by the Facebook page account at 20%, the use of YouTube became a third site with 16%, then Twitter handles at 14%. The least used social media site was Instagram at 2%.

4.3.3 What is the Frequency of Your Use of the above Social Media Outlets



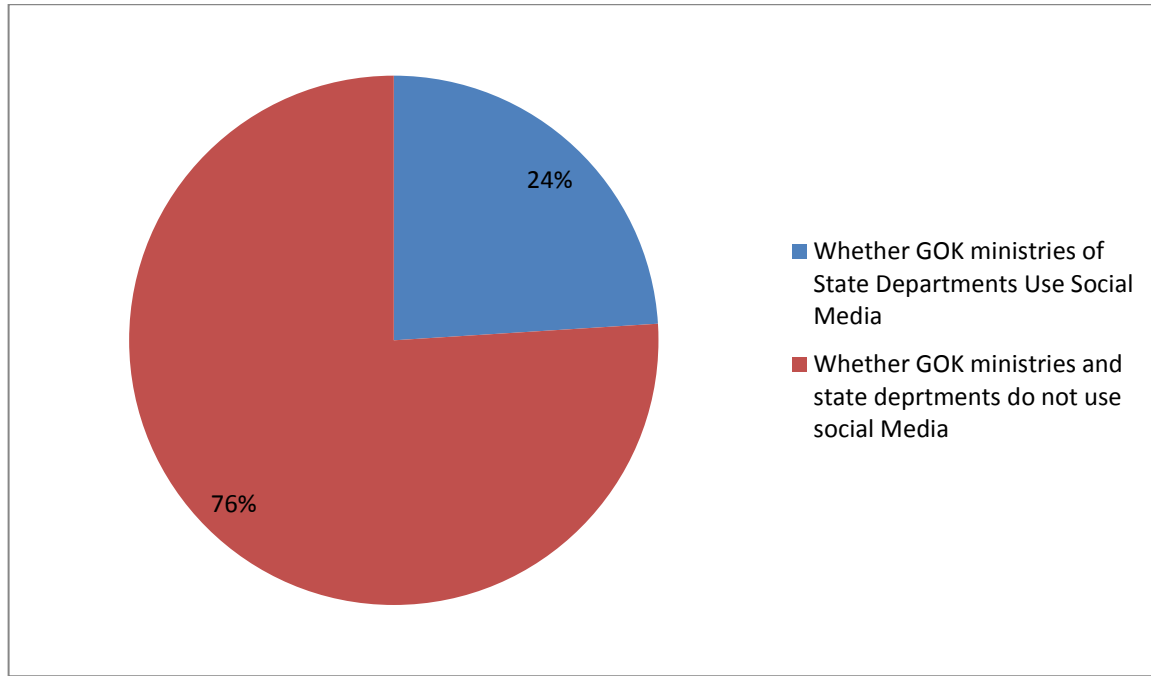
From the above Diagram, most of the respondents use three social media sites at least once in a month which stood at 35%, another 25% use them once in a week, 15% use their social media apps several times in a day while 10% of the respondents visit their social media apps once in a day, only 14% of the respondents visit their social media apps occasionally in a year. Therefore, from these responses many respondents are not fond of visiting the several social media apps as frequently as possible. Among the explanations to this was that most of the respondents were very old and they saw use of social media as a time wasting venture which its not worth of their time, others cited too much work in their offices which requires their attention.

4.3.4 The Impact of Integrating Social Media in the formulation and conduct of Kenya’s Foreign Policy.



From the above Bar Graph, It can be seen that many respondents feel that including social media in formulation and conducting KFP will cause a negative impact rather than a positive impact.67% of the respondents felt that social Media will have an inverse correlation to foreign policy making while only 33 % felt that it will cause a positive impact. This shows the amount of resistance the use of social media faces among the Government Bureaucrats.

4.3.5 Does the MOFA and Kenya Government line state departments use social Media sites to manage any emerging crisis?



Majority of the respondents felt that government ministries and Line state Departments use or rely on social media in formulating and executing Kenya's foreign policy. This is because those who believed the government ministries use or rely on social media to make its decisions were 24% while a whopping 76% of the respondents felt the government deliberately ignores social media. This reveals the kind of negative attitude that exists in government circles over the use of social media.

4.4 The emerging issues

From the subsequent questions that the respondents were asked, it was revealed that the respondents were not aware of any form of crisis that social media was used by the Government of Kenya in resolving any diplomatic crisis or any crisis that touched on Kenya's foreign policy. However, issue of Chinese who abused Kenyans and president Uhuru Kenyatta was brought up by some immigration officers. Also, the security officers pointed out the issue of the Kenyan nationals who were being mistreated in the Middle East. The other scenario which was raised was the issue of Donald Trump abusing the African

people during the presidential race, there was evidence that Kenyans on Twitter and Facebook reacted angrily over these three scenarios. However, there is no outright link between these complains and the so called “roasting” and the impact it had on KFP.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs officers acknowledged that the ministry had a twitter handle and a Facebook page which it occasionally uses to publicize on what the ministry does. However these two pages according to the respondents did not inspire any form of public confidence because they were simply used for informing the public on what’s taking place but necessarily gathering the public vies in formulation and conduct of KFP goals.

Most of the respondents felt that there were no direct purposes while the government of Kenya had in using social media in the formulation and the execution of foreign policy goals. However, most respondents felt that the government of Kenya saw the need of using these sites for mobilization of Kenyans towards achieving a certain goal. Others felt that social media served the Kenyan Government by way of creating a good platform of informing the general public on what is taking place in the global arena in as far as Kenya’s foreign policy goals was concerned.

The respondents felt that the most targeted group by the GOK in as far as mobilization is concerned was the Kenyan youths or to a large extent the young people, most of whom spend all their time on social media. It should be noted that according to the 2017 statistics released by the Ministry of Development and planning, 70% of the Kenyan population consisted of the young people. Therefore, there is no way in which the government of Kenya can do without addressing these concerns of this population.

4.4.1 Advantages of social media in promoting Kenya’s Foreign Policy Goals

On the question of the benefits and challenges experienced by foreign policy makers and executors in using social media as a tool of foreign policy making, most of the respondents felt that, social media was like a double edged sword. This is because social media provided the benefits of offering a platform to these officers to mobilize the general public in as far as pursuing certain goals was concerned. Secondly, social media was a better platform of informing the general public and what the Kenyan government was doing in execution of KFP goals was concerned. The other benefit that social media offered was the issue of

bringing together multiple stakeholders in sharing ideas on how best to formulate and execute KFP. However, the respondents were quick to point out that this was limited to public servants or government bureaucrats alone and not with the general public.

The respondents have further observed social media is a tool of foreign policy is so essential. This is because both the state and non-state actors are competing for the same space. The other reason is that the population from all the states across the world is able to access any form of information using their mobile phones from whatever place on earth. This means that the total population on 3 billion individuals is able to interact with each other easily courtesy of the use of social media. This therefore means that if social media is properly utilized, it can go a long way in assisting states to pursue their foreign policies in an objective manner. Besides these, it can also assist states to access any part of the world and advance their own interests and persuade all global players to come and invest within its territory.

According to the respondent, social media has provided a good platform for citizens of all the states to interact with each other, do businesses together, hence expanding the states outreach in terms of diplomacy. All these benefits have been facilitated by the great capacity which various social media channels have in terms of acquisition, low cost of operation as well as the ability to reach to a wider public across the earth. This means that it's the cheapest mode of conditioning state diplomacy as compared to other forms of traditional diplomacy where embassies and high commissions are involved. Further, social media is also able to disseminate information of various kinds such as videos, photographs, links as well as huge documents, live speeches, online meetings as well as public lectures. All these information are critical in supplementing the works of diplomacy.

The respondents further observed use of various social media channels has got a benefit of accessing, collecting as well as processing of information in an easier manner. For instance, the embassies abroad can rely on the social media to assist their home governments to combat disasters, improve on their levels of communication as well as relay feedback to their citizens on time. With proper utilization of various channels of social media has got the benefit of causing a number of economic benefits not only to the investors but to the host

state. This study has therefore managed to discover that if the foreign affairs employees in embassies abroad are made aware of the use of various channels of social media, then the lesser their work and the formulation and conduct of foreign policy will be much easier. Although this study does not in any way condemn the use of traditional diplomacy, but it argues that the use of social media can make things better for the traditional diplomacy. For instance, instead of a country wasting resources to airlift a number of its delegations to international conferences such as the United Nations General Assembly, international workshops and symposiums, such governments need to rely on various social media channels to broadcast those conferences live and transfer information from one particular part of the world to another. Therefore if the social media can be handled properly, it can be a better option for many states in as far as the formulation and conduct of their respective foreign policies is concerned.

4.4.2 Challenges of Social Media in the implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy Goals.

On the Flipside, some of the challenges that social media posed in as far as formulation and execution of KFP was concerned includes the following;

First, it has made communication easier between states and between individuals from one corner of the earth to the other. It has also reduced the distance in which different forms of communication was disseminated. Therefore this means that the government through its ministry of foreign affairs is able to easily publicize its public functions and events which it is organizing abroad so that many people can be art of those of radio and television that did not reach as many people as social media in an instant manner.

Second, the respondents noted that social media use to pass information from one source to the other has got its own challenges such as leaking of the same information, the problem of these social media platforms being hacked, and challenge of anonymous users. For instance, an example where there was leakage of information that the respondents gave was the issue of the WikiLeaks.

Third, the respondents consistently mentioned the issue of hacking of government social media platforms, the challenges of hacking according to the respondents has been there

since the days of the emergence of the internet. For example, the prime minister of Israel one Yali Edelstein was hacked as he was representing his country in high level security committee abroad. He however was quick to dismiss the reports arguing that there were urgent measures that were taken to address the issue which did not have those serious effects as such. However the damage had already been done which was confirmed by what he was presenting was all over internet even before he presented. Another challenge is the issue of inter-state rivalries on different issues which at times involves bitter exchanges. This could also mean the rivalries which exist between the state and the non-state actors such as the terrorist groups may not argue well to the general public if some of these differences could play out in social media which is accessed by all.

The culture of the anonymity of the users is another challenge which was raised by the respondents. The question of impersonation, the use of pseudo names, and adoption of different names as well as mimicking may have the danger of causing some form of mischief in the formulation and conduct of countries foreign policy goals. In fact almost each of the social media users has got a story to tell on cyber bullying. For instance the minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Sweden one Carl Bildt while attending the world economic forum in Davos had posted a tweet on one of the social media platforms that contained a controversial information,. It led to the country Sweden to have a lot of diplomatic controversies with so many other states. The tweet read as follows; “Living Stockholm and heading to Davos. Looking forward to world food program dinner tonight. Global hunger is an urgent issue especially to that country who come begging us! Davos!” The minister was roasted on twitter since going to discuss hunger and having a scrumptious dinner do not rhyme. Again, labeling other states as beggars caused a lot of protest from the developing states.

4.5 Findings of the study.

This study established the following;

That; the use of the internet has changed way modern diplomacy is being conducted. This’s because it has improved on the communication levels between states as well as individual to individual. The social media has managed to describe 21st Century digital diplomacy as a

concept which acts as a complementary to the existing foreign policy tools. Today, the use of social media has gone digital in the sense that almost each ministry of foreign affairs and government bureaucracy has got a twitter handle, Facebook page account, Instagram as well as snapchat and linked-in. This has revolutionized the way communication and interactions with the outside world is being done. It has also succeeded in narrowing down the gap which has always existed between the states and its citizens in as far as the formulation and conduct of foreign policy is concerned. Therefore this has been of great influence in advancing the five pillars of KFP goals. For instance this increased communications and increased integrations has been of great help to Kenya's economic diplomacy since most investors have been attracted to investing in Kenya. Again, quite a number of Kenyan citizens have been enabled to secure employment abroad. Besides this, the social media has enabled Kenya to market its sports men and women globally, the masses culture and the Kenyan heritage to the potential tourists. This has not only increased foreign exchange to Kenya, but it has gone a long way in ensuring that the Kenya's cultural diplomacy is well promoted.

Social media platforms has led to the revolution of government bureaucracy, in that there is staff reduction, changes of structures in government, and decision making process in the ministries of foreign affairs of different states. The reason as to why governments had to change these structures is because from every information that has been disseminated, it's able to reach many people across the world. It may cause reactions both positive and negative, it may make people to come up with different concerns. All these in one way or the other influence the thoughts of policy makers. It has also increased the levels of interactions among governments, states as well as non-state actors globally.

That; social media is both a blessing and a curse to the governments. It's a blessing because it has enabled governments out here to provide sufficient information and strategies of solving various problems. For example, in the war zone areas, the affected individuals are able to share their experiences to the world by taking photos and posting about their plights. This makes the international players to come to the rescue of these victims of war. This is because in such places, traditional media and channels of information dissemination usually are shut down and experience power black outs and other acts of censorship of the press.

Kenya through the use of social media has been enabled to spread the agenda of peace not only in war zone areas, but in countries which it has actively participated in conflict resolution such as in South Sudan, Somalia, Sudan ,DRC as well as in Ethiopia. This study therefore has established that social media has been of great help in promoting Kenya's peace diplomacy. The use of social media is also a curse in the sense that it's not easily controlled, it can be misused as well as everybody has got an equal chance of engaging in those discussions. However, the blessings appear to override the curses. This therefore means that although most of the African states are afraid of embracing the use of the social media, they have no option but to embrace since this is how the modern world diplomacy works.

The use of social media has played a big role in promoting Kenya's foreign policy goals abroad. Although there has been a stiff resistance from the government bureaucrats, but the Kenyans on twitter have managed to shape and influence the actions taken by the government of Kenya in the formulation and the execution of the foreign policy goals. For instance in the economic diplomacy, a number of Kenyans have been at the forefront in casting the Kenyan government over massive borrowing of the Chinese loans and other foreign loans such as the Eurobond which they have argued that its heavily being embezzled. In return this has made the government of Kenya to be on toes in terms of seeking new loans and boosted the war against corruption, both internally and externally.

Social media has enabled the interests of the general public in Kenya to be factored in in the process of the formulation of KFP goals. This study has also noted with a lot of concerns that since independence, Kenya's foreign policy goals have been serving the interests of the elites and not those of the wider public and this has resulted to the majority of the Kenyan people and their interests being left out. However, the interest of the wider Kenyan public can now be brought to the front and the government is slowly beginning to act on it.

That; most of the Kenyan government officials are not active on the various social media sites. To them, they would rather be in the office all the time and attend to office work without wasting their time by visiting these social media sites. Their way of communication and receiving of news was through the mainstream media, which includes, radios,

televisions, newspapers as well as the internal communication they receive from their bosses through memos, note verbal's as well as briefs. The researcher wondered how such officers promote Kenya's economic diplomacy abroad when they are this analogue! This has negatively affected almost all pillars of Kenya's foreign policy which includes economic diplomacy, diaspora diplomacy, peace diplomacy, environmental diplomacy as well as cultural diplomacy

That; the use of WhatsApp was the most common social media site that was used by the various respondents, followed by Facebook, twitter, You Tube as well as Instagram in that order. However, the most powerful social media sites were Facebook and twitter which had a wider coverage and could be able to disseminate a huge amount of information to the entire world. Although almost each respondent had a WhatsApp feature, Its impact on promoting foreign policy goals abroad was not huge as compared to that of Facebook and Twitter. The study has therefore found out that these social media platforms can be used to market Kenya's products aboard as well as promote the tourism industry to the potential tourists abroad. This means that the real benefits of the use of these social media platforms have a great potential in causing maximum benefits to Kenya's economic diplomacy

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF THE STUDY, CONCLUSION AND THE RECCOMENDATIONS.

5.0 The Introduction

This chapter explained the summary of the entire study, it will also give the conclusion and finally it will sum up everything by giving out the recommendations of this study. It should be remembered that the conclusions made by this study will be drawn from the findings of the study and the recommendations made will be directly responding to the questions raised by this study and the objectives set out by this study. This chapter will also set to confirm as to whether the hypothesis set by this study were true or false.

5.1 Summary of the study

This study sought to establish the influence of social media in influencing Kenya's foreign policy goals globally. The study questions were; what role do the social media play in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals? What challenges does social media pose in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals?. The research objectives were to establish the role of social media in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals at the global level, and to determine the challenges that social media pose in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals. The overall question was; How does Social Media influence Kenya's foreign policy goals? And the overall objective was to determine the extent to which social media influences Kenya's foreign policy goals at the Global level. The research hypothesis which this study sought to test was; Social media has played a significant role in promoting Kenya's foreign policy goals. Secondly, the Use of social media has made the interests of the general public to be captured in the Kenya's foreign policy goals and Social media is a unifying tool which brings the citizens together in the process of formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy goals.

The study adopted a mixed methodology approach where it used both the questionnaire and the interview guide in collecting data from the field.it adopted the descriptive survey design as its research design, and purposive sampling technique. The study analyzed data using the descriptive statistics and the content analysis method.

The study found out that social media had a very big influence in the formulation and execution of Kenya's foreign policy goals. Secondly, the study established that the use of

social media in making of foreign policy is facing a lot of resistance from the foreign service officers and government bureaucrats, The study further established that social media is not entirely an effective tool of executing foreign policy because it is difficult to filter the information that goes in and out of social media and government secrets and strategies cannot be subjected to such a scenario, finally the study established that although social media is an effective tool for mobilization and passing of information to the citizens, it possess quite a number of security risks to the country's enemies such as the terrorist groups and the enemy states,

The study therefore recommended that the Government bureaucrats should find a way of including social media as one of the tools of formulation and conduct of foreign policies, secondly all government bureaucrats who in one way or another are part of formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policies should also consider joining the social media so that it becomes easier for them to understand public interests, thirdly the study recommends that a specialized task force should be formed so that it may look at ways and means in which social media can be used in making Kenya's foreign policy goals without posing any security risks, finally the study recommends that every government agency that is associated with the formulation and conduct of foreign policy to create a social media platform at least for passing information to the public and to mobilize the same public in any activity that requires their support.

5.2 Conclusion

This study concludes that there is no evidence that the Government of Kenya has ever used social media to resolve any form of crisis. There is no clear illustration of how social media was used by the Government of Kenya in resolving any diplomatic crisis or any crisis that touched on Kenya's foreign policy. However, the issue of the Chinese who abused Kenyans and President Uhuru Kenyatta was brought up by some immigration officers. Also the Security officers pointed out the issue of the Kenyan nationals who were being mistreated in the `Middle East. The other scenario which was raised was the issue of Donald Trump abusing the African people during the presidential race. There was evidence that Kenyans on Twitter and Facebook reacted angrily over these three scenarios, however there is no outright link between these complains and the so called "roasting" and the impact it had on Kenya's Foreign policy.

This study concludes that the government ministries and line state departments do not adequately embrace the use of social media, namely twitter handle and a Facebook page accounts to publicize on what the ministry does. These two social media outlets do not inspire any form of public confidence because they were simply used for informing the public on what's taking place but not necessarily gathering the public views in as far as formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy is concerned.

The study concludes that the Kenyan youths or to a large extent the young people spend all their time on social media. It should be noted that according to the 2017 statistics released by the Ministry of Development and planning, 70% of the Kenyan population consisted of the young people. Therefore, there is no way in which the government of Kenya can do without addressing the concerns of this population through its foreign policy goals..

On the question of the benefits and challenges experienced by foreign policy makers and executors in using social media as a tool of foreign policy making, this study concludes that the use of social media was like a double edged sword. This is because social media provided the benefits of offering a platform to these officers to mobilize the general public in as far as pursuing certain goals was concerned. Secondly, social media was a better platform of informing the general public on what the Kenyan government was doing in as far as execution of Kenya's foreign policy goals was concerned. The other benefit that social media offered was the issue of bringing together multiple stakeholders in sharing ideas on how best to formulate and execute Kenya's foreign policy goals.

This study concludes that in the modern world, the use of social media is a necessary tool in the formulation and conduct of a countries foreign policy. This has been informed by the realization that both the states and the non-state actors are in constant competition over the same space as they pursue their agendas. Another reason as to why both the state actors and non-state actors cannot ignore the impact of social media in the fact that the world has got over 3 billion users of these social media applications. This therefore means that if these actors use these applications properly, it may greatly assist in moving their respective agendas across the world.

This study has also concluded that courtesy of the various social media platforms, the Kenyan people are able to form and create new friendships with other citizens from the outside world. This therefore means that trade volumes are increased; foreign exchange earnings are also increased as well as increased diplomacy. All these have got the benefits of ensuring maximum global interactions between Kenyans and the rest of the world. In a way, critical economic sectors in the Kenyan economy such as tourism, research and industrialization stands to benefit a lot courtesy of all these engagements.

This study further concludes that the use of social media in matters of diplomatic engagements has had so many benefits in terms of gathering of information, processing as well as relaying of information from one end to the other. The advantage that social media brings to the field of diplomacy and international relations is that it's cheap to acquire and operate and has got a wider access across the world. However, this benefit should be treated with some caution since it may involve reducing the number of human resource. Again, in diplomacy it's a matter of negotiations, mediations as well as constant engagements. It works best in a physical interaction than through teleconferencing and communicating through social media gadgets. As long as its only skillful, people who are allowed to engage, then it's better for these skilled diplomats to be trained on the use of various social media applications.

The study also concludes that the amount of time that various state and non-state communications used to take before it reaches their common destinations has significantly been reduced courtesy of the use of social media applications. This is because the use of the television and the radios and the newspapers were the main channels in government communications used to be relayed. This was highly constrained by the fact that it was programmed and the intended people were able to access this information after so many days or weeks. However with the coming in of the social media, people are able to access these sets of information in an instant manner. However, another tragedy with the social media information is that its not thoroughly censored before its relayed to the public. Its for this reason that this study concludes that although social media has revolutionized government communications, it will never succeeded in uprooting the mainstream media.

This study has also concluded that social media has pose a big headache to government officials over the fears of leaking of information. The safety of the official information as well as the safety of officials, social media channels from hackers. There was a serious instance of leaking information which the respondents gave, the issue of the WikiLeaks episode. The respondents pointed out that the issue of hacking continues to be a major headache to states and governments since the emergence of social media platforms. For example, the website of the minister of foreign affairs for the republic of Israel was hacked after he became popular with the use of social media platforms in performing his diplomatic tasks. He argued that although this was a big setback to his good works. He reiterated his commitment of continuing to conduct his diplomatic works using the various social media applications. Although these minister was putting on a brave face but the damage had already been done. This is because it was evident that the enemies of the states such as terrorist groups can hack government communications channels and destabilize those very states. The study also revealed that most hackers usually relied on pseudo names as they execute their malicious activities hence making it hard for the states to track them. This means that they are able to adopt any kind of person's identity and commit a crime using different accounts. There is also the issue of people posting incorrect information and once it has gone to the social media platforms, it's very difficult to correct the mess. For example, the minister for foreign affairs from the republic of Sweden once tweeted that, "leaving Stockholm and heading to Davos. Looking forward to World Food program sumptuous dinner tonight, Global Hunger is an urgent Issue, Davos." This caused an instant huge public uproar since there was no relation between the theme of the day and the sumptuous dinner he was going to have. Therefore, this tweet alone brought him down politically and eventually he lost his seat in a cabinet reshuffle.

This study can also conclude that the use of the various platforms of social media has altered the way global issues are addressed and dealt with. This is because the wider public is roped in almost every global conversation hence redefining the art and science of diplomacy. In addition to this, social media has also altered the concept of statecraft in the 21st century. This means that government bureaucracies in charge of foreign policy, its

formulation and conduct have to rely on social media in order to get the public views as well as to ask the necessary information to the general publics.

This study has also concluded that the use of social media in matters of diplomacy and the process of formulation and conduct of foreign policy has revolutionized the decision making process in as far as foreign policy matters diplomacy is concerned. This is because the states now must listen to what peoples interests are and factors them in in the conduct of foreign policy. Again, everything the state does is almost transparent in that the citizens are able to observe the activities of the governments abroad and take part in those activities through online conversations. Social media has also boosted the levels of state to state interactions, and it has also speeded up the decision making process.

The study also concludes that social media has got both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages in the sense that in areas characterized by war or conflicts, the victims are able to mobilize themselves, stage protests, picket and voice their plights to the international community who may be forced to swing into action and assist them. However on the other hand, social media poses the risk of citizens being incited by the enemies of the state and rogue non state actors and if it's not carefully handled, it may lead to eventually collapse of the state. Therefore, to a greater extent, the use of social media has played a big role in promoting Kenya's foreign policy goals abroad. Although there has been a stiff resistance from the government bureaucrats, but the Kenyans on twitter have managed to shape and influence the actions taken by the government of Kenya in the formulation and the execution of the foreign policy goals.

The study has also concluded that the use of social media has enabled the interests of the general public in Kenya to be factored in the process of the formulation and the implementation of the Kenya's foreign policy goals. This study has also noted with a lot of concerns that since independence Kenya's foreign policy goals have been serving the interests of the elites and not those of the wider public and this has resulted to the majority of the Kenyan people and their interests being left out. However with the emergence of the social media, the interests of the wider Kenyan public can now be brought to the fore and the government is slowly beginning to act on it.

The study also concludes that most of the Kenyan government officials are not active on the various social media sites. This is because more than 50% of them are above 50 years and are on their way to retirement, not only are they analogue in terms of being techno survey, but they also seem not to be interested in anything to do with social media since they look at it as a waste of time. To them, they would rather be in the office all the time and attend to the office work without wasting their time by visiting these social media sites. Their way of communication and receiving of news was through the mainstream media, which includes, radios, televisions, newspapers as well as the internal communication they receive from their bosses through memos, notes, verbal's as well as briefs.

Finally, This study has further concluded that the use of WhatsApp was the most common social media site that was used by the various respondents, followed by Facebook, twitter, You Tube as well as Instagram in that order. However, the most powerful social media sites were Facebook and twitter which had a wider coverage and could be able to disseminate a huge amount of information to the entire world. Although almost each respondent had a WhatsApp feature, its impact on promoting Kenya's foreign policy goals abroad was not huge as compared to that of Facebook and twitter.

5.3 The recommendations

This study therefore wishes to make the following key recommendations,

That; the government of Kenya must consider changing its attitude and style of doing things in as far as the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy is concerned. This is because since independence the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy has always been elite driven and not people driven. This has made Foreign Service officers to develop a bad attitude towards ordinary Kenyans in as far as the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy is concerned. There will be the first step of ensuring that the issue of social media as a new tool of foreign policy is objectively engaged.

That; although social media has got its own challenges and threats that it possess to the national security, the government of Kenya through the ministry of foreign affairs and other line ministries and state departments should consider setting up some specialized departments within its ICT and communications departments which monitors and addresses

the issues that are raised on social media in as far as Kenya's foreign policy is concerned. This will not only enable government to capture what interests of the public are, but it will also enable the same government to gain support from most Kenyans in as far as the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy is concerned.

That; all these government officers who happen to be in the ministry of foreign affairs and other line ministries and state departments which in one way or another are responsible for the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy are taken through some form of orientation and induction in as far as matters concerning the use and operation of social media is concerned. Although the exercise may face some resistance from these officers at the beginning, but with time they may come to appreciate the benefits of being in the social media and understanding what the people actually want.

That; the ministry of foreign affairs and other line ministries and state departments which plays a role in the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy to consider reactivating their social media accounts and employ experts in ICT and communication experts who are techno-survey so that they may assist in putting the government of Kenya in the lime-light in as far as Kenya's foreign policy is concerned. This will ensure that the interests of all Kenyans irrespective of their status in society are factored and well taken care off in as far as Kenya's foreign policy is concerned.

That; the Government of Kenya through the ministry of Information and Communication and that of Interior should embrace on a vigorous campaigns of sensitizing Kenyans on the need to use the social media responsibly and a sober way so that it can provide a good forum for the government engaging the citizens on their day to day concerns. Otherwise, this habit of Kenyans abusing one another on social media and fanning of tribal and ethnic hate using the social media will not help matters either. Once Kenyans have become responsible in using the social media, it will enable the social media to positively impact on the process of formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy.

That; the government of Kenya through the ministry of foreign affairs and other line ministries that are in one way or another concerned with the process of the formulation and the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy should consider trying to study and learn what other

jurisdictions and developed democracies have done in as far as the process of the formulation and conduct of their countries foreign policies is concerned. This will make it easier for the Kenyan government to perfect the art of using social media in formulating and influencing on its foreign policy making. It will also enable the government to learn from the experiences of those other jurisdictions in such a way that they may capitalize on the benefits as they put in place measures which will avoid the mistakes that those other jurisdictions had made. The end result will be improved foreign policies that take interests of all Kenyans from all their walks of life.

5.4 Areas of Further Research

That; a further research on the following issues which will make the social media to adequately and positively impact on Kenya's foreign policy making and its execution.

1. What are the contributing factors that drive Kenyans to use social media as a channel of spreading hate and ethnic animosity instead of national cohesion amongst themselves and what needs to be done in order to reverse this situation.
2. Strategies that the foreign policy makers can use in filtering relevant information from Kenyans in the social media as they prevent leakages of sensitive information.
3. Techniques of preventing government owned and controlled social media sites from being hacked by crook

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire has been designed to facilitate the researcher to obtain relevant data in the process of conducting her research entitled “*The influence of The Social Media In Promoting Kenya’s Foreign Policy Goals (2003 -2018)*”

Kindly assist the researcher in this exercise which is part of the requirements for the partial fulfillment of the award of the Degree of **Master of Arts in International Relations of the University of Nairobi**. The answers given in this questionnaire will strictly be used for academic purposes **ONLY** and **NOT** for any other purpose. Kindly **DO NOT** write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Please read the information provided below and tick against the statement that you agree with or give your views in the provided spaces. Do not leave any contacts or your names on the questionnaire. Privacy and confidentiality is of essence.

1. What is your gender?
 - (i) Male []
 - (ii) Female []
2. State your age bracket?
 - (i) 20 – 30 years []
 - (ii) 31 – 40 years []
 - (iii) 41 – 50 years []
 - (iv) 51 – 60 years []
 - (v) Above 61 years []
3. What is your education attainment?
 - (i) Secondary – O-level []
 - (ii) College – Diploma []
 - (iii) Undergraduate Degree []
 - (iv) Masters []
 - (v) PhD []
4. What is your occupation?

- (i) Academician []
- (ii) Civil servant []
- (iii) Diplomat []
- (iv) Government officer []
- (v) Security enforcement officer []
- (vi) Blogger []

5. What's your level of working experience?

- (i) Between 1 – 5 years []
- (ii) Between 6 – 10 years []
- (iii) Between 1 – 15 years []
- (iv) Between 16-20 years []
- (v) Above 21 years []

SECTION B THE NEXUS BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

1. What role has the social media played in aiding your work of advancing Kenya's Foreign Policy Goals?

3. Which of the social media networking sites below do you use quite often?

[] Facebook [] Twitter WhatsApp ()

[] YouTube [] Flickr [] Others specify

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. What is the frequency of your use of the above social media outlets?

Several times a day Once a day

Several times a week Once a week Several times a month

5. In your view, what is the impact of integrating social media in Kenya's Foreign policy making and execution exercise?

6. Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Kenya Government Line state departments use social media sites to manage any emerging crisis?

YES () NO ()

Please Explain Your answer

above

7. If the answer to the above question is yes, what kind of crisis have been solved by the Ministry, the Kenyan embassies abroad or the relevant line state departments using social media?

15. What measures, if any have been employed by various foreign policy makers to overcome the above challenges?_____

16. Is there any specific social media policies guiding the application of social media in the government departments in the process of formulation and Conduct of Kenya's foreign Policy goals?

17. Please give any recommendations to enhance the use of social media communication in the process of the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign Policy goals_____

18. In your own opinion what is the future of social media in the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy goals?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

This Interview Guide below has been designed to facilitate the researcher to obtain the relevant data in the process of conducting her research entitled “*The Role of The Social Media In Promoting Kenya’s Foreign Policy Goals (2003 -2018)*”

Kindly assist the researcher in this exercise which is part of the requirements for the partial fulfillment of the award of the Degree of **Master of Arts in International Relations of the University of Nairobi**. The answers given in this Interview Guide will strictly be used for academic purposes **ONLY** and **NOT** for any other purpose. Kindly **DO NOT** write your name anywhere on this Interview Guide.

1. Do you feel your presence on social media has helped you in your work?

3. How do you integrate social media into your daily life? Is it easy or challenging to find the

Time to use the social media?

4. In your view, what’s the role of social media in influencing the Kenya’s Foreign policy goals?

5. In your view has the social media been productive or unproductive in the process of the formulation and conduct of Kenya’s Foreign Policy goals?

6. What are some of the benefits and challenges experienced by having social media as one of the tools that are used to influence Kenya’s foreign policy making and implementation process?

7. Are there tools which the Kenyan Foreign policy makers use to measure if the strategies used to capture audiences work? If yes, what are these tools and how do they work?

8. What measures, if any have been employed by various foreign policy makers to overcome the above challenges?

9. Is there any specific social media policies guiding the application of social media in the government departments in the process of formulation and Conduct of Kenya's foreign Policy goals?

10. Please give any recommendations to enhance the use of social media communication in the process of the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign Policy goals

11. In your own opinion what is the future of social media in the formulation and conduct of Kenya's foreign policy goals?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!