



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE & PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**STRENGTHENING DIGITAL DIPLOMACY FOR EFFECTIVE FOREIGN
POLICY: ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S PERMANENT MISSION TO THE UN
AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GENEVA**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this proposal is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution of higher learning other than the University of Nairobi.

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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Date: 30th September 2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father, Mr. Charles Gimode, who nudged me to take on this challenge and many others from early on. He supported me at every stage of my academic journey and sacrificed greatly for this cause. Even though he isn't present to witness the end of this rugged and treacherous journey, the values he instilled in me, of hard work, resilience, and focus, will live for generations to come. I salute my mother, Rose Gimode, who was my first teacher in nursery school. Most importantly, this work is a gift to my wife, Florence Masaba, and our lovely children, Thomas Paine Gimode, Debby Monyangi, and Pettie Andaye, who have witnessed this challenging yet rewarding struggle, and have been tireless in their support. To the trio of Tom, Debby, and Pettie, the future belongs to you!

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BWC	Biological Weapons Convention
CA	Communications Authority of Kenya
CITES-COP18	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species on in Wild Fauna and Flora-Conference of the Parties 2018
DFP	Digital Foreign Policy
ICTs	Information and Communications Technologies
ICTA	ICT Authority
IDT	Innovative Diplomatic Theory
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs),
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
KICTANet	Kenya ICT Action Network
KFSA	Kenya Foreign Service Institute
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MoITED	Ministry of Industrialization, Trade, and Enterprise Development
NDT	Nascent Diplomatic Theory
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
TDT	Traditional Diplomatic Theory
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva to recommend ways of strengthening digital diplomacy in Kenya's diplomatic ecosystem. While the study identified significant strides made at the Mission and the broader foreign affairs ecosystem in adopting digital diplomacy, much work still needs to be done to ensure Kenya fully leverages this new frontier for better foreign policy outcomes. The study recommends developing and implementing a Digital Foreign Policy (DFP) to help the country become a pacesetter in this diplomatic race. The DFP recommended for implementation will be anchored on several issues. At the core of this policy are the national values and interests. In the inner layer is a Strategic Plan to support the implementation of the DFP along critical thematic areas and to leverage digital tools such as social media, online conferencing, and big data analysis in the practice of diplomacy. The third layer will focus on emerging issues in the foreign policy ecosystems, such as cybersecurity, digital governance, digital self-determination, and e-commerce. Finally, the outer layer addresses a broad range of changes and events shaping the global technological ecosystem, including the emergence of new communication technologies which fundamentally influence diplomacy. If properly executed, Kenya will likely have a structured approach to executing its diplomatic objectives while being attuned to the changes in the information and communications technology space for positive foreign policy outcomes.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. Introduction and Background to the study

The technological revolution is one of the most defining moments of the post-Cold War diplomacy era. The technological changes have so profoundly impacted the practice of diplomacy that states are in a perpetual race against time to tap into this very novel and dynamic sphere that has dramatically altered state relations. Andreas (2015, pp20) observes that while the fundamentals of diplomacy have remained the same over the years, including the application of traditional tools, diplomacy in the contemporary world has become more public, participatory, and globalized by new communications platforms and technologies. In 2009, the then U.S Secretary of State Hillary Clinton unveiled what she referred to as the "21st - Century Statecraft," a new frontier, which, according to Ross (2010, para4), was geared towards positioning U.S. diplomacy to have a competitive edge in the contemporary world. The new approach was primed on leveraging cutting-edge technology to support the U.S. diplomatic objectives, including widening the reach to diverse global audiences empowered by instantaneous communications. Her consequential announcement was timely and strategic; it was coming five years after Facebook was launched and just two years after Twitter was unveiled. Instagram came a year later. Social media buzz had taken the youth across with craze, and Secretary Clinton, understanding this new dynamic, emphasized the place of the youth, who formed much of the world population, would play in realizing that vision, Clinton (2009, para7). According to Alec Ross, then Clinton's Senior Advisor on Innovation, while government-to-government interactions would continue to be essential in that new dispensation, the place of digital technologies was not in doubt.

Still, with the latest digital technologies, we can now engage government-to-people, people-to-people, and people-to-government, Ross (2010, para 10).

This new direction was tested in 2009 when President Obama addressed the Muslim world from the University of Cairo, Egypt. During the event, streamed live on various social media platforms, President Obama proposed a rapprochement between the USA and the Muslim world based on mutual interest and respect.

We were capable of taking his annotations and contribute to making them

vibrant since people can now access information using their cell phones to check blogs, and social media. As a result, this type of government-to-people connection has been tremendously potent and captivating, Ross (2010, para 14).

The era of digital diplomacy is here. According to Sotiriou (2015, pp33) the concept has no universal theoretical framework as it developed from conceptual and empirical development in public diplomacy or soft power, which are "intrinsically connected with digital diplomacy." Kurbalija and Hone (2015, pp 4), see digital diplomacy as the impact of digital technologies on diplomacy, particularly on three main strands; the changing digital geopolitical and geoeconomic environment for diplomatic activities including the question of sovereignty, power redistribution, interdependence, the emerging such digital topics on diplomatic agenda as cybersecurity, e-commerce, privacy protection, and new tools for diplomatic activities such as social media, big data and Artificial Intelligence (AI). Digital technologies are redefining the concepts of state sovereignty, conflict, opinion-forming, and decision-making (Ayers 2016, pp.13). Nearly a decade to the famous announcement by Secretary Clinton, the then Under Secretary for Political Affairs at the US State Department Marc Grossman had argued that a 21st Century diplomat must, among other things, understand the critical role that public diplomacy plays and conversant with emerging technologies that were constantly changing in ways hitherto imagined. According to Ayers (2015), the widespread web infrastructure, coupled with efforts by an assortment of actors to use the Internet to control and project power, has brought new challenges to traditional ideas of security, stability, and sovereignty. Governments are increasingly confused by the unfamiliar challenge of operating in a world where conventional geopolitics clashes and merges with the technological revolution and ubiquitous global networks, Kavanagh (2019, para21).

The COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated the sense of urgency in the adoption of digital diplomacy in various countries across the world, which has seen countries leverage digital platforms for decision making, diplomatic meetings and other conferences. Adesina (2020, pp 94) opines that digital technologies have reduced the costs of hosting meetings, enhanced faster decision making, increased productive participation in meetings, and stakeholder engagement within the diplomatic ecosystem. Digital technologies have influence various aspect of diplomacy as negotiation, consular

services, economic diplomacy, public diplomacy, national security as well as internal communications within foreign ministries, Wekesa *et al* (2021, pp 335-339).

A Twiplomacy study of 2020 shows that the COVID-19 pandemic, more than anything else, has thoroughly redefined diplomacy, which in its nature is punctuated by a fair amount of travel, physical meetings and in-person interactions. World leaders and diplomats stopped as border closures, travel restrictions, and shelter-in-place orders scuppered in-person diplomatic activity, (Burson, Cohn & Wolfe, 2020, pp1). In the absence of international travel to physical bilateral and multilateral meetings, which were the norm before the COVID-19 outbreak, global leaders were left with no option but to adapt to the new realities of working remotely and a litany of virtual meetings.

Many diplomatic activities were canvassed online, with bilateral and multilateral meetings being negotiated through telephone and videoconference platforms (Burson, Cohn & Wolfe (2020). World leaders heavily relied on social media, especially Twitter and Facebook, to engage with their populations, announcing a raft of measures from time to time to mitigate the disease. Embassies leveraged their websites and social media handles to issue regular advisories to their citizens abroad and travelers to their own countries on the latest containment measures to combat the pandemic.

In June 2020 for instance, the African Union hosted a high-level virtual forum, ‘*Placing Human Security at the Centre of Peace Enforcement*’ under the ‘*Silencing the Guns*’ initiative and for the first time, enabled remote participation due to the COVID-19 restrictions at the time, which prevented in-person gatherings and cross-border movements, African Union (2020).

Hocking & Mellisen (2016, pp3) aver that social media can be utilized strategically above everything else, particularly in support of specific policies and, in a broader sense, critical diplomacy and foreign ministry functions like negotiation, information gathering, and consular assistance to nationals abroad.

Like other countries globally, Kenya has also been in the race to embrace the magical “21st Century Statecraft.” Having one of the most vibrant ICT industries in the region, Statista in 2022 ranked Kenya the first in Africa in terms of Internet access and among

the top 50 countries globally. Additionally, Kenya was ranked as one of the global innovation leaders in the top three (3) African countries, second after South Africa and ahead of Tanzania (Global Innovation Index 2021, pp23). Additionally, Onyango and Ondiek (2021, pp3) contend that Kenya's rapidly expanding digital economy has seen the exponential growth of ICTs, which are now at the core of the country's ambition to be a newly industrialized, middle-income economy by 2030.

In the lead-up to the 2013 General elections in Kenya, the Jubilee Party, which would later win the elections, riding on the 'digital' euphoria, leveraging digital platforms to reach most of their supporters. The Jubilee Party Manifesto explicitly emphasized the critical place that Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) would play for efficient government and economic growth. This blueprint called for the adoption of ICTs across all policy positions in a meaningful way to support Government business, Jubilee Manifesto (2013, pp 40). On the diplomatic front, the Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 also envisages that the Kenya Government will leverage technologies and social media, to engage with various stakeholders to pursue its national interest. This, in effect, presupposes recognizing these emerging technologies as a critical cog in Kenya's diplomatic machine and projecting Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

Muthaura (2018) argues that countries with strong economies and human resources have embraced information technology and thus have a more significant say in global affairs, as evidenced by their stranglehold on international trade and other financial matters. Afande (2018) sees new technology in information and communication heralding new opportunities and challenges for the new generation of diplomats in Kenya and can be leveraged to attain the triple role of diplomacy, *Protection*, *Projection* and *Promotion*. Given the Internet's borderless nature, digital media hold immense opportunities that Kenya can ride on, especially in the changing face of diplomatic engagement.

Since the 2013 digital whirlwind, Kenya has made headways in leveraging digital technologies for her diplomatic outreach. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) established its Twitter account in May 2013, followed by a Facebook page three months later. By 2022, the MFA website indicates that Kenya had 56 diplomatic missions and consulates spread across the globe and two (2) in Nairobi.

Wehner & Thies (2021) argue that leaders play a central role in foreign policy decision-making, on continuity or changes in a country's outlook in the international system. A country's leader, as the foremost diplomat, holds sway in how a country executes its foreign policy decisions.

It has been a common tradition globally for leaders to have a presence on digital media platforms, expressing their perspectives on a wide range of issues, but most importantly, to project their countries positively. In fact, Barbera & Zeitzoff (2018, pp4) call social media the "new public address system," arguing that digital platforms have afforded world leaders with avenues to broadcast messages, mobilize their various constituents, and persuade citizens. The Kenya President remains thus remains a central cog and a critical institution in designing and implementing foreign policy in Kenya.

It, therefore, follows that being ahead of state with a digital footprint is a significant boost to a country's global visibility. In Kenya, until 2019, President Uhuru Kenyatta was among the leading heads of state using Twitter in Africa before his social media accounts were suspended. The *Daily Nation* (March 22, 2019) reported that President Uhuru Kenyatta had suspended his social media accounts on Twitter and Facebook. At the time of the sudden suspension, President Kenyatta had 3.2 million Twitter followers, and the account churned 12,300 tweets. As Kenya's number one diplomat and among Africa's leading Presidents active on social media, this decision caught many by surprise. The then Chief of Staff, Nzioka Waita, quoted by the Star newspaper (March 22, 2019), explained that social media handles were suspended due to unauthorized access and that the action would allow for remedial measures to be taken. The social media accounts remain offline to date, with communication on the activities of the President now channeled through the State House digital media platforms. As of 2022, the State House Twitter handle @StateHouseKenya had over 1.7 million followers, while the Facebook page had over 778,000 followers. The www.presidency.go.ke website provides regular updates on the activities of the President and the country at large. What is the implication of the President's absence on social media platforms? The jury is still out on this.

On the other hand, the MFA has a website that regularly updates Kenya's foreign policy activities. An analysis of its social media presence shows that the Twitter account

@ForeignOfficeKE has over 386,000 followers, while its Facebook Page has over 37,000 followers as of 2022. Additionally, in 2020, the MFA actively used its Facebook and Twitter accounts to campaign for Kenya's bid for election as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). With the COVID-19 restrictions hindering a physical reception by Kenya to engage various diplomats on her quest, Kenya hosted a virtual reception with President Uhuru Kenyatta rallying the global community to support Kenya's bid. Kenya won the hotly contested seat beating Djibouti. What role, if any, did digital platforms play in this victory? The application of digital diplomacy is critical if Kenya is to achieve its foreign policy objectives and a competitive diplomatic edge in the contemporary world.

The Kenya Permanent Mission to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva is one of Kenya's largest foreign Missions with the responsibility of representing Kenya to the United Nations office and 27 other UN specialized UN agencies based in Geneva, Switzerland. The Mission coordinates Kenya's overall representation in meetings, governing bodies and conferences held under the auspices of the UN and IOs in Switzerland and provision of consular services (until July 2021 when this service was transferred to the new embassy in based in the city of Bern).

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Kenya's diplomacy has undergone a dramatic evolution since its independence. With the advent of emerging communications technologies, Kenya is trying to tap into the immense potential of these platforms to achieve her objective on the global stage. In fact, the mission of the MFA is to advance the interests of Kenyans through “innovative diplomacy.” The Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 envisages that the Kenya Government will leverage technologies, particularly social media, to engage with various stakeholders to pursue their national interests. This fact is further reinforced by the Ministry's 2018/19-2022/23 Strategic Plan, which outlines the strategies to enhance public diplomacy by adopting innovative technologies to improve engagement and collaboration with various stakeholders domestically and globally. It also outlines the need to strengthen stakeholder communication by establishing clear information flow between various stakeholders locally and globally and promoting diaspora engagement.

This strategy will entail: the deployment of new information technologies to disseminate information, using social media platforms, enhancing both local and international media engagement; and conducting publicity campaigns and branding (MFA Strategic Plan, 2018-2022, pp 42). Additionally, the MFA's Kenya Diaspora Policy explicitly provides that the Ministry will use ICT-enabled services to promote interaction with Kenyans in the diaspora, Kenya Diaspora Policy (2014, pp 17).

One of the key issues in the adoption of digital diplomacy in Africa has to do with the fact that the use of ICTs is not viewed as digital diplomacy, rather where it is viewed as such it what Wekesa *et al* (2021, pp 335-339) describe as “inadvertent than intentional and systemic.” This, they note, is chiefly responsible for lack of sufficient knowledge that can be directly be attributed to the application of digital diplomacy not only at the practical level but also in the development of policies and strategies among African practitioners. Additionally, they opine that there is large research gap on digital diplomacy owing to limited studies on its application within the African context, including the absence of an African theory on this field of study making it difficult to problematize and debate pertinent issues in this area.

Several studies have attempted to analyze the concept of digital diplomacy in Kenya. Ipu (2013) attempted to dissect the concept of e-diplomacy in Kenya, focusing mainly on how the government is leveraging ICT tools, especially in engaging with citizens locally through public diplomacy. While the study analyzed the ICT infrastructural underpinning and public participation in policy making, the study, however, did not delve further to demonstrate how the digital diplomacy is being applied within a diplomatic ecosystem to achieve foreign policy objectives. Most importantly, the study does not delve deep into institutionalization of digital diplomacy within the MFA and how this is percolated across the diplomatic ecosystem. While Waithaka (2018, pp 137) argues that ICTs have enhanced information management, policy planning, and coordination at the MFA, she also observes that the concept of digital diplomacy is yet to gain traction within the MFA. Again, Gichoya (2016, pp 79) explores the idea of "virtual embassies" as a solution to the challenge of ensuring adequate visibility and presence of the country in all four corners of the globe. She opines that, unlike physical embassies, virtual embassies provide

diplomats with the flexibility to post relevant information about the country's consular services, goals, principles, and policies on a 24-hour basis, seven days a week, Gichoya (2016, pp3).

A critical analysis of the studies on digital diplomacy in Kenya demonstrates little literature on the practical application of digital diplomacy, especially in the day-to-day operations of Kenya's diplomatic missions and the mainstreaming of this new concept within the broader diplomatic ecosystem. This study seeks to unpack how digital diplomacy can be strengthened for effective foreign policy, focusing on an assessment of its practical application at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva and the larger diplomatic ecosystem coordinated by the MFA. In so doing, the study assesses the challenges and opportunities presented by digital diplomacy within the Kenyan diplomatic ecosystem while formulating a digital foreign policy framework for Kenya.

1.2. Research Questions

- a) How has the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva Kenya institutionalized the concept of digital diplomacy?
- b) How is digital diplomacy utilized in the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva to realize Kenya's foreign policy objectives?
- c) How can a digital foreign policy strategy for Kenya be modelled?

1.3. Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to assess the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya's Permanent Mission to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva with a view to recommending ways of strengthening this phenomenon for effective foreign policy outcomes. The specific objectives are:

- a) To establish the extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.
- b) To analyze the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva

to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country through public diplomacy.

- c) To formulate a framework for a digital foreign policy strategy for Kenya.

1.4. Justification and significance of the study

1.4.1. Academic justification

With new technological considerations emerging that are having a profound impact on the conduct of diplomacy, there is still limited scholarship on this subject in the Kenyan context. This study will contribute to developing the body of knowledge on digital diplomacy in Kenya's diplomatic ecosystem, by assessing key considerations that either hamper or catalyze the leveraging of the full potential of this new frontier for better foreign policy outcomes. This study would also address scholarship gaps that are evident between the theoretical and practical application of this concept, by providing clear linkages between those two areas.

1.4.2. Policy justification

Based on global best practices, this study will contribute significantly to the practice of digital diplomacy at the practical level by Kenya's diplomatic missions and the MFA. The study will also offer policymakers additional insights on how to scale up the existing diplomacy tools to align them with the "21st-century statecraft" that is responsive to the realities of contemporary diplomacy as well as proposing a digital foreign policy framework would be vital in streamlining this concept across the country's foreign policy ecosystem and boosting Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

1.5. Scope of the study

The research looked on the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva to formulate a digital foreign policy strategy for Kenya. Besides the Mission, other organizations of interest include the MFA, which is responsible for policy coordination on diplomatic issues, the Kenya Foreign Service Institute (KFSI), responsible for the training and capacity building of diplomats, the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) which offers technical expertise on cyber security issues and the ICT Authority (ICTA), which coordinates digitalization of public sector.

1.6. Limitation of the study

This study was primarily done during the COVID-19 period. With safety precautions to minimize transmissions and some of the respondents outside the country, the researcher could not undertake face-to-face interactions with respondents. Primary data was therefore collected through questionnaires designed on Microsoft Forms, which were dispatched to various respondents within and outside the country. Further, some respondents were non-responsive to the request for data.

1.7. Literature Review

1.7.1. Institutionalization of Digital Diplomacy

In its very nature, diplomacy is traditional and ceremonial. Its broad objective among states has remained somewhat consistent over the ages; to promote the state's interests within the international system. It is no doubt that diplomatic practice for a long time was the preserve of state actors. It was secretive and fascinating. Bull (1977, pp 156) sees diplomacy as about the practice of relations between states and other entities which have a standing in world politics, by official agents and by peaceful means. His definition remains one of the most widely used within diplomatic scholarship. On the other hand, Watson (1984, pp 33) saw diplomacy as a "negotiation between political entities that acknowledge each other's independence." But Bjola (2015, pp 1) argues that while the two definitions capture the fundamental essence of diplomacy, they fail to capture the means and ways in which diplomacy influences conflict and cooperation in international politics. Bjola, therefore, sees diplomacy as a method of change management.

According to Der Derian (1987) and Sharp (2009), diplomacy is essential in managing international change. They argue that in its very nature, diplomacy appreciates the plurality of players, and their interactions differ from those within the groups. Scholte (2008) believed that the proliferation of new actors within the international system had shifted global politics towards a polycentric governance model arc. This, in Hocking *et al.* (2012) view, has dramatically altered the key representation, communication, and negotiation which are key facets of diplomacy and redefines the very role of a diplomat.

Therefore, as an agent of change, in Wendt's (1999, pp 171) view, diplomacy can help avoid bad outcomes. With new meanings, norms, and values, changing conventional

patterns of diplomatic interaction, and fresh perspectives on conflict or cooperation, this new shift can fundamentally impact the constitution and distribution of power relations in international politics.

Holmes (2015) posits that although face-to-face meetings remain at the core of diplomacy, technology has affected how diplomatic business by foreign ministries and state departments is conducted, further positing digital diplomacy as a strategy for managing change through digital tools and virtual collaboration. For Huijgh (2013), digital diplomacy is a natural appendage of traditional diplomacy, ensuring continuity in the work of diplomats and foreign offices a new and revolutionary phenomenon that has displaced the traditional "top-down, state-centric processes of international relations" with a more networked, civil society-driven model of diplomacy. He further argues that the digital diplomacy ecosystem has thus catapulted the civil society's influence in redistributing informational resources and playing a prominent role in networking, intelligence gathering and analysis, functions that have traditionally been the preserve of state actors within the state-to-state, intergovernmental model of international relations.

As a concept, digital diplomacy has been understood relatively differently. As such, digital diplomacy should be seen as a new appendage to soft power and public diplomacy, Sotiriou (2015, pp34). Soft power, according to Nye (1990, pp154) denotes the ability to set the agenda in world politics through persuasion, not military or economic coercion. Predicting the shift in power dynamics from sheer military might during the Cold War, Nye posited that technology, education, and economic growth were beginning to occupy the 'hallowed ground' in international power in the post-Cold War world. At the same time, traditional considerations such as geography, population and raw materials were being relegated to the periphery, Nye (1990, pp154). In his later arguments, Nye (2008, pp 96) predicated any country's soft power as contingent upon its culture, political values, and foreign policies. This aspect has metamorphosed into what is now widely regarded as "smart power," Nye (2013, 365).

Hanson (2012) argues that during the tenure of Hillary Clinton as the U.S. Secretary of State, the country had an edge in e-diplomacy. For instance, the U.S. Department of State employed around 150 full-time personnel working in 25 different e-diplomacy sections at

the Headquarters. More than 900 people were using it in the U.S. embassies and missions abroad. In April 2022, the US Department of State established the Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy (CDP) as part of its modernization agenda to coordinate the Department's initiatives on cyberspace and digital diplomacy through advancing policies that protect the integrity and security of the infrastructure of the Internet, serve U.S. interests, promote competitiveness, and uphold democratic values, Department of State (2022).

In 2009, the Mexican ambassador to the USA, Arturo Sarukhan, was the first diplomat accredited to the U.S. to use Twitter officially. In an interview later, he indicated that it took a long deliberation within the Mission staff on whether it was right for him to go to Twitter and the possible repercussions on Mexico's image. In embracing Twitter as an official communications channel, he said it offered him an easy platform to engage directly with the American people about Mexico, a move he said proved quite valuable.

The basic hope is that those of us who have started early on in social media have proven that these are not only invaluable tools but also that those embassies and ambassadors that do not tweet do so at their own risk and have a huge problem, both in getting messages out as well as taking advantage of a fabulous window into open-source intelligence collection and analysis, Andreas (2015, pp71)

Andreas (2013) captures the essence of social media in modern-day diplomacy by asserting that it has brought forth challenges for diplomats and opened new frontiers, and new opportunities by exposing foreign policymakers to global audiences with the ability to interact with them instantly. In terms of providing a proper foundation or the implementation of digital diplomacy, countries have begun to develop policy documents and strategies to ensure they maintain a competitive age. Switzerland, for instance has the Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-2024 that outlines its key priorities in the digital space while Denmark in 2017 was the first country in the world to elevate technology and digitalization to a crosscutting foreign and security policy priority in what was referred to as technological diplomacy, or TechPlomacy, MFA Denmark (2021). France on the other hand has in place digital communication strategy for its Ministry of Foreign Affairs which sets forth its engagement with its citizens and foreign publics, strengthening its diplomatic networks and fighting misinformation. Additionally, France has in place an International Digital Strategy focusing on governance, economy, and security, MEFA

(2019).

1.7.2. Utilization of Digital Technologies in Diplomacy

It is now clear that the communication revolution is a necessary evil for countries seeking to enhance their visibility and improve their standing in diplomatic circles. Presidents, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and diplomats across many states have been forced to embrace this challenge and transform it into an opportunity for their diplomatic endeavours. It is also hackneyed that for a long time, public opinion had always taken a back seat throughout the ages until the onset of the Internet ushered in a new dawn era for diplomats. Diplomats and foreign policymakers are catching up with this rapid shift in the diplomatic landscape. Advanced democracies like the United States have deliberately placed innovation at the epicentre of diplomacy and, by extension, foreign policy agenda.

Therefore, it is perfect to indicate that the advent of information and communications technologies (ICTs), popularly known as digital technologies, has impacted diplomacy fundamentally. Thus, according to Ross (2013), "to engage in this world is to understand it and accept that the kind of control that existed in more traditional media and communications spaces does not exist today."

In his seminal work, *The World is Flat*, Friedman (2005) sought to demonstrate how globalization and its attendant consequences of increased interconnectedness had "flattened" the world. And now, concepts such as the world being a "global village" have become commonplace, depicting how technology has reduced and destroyed traditional geographical barriers between countries, giving rise to unimagined challenges and opportunities for countries and people.

Hockings *et al.* (2012) argue that changing mode of communication has created both opportunities and constraints to the conduct of diplomacy, ushering in new concepts of virtual diplomacy and e-diplomacy. They point out that in this century, diplomacy provides states with new necessities to better leverage digital tools to project their foreign policies. Additionally, the proliferation of social media platforms has strengthened public diplomacy, Manor (2017), a position held by Macon Phillips, a former Coordinator of the Bureau of International Information Programmes at the U.S. Department of State, who emphasized that the online tools should be used as complementary mechanisms for

passing on information and, most importantly, for achieving foreign policy goals. He further argued that policymakers in this space should view public engagement to answer foreign policy goals, with social media the natural avenue for actualization of this goal, Andreas (2015, pp52)

According to the Aspen Institute (2013), emerging technologies present new opportunities for states and diplomats to adapt and boost their foreign policy objectives, in effect catalyzing their ability to influence political, social, and economic change worldwide. The Institute argues that modern technology is the glue holding together these diplomatic variations, as the players can interact seamlessly through social media and online platforms.

1.7.3. Digital Foreign Policy Framework

Westcott (2008, pp 2) opines that the Internet has impacted international relations in three ways. The first is by amplifying voices and interests in international policy-making, and in the process, reducing the exclusive control of states in the process. Secondly, it accelerates the dissemination of information, and thirdly, it enables faster and cost-effective delivery of traditional diplomatic services.

But digital diplomacy goes beyond just communications by diplomats through digital platforms. It also covers emerging foreign policy issues within the space including new cyber policy agendas, which have brought forth new areas of interest for countries such as Internet freedom, cybersecurity, and cyber warfare. Further, considerations of themes such as e-governance and e-participation are changing diplomatic structures, functions and needs, and how Governments respond to digital technology in service delivery and broader public participation. The implications of digitalization on diplomacy, particularly in public diplomacy, consular and crisis management, and management of networks to enhance more general patterns of participation in foreign policy come to bear, Hockings and Mellisen (2015, pp 21).

It is therefore important that for countries to leverage digital diplomacy as a tool for foreign policy, they must establish necessary frameworks that provide a firm foundation upon which this new frontier can be actualized. According to Kurbalija & Hone (2021, pp4) in the recent years, several countries have been making deliberate efforts to have

digital foreign policy strategies as primary anchors of their structured conduct within new foreign policy imperatives in the digital era. The digital foreign policy strategy outlines a country's approach to digital issues and digitization in relation to its foreign policy, including policy priorities regarding digitization and how these priorities are pursued within the context of a country's foreign policy. Kurbalija and Hone emphasize that a sound digital foreign policy strategy must address it itself to several issues, namely; how to promote national interests in the era of digital interdependence, key digital policy issues, the interplay between various stakeholders in the digital space including governments technology companies and civil society, multilateral and new business policy platforms, and the question of the balance between traditional diplomacy and innovation. Several first movers in this area include Denmark, Switzerland, Netherlands, and France. The Denmark's Tech strategy 2021-2023 acknowledges technology's impact on shaping foreign policy agenda, through new power political dimensions, supporting development, democratic values, human rights and galvanizing the global community in confronting common challenges. In Switzerland, the Digital Switzerland Strategy of 2020 is the foundational framework that provides the basis for digitalization across various sectors and the priorities of the government. In realization of this goal within the foreign policy space, Switzerland developed the Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-2023 which focuses on four key foreign policy imperatives within the digital space: Digital governance, prosperity and sustainable development, cybersecurity, and digital self-determination. In France, the International Digital Strategy acknowledges the centrality of technology in its foreign policy, as an anchor for its global competitiveness and global stability, security, and power.

Andreas (2013) observes that with the spread of Twitter, interactions between governments and the people have dramatically extended to the very core of the diplomatic strategies of any state and their impact on enhancing a country's foreign policy agenda. Emrich & Schulze (2017) have identified three critical challenges to diplomacy in the 21st century. The first is the diversity of actors active in the international field. The second concerns a broad spectrum of the public, which traditionally was remotely removed from the foreign policy realm but now operates in an interconnected world and wants to be heard. Lastly is the progress and impact of digitization on diplomacy.

Schaub (2014) affirms that social media and digital diplomacy will continue to shape state and non-state relations in the future. He sees governments and non-state actors investing in large social media teams and mainstreaming online platforms within the diplomatic practice ecosystem. In the long run, he foresees a fundamental paradigm shift in how governments interact with the various constituencies and a remarkable change in the global political system, their constituents, and the world at large.

From the above literature, there is limited attention placed on the relationship between institutionalization of Digital Diplomacy and utilization of digital technologies in Diplomacy and its overall impact on a state's digital Foreign Policy Framework. While there is an attempt by states to embrace digital technologies in this new era, institutionalization of Digital Diplomacy and utilization of digital technologies are embraced at a slower pace in various governments' institutions more so in African governments that have been left behind in this new wave in diplomacy. This gap in the literature, therefore, informed the purpose of this research.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

This research will be guided by the Innovative Diplomatic Theory (IDT). This section will look at the theory, its origin, proponents, assumptions, and its applicability to this research, associated challenges and ways to enhance it for future applicability.

The term "innovators" within diplomacy can be traced to Melissen (1999), who introduced the concept in his book, *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*. He provided a new analysis of issues that dominated diplomatic studies; traditional diplomacy (primarily) and unconventional diplomacy. This phenomenon has extensively gained traction and popularization by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, also known as the *Clingendael*, whose researchers have extensively studied the subject. Innovators came to the fore in a field teetering on the brink of a theoretical battle. The tussle was between believers in the centrality of the Westphalian state in international affairs versus those who believed in the emerging non-state actors, as the Cold War ended. These new actors were contending for a voice in international relations. Cooper and Hocking (2000) view this antagonism between different actors and diplomatic theorists as chiefly responsible for the long-standing perception that state and non-state

actors were inhabiting different spheres, pursuing different interests, operating along varying rulebooks and consequently there is little or no interaction between their them. This what gave rise to the Innovative Diplomatic Theory (IDT).

The IDT argues that the traditional dichotomy between the statist and non-statist approaches to diplomacy has adversely polarized diplomatic theory. The IDT came up due to the fierce debate between the Traditional Diplomatic Theory (TDT) and the Nascent Diplomatic Theory (NDT). These, for some time, existed on two extremes of the diplomatic theoretical spectrum, with the former advocating for the centrality of the state in diplomatic activities while the latter propping non-state actors.

According to Murray (2006), the TDT and NDT were too polarized to arrive at a compromise, thoughts that are supported by Sill (2000), who posited that the proponents of both prisms, "do not significantly relax either of the two fundamental assumptions that distinguish the contending research traditions."

1.8.1 Assumptions of the Innovative Diplomatic Theory

The IDT theory acknowledges diplomacy polarization, pitting the statist and non-statist at the opposite ends of the diplomatic theoretical spectrum. The theory is highly critical of the existing divergence between the overly exclusive TDT and the orthodox NDT. The contention is that defending either of these parochial theories will result in confusion and conflict in theorizing modern diplomacy and in effect jeopardizes the holistic evaluation of modern diplomacy by elevating opinion at the expense of accuracy, Hocking (1999).

Firstly, the IDT stresses the symbiotic state and non-state diplomatic relationships in the modern diplomatic environment described as non-adversarial and complementary and that non-state diplomatic actors must be integral to the modern diplomatic environment, Lee & Hudson (2004) and Newsom, (1988).

Melissen (1994, pp.8) argued that the state-centric theories of diplomacy suffer the limitations of being remarkably oblivious to the expanding scope of the diplomatic ecosystem considering the emergence of diverse significant actors on the global stage. Hocking (1994) avers that in this new diplomatic dispensation that syncretizes state and non-state actors, foreign ministers are now finding it increasingly necessary to engage informal diplomatic players to further their diplomatic causes, in what he calls 'catalytic

diplomacy.’ Even though diplomacy has been viewed as rigid and inflexible, Watson (1984, pp 216) posited that diplomacy must be adaptive to the changing environment. Melissen (1994) reinforced this view, who asserts that diplomacy must be adaptive and elastic to the ever-changing diplomatic environment while preserving an essential degree of cohesion in international society.

Secondly, the Innovators stress information evolution, particularly utilization of information technology developments as a mechanism to pool resources, expertise, and knowledge in dealing with a more complex international relations system, and increased collaboration among the diverse actors in the complex foreign policy agenda instead of competing against each other. Riodan (2003, pp 63) argues that the advent of communicative technology, such as the Internet, should be viewed as enhancing otherwise traditional communication systems or better still, as another layer added to a traditional process.

For the IDT, the information revolution is not synonymous with a diplomatic evolution, but rather that communication, information, and technologies are intrinsically linked to the essential functions of diplomacy, Murray (2006). With improved communications, high and low politics are holistically managed while enabling a more representative international relations system.

Thus, ICTs and the subsequent diplomatic evolution help further regulate the interaction between the players in the diplomatic space ranging from states, NGOs, IGOs, MNCs or individuals. Rawnsley (1994, pp 135) saw modern communications technology as whittling down the idea of national sovereignty, traditionally pegged on physical borders. States now need to appreciate cross-border information flow and its influence on the self-perception of societies and each other. This may entail establishing mechanisms to monitor foreign media broadcasts and emerging communications technologies. Monitoring foreign sentiments against a state allows governments to analyze the response of global official and public opinion to their own behaviour and decisions (Rawnsley, *ibid*, pp 147). With new technologies redefining sovereignty, Kurbalija (1994, pp 171) argued this new reality creates new demands on diplomacy. Consequently, diplomats are

finding themselves in a delicate balance of protecting sovereignty on the one hand and promoting state participation in the processes of global and regional integration.

Thirdly, the IDT argues that digital technologies are becoming important catalysts for enhancing the efficacy of public diplomacy. According to Nye (1990, pp 176), it is the ability to derive favourable outcomes from others through attraction rather than coercion or payment. According to Owen, (2015, -- 115), public diplomacy has been used to explain government foreign policies to those impacted by them, developing long-term strategic foreign policy themes, and engendering lasting relationships through cultural and academic exchanges.

Melissen (2005, pp.5) observes that while traditional diplomacy focuses on building relationships between states or other international actors, public diplomacy targets the general public in foreign societies and, more specifically, non-state actors. Copeland (2013, pp 2) captures the essence of public diplomacy as involving diplomats leveraging dialogue, partnerships, image projection, and reputation management to appeal directly to foreign populations to galvanize support and advance objectives with host governments and that digital platforms offer more straightforward means of reaching non-state actors.

For diplomats posted in volatile and insecure regions, digital technologies now provide the means to overcome face-face restrictions, primarily due to insecurity and other considerations in various duty stations. Additionally, it is easy to establish a value-for-money evaluation mechanism for digital diplomacy through web analytic platforms Copeland (ibid, 2013). In 2012, Canada severed diplomatic relations with Iran over mounting tensions between the two countries. Canada recalled its five diplomats after expelling all Iranian diplomats on the same day and subsequently, its Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade planned to engage Iranian citizens directly when it could not engage their government. A two-day conference in May 2013, streamed live over the Internet with the broad objective of providing Iranian democracy activists with a platform to build a strong and vibrant civil society and advance human rights in Iran, (Owen (2005, pp 290).

Lastly, the IDT focuses on narrowing the gap between diplomatic theory and practice, and in effect, incorporate the opinion of conventional and non-conventional practitioners

as well as relying on official sources such as government white papers and official data to validate arguments advanced by the IDT theory.

Hocking *et al.* (2012) view the present international system as dominated by relationships between states and non-state actors, creating an intricate mesh of diplomacy, which may be competitive and collaborative on other occasions. They postulate that the 21st-century landscape has seen a rapid expansion in the number of international actors empowered by Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) and social media transcending traditional NGOs to more amorphous civil society groups.

In this dispensation, diplomats now share the stage with various actors and institutions, even though the state remains an important actor in international relations. Therefore, change and continuity are vital features of this new diplomacy. Foreign ministries and individual diplomats required to leverage digital technologies to influence debate and network, increasingly acting as "facilitators and social entrepreneurs" between domestic and civil society groups within the broader global policy networks (Hockings *et al.* (ibid, 2012).

Zaharna (2015, pp 104) advances the fact that effective public diplomacy is now contingent upon the ability of a government to promote policy agendas and create policy change by cultivating relations with diverse publics. Digital technologies present new opportunities for Foreign Ministries and, in effect, digital diplomacy a lot of traction. For this trend to be sustained, there needs to be deliberate efforts to support innovation, have adequate resources, and a critical adjustment in the international policy direction" (Copeland 2013).

The IDT can therefore be essential in the analysis of the correlation between institutionalization of Digital Diplomacy and utilization of digital technologies in Diplomacy and its overall impact on a state's digital Foreign Policy Framework by providing a practical nexus between the applicability of digital technologies within the diplomatic space as a new imperative for states in their attainment of foreign policy objectives, while at the same time magnifying the place of non-state actors in the diplomatic ecosystem.

1.9. Definition and Operationalization of Key Concepts

1.9.1. Digital diplomacy

Conceptual definition

Digital diplomacy outlines modern techniques and approaches for carrying out diplomacy utilizing of ICTs and the Internet, as well as their influence on current diplomatic procedures, DiploFoundation (2019).

Operational definition

In this study, Digital diplomacy refers to the broad application of the Internet and ICTs in the conduct of diplomacy, in negotiations, and for engaging foreign publics through public diplomacy.

1.9.2. Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs)

Conceptual definition

Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) comprise of equipment and technologies that manage information and communication (accessibility, generate, collect, storage, transmission, receive, and distribution), ITU (2014).

Operational definition

In this study, Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) refers to digital technologies that are used in the dissemination of information and communication.

1.9.3. Cyber security

Conceptual definition

Cyber security refer to the grouping of measures, tools, policies, security principles, safeguards, guidelines, risk management techniques, actions, training, and best practices.that can be taken to secure an institution and individual assets in the cyberspace (ITU, 2010).

Operational definition

In this study, Cyber security refers to the mechanisms for ensuring safety on digital/online platforms and include information security policies, procedures and processes that define how the online platforms are used, and mitigation of risks associated with them.

1.9.4. Social media

Conceptual definition

Social media refers to the various kind of electronic communication (micro-blogging and social networking) where people build online communities that share ideas, information, thoughts, messages, and other stuff like videos (Miriam Webster Dictionary, International Edition 2016).

Operational definition

In this study, Social media refers to the Digital/online platforms for sharing of information, social networking and microblogging, that allow for instataneous interaction like Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, etc.

1.10. Hypotheses

H1: Digital diplomacy enhances Kenya's Foreign Policy.

H01: Digital diplomacy does not enhance Kenya's Foreign Policy.

H2: Digital technologies enhance Public Diplomacy.

H02: Digital technologies do not enhance Public Diplomacy.

H3: A digital foreign policy strategy leads to better foreign policy outcomes.

H03: A digital foreign policy strategy does not lead to better foreign policy outcomes.

1.11. Methodology

The research methodology outlines the research design adopted, the technique of gathering data and analysis, data validity and reliability as well as ethical considerations.

1.11.1. Research Design

According to Yin (2009, p. 24), a research design links data gathered (and the conclusions to be made) to the initial study questions. This is an exploratory study that sought to assess the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva. It provides snapshot of the extent of adoption and application of this concept, identifying the challenges and opportunities for strengthening this phenomenon for favourable foreign policy outcomes.

The independent variable that guided this research was digital diplomacy, which is adopting and applying emerging information and communication technologies in diplomatic activities. This variable was analyzed in the following constructs:

- a) Institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva (IOG). The sub-variable was measured by the availability of digital diplomacy policy/strategy instruments, including the training of diplomats in this novel frontier.
- b) The type and diversity of digital technologies used by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva. This sub-variable was measured by analyzing the availability and adequacy of digital tools adopted for diplomacy in Kenya.
- c) The execution of diplomatic communication on digital platforms. This sub-variable was measured by analyzing the execution and human resources dedicated to diplomatic communications on digital platforms at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.
- d) Success cases of digital diplomacy. This sub-variable was measured by the success stories of Kenya's foreign policy initiatives executed through digital diplomacy by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.
- e) Challenges in the adoption of digital diplomacy. This sub-variable was measured by assessing the type and diversity of challenges hindering digital diplomacy adoption at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.

The dependent variable that guided this research was Kenya's foreign policy which is the total sum of policies that guide the country to pursue its national interests in the international system. This variable was analyzed in five constructs, which are the key pillars of Kenya's foreign policy:

- a) **Peace diplomacy.** This variable was measured by how the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva utilized digital technologies to promote peace diplomacy through conflict resolution.

- b) **Economic diplomacy.** This sub-variable was measured by how the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva utilized digital technologies to promote the country as an investment choice for foreign direct investment (FDI), tourism and conferencing.
- c) **Diaspora diplomacy.** This sub-variable was measured by how the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva leverage digital technologies to engage Kenyans in the diaspora and facilitate their contribution to national development.
- d) **Environmental diplomacy.** This sub-variable was measured by the extent to which the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva Kenya leveraged digital technologies to participate in global environmental initiatives and solve contemporary environmental concerns.
- e) **Cultural diplomacy.** This sub-variable was measured in terms of how the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva Kenya use digital technologies to raise visibility and attract global interest in Kenya's rich cultural heritage.

The study employed the mixed methods technique, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. This study approach enabled the researcher the flexibility to explore and describe the digital diplomacy phenomenon and its practical application in a foreign mission and within the institutional architecture of the foreign affairs ecosystem in Kenya. The primary data was gathered chiefly through questionnaires with officials from various government agencies that have a role to play in enhancing the growth and adoption of digital diplomacy. Key informants were critical in providing their personal experiences and perceptions of the subject matter. Secondary data was obtained through analysis of official and publicly available documents on this subject, including the MFA Strategic Plan 2018-2023, the Kenya Diaspora Policy 2014, The Diplomacy Newsletter, The MFA Annual Report 2020-2021 and the Jubilee Manifesto 2013. Other relevant information to this study was collected through desktop research on the Internet.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

Digital Diplomacy

- Institutionalization of digital diplomacy
- Type and diversity of digital technologies
- Execution of diplomatic communication on digital platforms
- Success cases of digital diplomacy
- Challenges in the adoption of digital diplomacy

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Kenya Foreign Policy

- Kenya Foreign Policy**
- Peace Diplomacy
 - Cultural Diplomacy
 - Environmental Diplomacy
 - Economic Diplomacy
 - Diaspora Diplomacy

Figure 1.1: Operationalization of Variables

1.11.2. Research Strategy

This study adopted the deductive research strategy, underpinned by the Innovative Diplomatic Theory (IDT) and eventually tested the hypotheses. The mixed method was adopted in data collection and analysis, where qualitative data provided critical insights from respondents on the three main objectives of the study through the description of their experiences and perceptions. Quantitative data, however, was critical in establishing the frequency of various phenomena in the subject of the study.

1.11.3. Sampling

This research used purposive sampling to determine the target population for the research and who are knowledgeable on the subject, Kothari (2004, pp 15). The respondents were selected based on their relevance and expertise to the issue under investigation. The

respondents included senior, middle-level, and junior officers at the Kenya Mission to the U.N. in Geneva, the MFA, KFSA, CA, and ICTA. Even though Morse (1994) observes that 30 to 50 respondents are an adequate sample pool that attains saturation in a qualitative study, this study adopted Creswell (1998)'s suggestion of 20 to 30 respondents.

1.11.4. Case Study Description

This study focused on strategies for strengthening digital diplomacy in Kenya's diplomatic ecosystem to formulate a digital foreign policy strategy for the country. It focused on the Kenya Permanent Mission to the UN and other IOG as the case study.

To provide a broader context for the study, the researcher targeted other units of analysis, such as the MFA, which is critical in policy formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. Other Government agencies included the KFSA responsible for the training and capacity building for diplomats, the CA and ICTA. The CA is the regulatory authority for the ICT industry charged with managing the country's cyber security, while the ICT Authority is responsible for ensuring the harmonization of ICT strategies across the public sector.

Table 1.1: Units of Analysis

INSTITUTION	AREA	RESPONDENTS
1. MFA	Head of Political & Diplomatic Affairs Directorate	1
	Public Affairs & Communication	1
	Diaspora and Consular Services	1
	ICT	1
	Economic and International Trade Directorate	1
	Human Resource Management & Development	1
	Other Staff at the MFA	15
TOTAL		11
2. Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and Other International Organizations in Geneva	The Ambassador	1
	Head of ICT	1
	Public Affairs/Communication	1
	Other staff at the Mission	2
TOTAL		5
3. Communications Authority of Kenya (C.A.)	Director General	1
	National KE-CIRT	2
TOTAL		2
4. ICT Authority	Chief Executive Officer	1
	Head of Government Enterprise Architecture	1
	TOTAL	
5. Kenya Foreign Service Institute	Director General/CEO	1
	Head of Academic Affairs	1
	Head of Curriculum Development	1
TOTAL		3
GRAND TOTAL		23

Source: *Field, 2021*

1.11.5. Data Collection Methods

The primary data in this study was obtained via structured questionnaires administered to the target population, providing flexibility and diversity of information and offering greater anonymity. The open-ended and close-ended questions enabled the researcher to collect a broad range of information on various issues under investigation.

Given the prevailing COVID-19 situation at the time of the data collection and the case study respondents out of the country at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the UN in Geneva, the questionnaire was mapped on an online platform, Microsoft Forms, and disseminated to all the respondents at the MFA, the Kenya Foreign Service Institute, the Communications Authority of Kenya, and the ICT Authority. The questions were structured to ensure consistency, giving the respondents a leeway to reflect on aspects of their perceptions of the application of digital diplomacy.

Secondary data was collected by analysing official and publicly available documents on this subject, including the MFA Strategic Plan and annual reports and through desktop research on the Internet, including the MFA website and social media pages, the Mission's website and social media pages, which were vital in providing context to the study.

1.11.6. Data Reliability and Validity

The dependability and consistency of a test are determined by how well data analysis delivers constant results over some time (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). If an instrument can consistently generate results that lead to legitimate outcomes, it is considered to be reliable. The researcher used Cronbach's Alpha to assess the consistency of the tool in order to attain reliability in this study. To facilitate replication by other researchers in the future, the questions were also standardized so that each participant was asked the same questions in the same order. The researcher also triangulated and cross-checked information attained from primary sources with existing secondary data to ensure that the information generated was reliable and unbiased.

This study also employed three validities: Construct, Internal and External. For construct validity, Yin (2018, pp 79-80) argues that a researcher should adopt a three-pronged

approach to achieve construct validity. The first one is to have multiple sources of evidence to support the findings. The second is to have a chain of evidence during data collection, and the last is to ensure that critical informants review the draft study report. In this study, the researcher has leveraged diverse data sources. Therefore, the researcher established operational measures for the concepts being studied and related them to the original intentions of the study and, in effect, demonstrated linkages between the theory and measurements of the study. The researcher also established a case study database for all evidence gathered during the study period.

Internal validity establishes a causal relationship between phenomena, Yin (2018, pp 80). In this study, the researcher addressed internal validity by randomly selecting participants representing the broader population under study. The study also made inferences based on the data gathered through the questionnaires.

The degree to which the results of one study may be applied to different samples, people, or environments is known as external validity. According to Kothari (2004), generalization from study populations, settings, treatment, and measurement variables occurs when external validity is attained. To arrive at a generalization, the researcher triangulated and crosschecked information attained from primary sources with existing secondary data to establish areas of convergence or divergence, (Creswell & Miller 2000, p. 126). The researcher also considered gender and age to ensure data representativeness when choosing a sample population.

1.11.7. Ethical Considerations

In undertaking the study, the researcher adhered to all ethical research principles and ensured that all cited work was appropriately referenced and that all University of Nairobi guidelines were adhered to. Those who took part were fully informed on the study purpose and scope of their participation, and their consent was secured. The researcher has ensured that shared data is treated with utmost confidentiality, and where participants requested anonymity, the same was respected.

1.11.8. Data Analysis

The data analysis of this study adopted mixed methods research, Creswell, (2002). The qualitative data, based on questions such as: how much, how many, how often, etc., Gosling & Edward (1998, pp 42), was analyzed along thematic areas through content analysis with the results presented based on the study objectives and supported by quotations. An in-depth analysis of the data gathered against the study objectives and research questions was critical in drawing insights questions to enhance the study findings, Miles & Huberman (1994).

Quantitatively, the data was analyzed by displaying and discussing correlations among variables through statistical analysis of basic correlation tests such as Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient as well as Pearson Correlation Coefficient to describe the findings accurately. The study adopted inferential statistics and the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to establish significant relationships between variables. The study has adopted graphical displays of data, tables, pie charts, and histograms to give trends and patterns, where necessary, to illustrate the findings.

1.11.9. Chapter Outline

This study on *Strengthening Digital Diplomacy for Effective Foreign Policy: Analysis of Kenya's Permanent Mission to the UN and Other International Organizations in Geneva* is divided into four chapters.

Chapter one comprises the introduction and the background of the study, problem statement, the research questions, the study objectives, justification, scope and limitations, literature reviewed, and methodology applied. Chapter two focuses on the evolution of diplomacy, focusing on the tools used in every epoch. Chapter three presents data analysis and interpretation of the findings while chapter four summarises the study findings and recommendations for developing Kenya's digital foreign policy strategy.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF DIPLOMACY

2.0. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the historical context of diplomacy, its evolution over time, and the key issues that have defined it along the different epochs, setting the stage for the new frontier of digital diplomacy. It shows that diplomacy has been a dynamic discipline primarily impacted by other factors within and outside its space, from the global perspective, to locally, in Kenya.

2.1. Early Beginnings of Diplomacy

Reynolds, (2007, pp.5) traces the roots of diplomacy to the Bronze Age in the Near East. For instance, available records from the Euphrates kingdom show that as early as the mid-18th Century BC, there was a regular exchange of envoys between states due to trade and war. This fact is further corroborated by documentary evidence found in Egypt four centuries later.

In classical Greece, city-states regularly relied on envoys to negotiate peace treaties and forge alliances among friendly city-states. These were not professional diplomats by contemporary standards, influential people sent from one city-state to another. Adcock & Mosley (1975) indicate that the interactions were formal, as they were between representatives of one power and another, such as Sparta or Athens.

Diplomacy was also practiced during the Roman Empire, with the emperor enjoying authority to make treaties to maintain security. By the middle of the first century A.D., rulers of satellite states could travel to the seat of the empire to discuss issues of mutual concern. It was also common for emperors to appoint co-emperors in various parts of the empire, with frequent engagement with foreign envoys directly with a foreign counterpart (Braund 1984).

Gillet (2003) notes that at its height, Byzantine Empire rulers managed their affairs by inviting foreign rulers to their court or undertaking negotiations by letters and by envoys. Reynolds (2007) argues that diplomacy in the West tended to be personal in the post-Roman Empire dispensation. Territorial settlements were addressed by commissioners

who were sent in advance to survey the disputed areas to understand and gather information necessary for their decision-making. While most of these were person-to-person meetings, in other cases, high-level meetings addressed peace agreements, like the meeting in Venice in 1177 between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III.

2.2. Modern Diplomacy

Modern diplomacy can be traced to 17th Century France when Cardinal Richelieu introduced a new approach to international relations based on the nation-state and motivated by national interest when he established the first foreign ministry in 1626, Syracuse (2010, pp 2). Cardinal Richelieu's view further emphasized by Kissinger (1994), who opined that *raison d'état* (reason of the state) is the founding principle of modern diplomacy. Constantinou & Sharp (2016) argue that the *raison d'état* can be traced to Renaissance Italy, which implemented diplomatic action through policies and active ties that reinforced the ruler's status, and which over time matured into an impersonal legal quality and autonomous ethics. However, the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 is a watershed moment in the development of modern diplomacy, according to Syracuse (2010, pp 3). Besides bringing to an end the vicious Thirty Year's War that had ravaged Europe, it also established the independence of nations and the idea of religious freedom and toleration, and, most importantly, the entrenchment of the importance of states as the key players in diplomatic activity.

Parker (1987, pp 153) observes that the treaty of Westphalia was a culmination of almost five years of intensive negotiations, bringing together about 176 representatives of 109 European rulers. The second half of 17th century saw an upsurge of resident ambassadors, with France leading the pack (Reynolds (2007). During that period, ambassadors were predominantly aristocrats, except in England and the Dutch Republic, where they chose to represent their monarchs in other sovereign states. With France already having a fully-fledged foreign affairs ministry, Britain followed suit in 1782, while in 1789, the United States established the Department of Foreign Affairs (now the Department of State).

Kissinger (1994) notes that 18th-century diplomacy was profoundly influenced by Great Britain's balance of power, that dominated European diplomacy for 200 years. Austria's

foremost diplomat, Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, used his insight to convene the Concert of Europe, which would later crumble under Germany's Otto von Bismarck, consequently transforming European diplomacy into what Kissinger refers to as "a cold-blood game of power politics."

2.3. 19th Century and Beyond

The 19th century was a defining moment in the development of diplomacy. This period was marked by wars, with nationalistic sentiments gaining traction in Europe, laying the stage for World War I & II and a Cold War in the subsequent century. Syracuse (2010) notes that in the 19th century, the political order in Europe shifted from divine-right kings to constitutional monarchies and republics. This period also saw diplomacy become more institutionalized. By the turn of that century, euro-centric diplomacy had been adopted worldwide, with a fully-fledged diplomatic system with large countries establishing embassies in other large countries and legations in smaller ones. Hamilton and Langhorne (1995) observe that this period was also marked by American isolationism, which kept the USA outside the central orbit of international diplomacy. Nonprofessionals dominated the USA's diplomatic service until the 1900s when diplomacy was professionalized. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, the USA came up as a key player in world affairs.

Reynolds (2007) argues that the 20th century was chiefly marked by "summit diplomacy," a meeting of leaders at the highest levels. The first meeting was that of German leader Adolf Hitler and British Prime Minister Chamberlain in 1938. At the edge of the outbreak of the First World War, Chamberlain saw a personal meeting with Hitler as the only way of saving London from Hitler's perceived weapons of mass destruction, Chuter (1998). Reynolds (2007) has singled six meetings as the critical moments of global diplomacy, especially summit diplomacy.

The Yalta Conference of 1945, between U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, Britain's Winston Churchill and Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin was singled out as Europe was divided among the eventual victors of the war. This sowed the seeds of the Cold War. A June 1961 meeting in Vienna between Soviet Union's Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy helped spark the Cuban Missile Crisis and America's long drawn war in

Vietnam, (Reynolds (2007)). Another watershed meeting was between Soviet Union's Brezhnev and U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1972. The signing of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) was believed would slow down the arms race between two superpowers and eventually the thawing of the Cold War, but which according to Kissinger (1979) and Reynolds (2000), it did not.

The Camp David meeting of 1978 was probably the most deliberate attempt by the U.S to bring peace to the conflict-ridden Middle East. The tripartite meeting between President Jimmy Carter, Israeli's Menachem Begin, and Egypt's Anwar set in motion efforts to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict that is festering to date. Suppose there was ever a meeting that proved to bear the fruits of summit diplomacy, the 1985 meeting between Soviet leader Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Geneva, Switzerland. Garthoff (1994) and Oberdorfer (1998) cite the meeting between the two leaders as chiefly responsible for the end of Cold War and the improving relations between the two erstwhile rivals. Regarding the rules governing contemporary diplomatic practice, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 is the globally recognized treaty that provides a universally recognized framework.

2.4. Post-Cold War Diplomacy and the New Focus on Public Diplomacy

Reynolds (2000) opines that since the 1980s, technological changes in travel, weaponry, and communications have profoundly transformed summit diplomacy. Technological changes injected new approaches to summit diplomacy, making such meetings possible without physical interactions. Personal computers and electronic mail made instantaneous communication possible. The proliferation of mass media and the Internet in the 21st century has accentuated the public's role in diplomacy. While there was a tight grip on information by governments during the Cold War, in the 21st century, the Internet and mass media have changed the landscape. Except in some authoritarian regimes, ordinary people across many countries have unfettered access to news and information through various platforms.

In traditional diplomacy, legations and embassies were strictly limited in their interactions with normal citizens of the host state, Syracuse (2010 pp13). The Havana Convention on Diplomatic Officers of 1928 required diplomatic officers to limit their

relations to official communications and not to bring interruption to the host state's internal affairs. In the long term, diplomats had no formal relations with the public in the receiving state. Diplomacy was restricted to a government- to- government relationship before World War II. But this Convention did not explicitly bar diplomats from having any with foreign citizens, which would negate the very reason they have been posted in foreign Governments where they have to report on conditions in states of their accreditation, a practice existing since the 15th century. These engagements with private citizens, mostly the local political, commercial, and financial elites.

Arising from World War II, the scope of diplomacy has been expanded to factor in a unique government- to- people connection, widely identified as public diplomacy. This concept coined by U.S. career diplomat Edmund Gullion in 1965 has become synonymous with deliberate efforts by states to shape public attitudes on the formulation and implementation of foreign policies. Public diplomacy transcends traditional diplomacy as an approach by Governments to cultivate public opinion in other countries. It also fosters interactions between private groups and interests across countries, facilitated by the transnational flow of information and ideas. Sharp (2005, pp106), suggest that public diplomacy entail the process whereby direct relations with people in a nation are pursued to advance the interests and boost values of those being represented.

Wolf and Rosen (2004, pp 4) have demonstrated marked differences between public and official diplomacy. They opine that public diplomacy is transparent and widely disseminated, unlike official diplomacy. Secondly, while official diplomacy is a government-to-government engagement, governments transmit public diplomacy to a more comprehensive, or in some cases selected, public in other countries. Thirdly, regarding the themes and issues, public diplomacy differs significantly from official diplomacy. While the former targets the attitudes and behaviour of the public in host countries, the latter is concerned with the behaviour and policies of governments. Syracuse (2010) contends that public diplomacy has often faced criticisms by being equated to propaganda and, even in extreme cases, interpreted as meddling in the internal affairs of other nations and effectively challenging the intention of the Havana Convention.

2.5. Diplomacy in Kenya

2.5.1. Evolution of Diplomacy in Kenya

Kenya's diplomacy dates to the pre-colonial period. At the time of British colonial rule, Kenya's international relations were conducted mainly through the British Foreign Office in London through the Governor's office, under an External Affairs Branch, Bhoi (2018). During that time, diplomats were sent to the U.K. to train and exchange experiences with their British counterparts.

2.5.2. The 1963-1978 Period

Kibinge (2018) notes that upon attaining internal self-rule on 1st June, 1963, Kenyan Foreign Service officers were recruited and seconded to all British embassies worldwide. Among those who laid down the foundations of Kenya's diplomatic ecosystem was Dr. John Robert Ouko. He, before independence, became the Senior Assistant Secretary for external relations and would be elevated to Permanent Secretary when Kenya secured independence on December 12 1963, under the first Minister of Foreign Affairs Minister Joseph Murumbi. In the pre-colonial era, western countries with consulates in Kenya automatically converted into embassies upon Kenya's attainment of independence. Without an established system or protocol to follow, diplomatic ties are solemnized through the exchange of *note verbales*. Kibinge (2018) notes that the British High Commissioner was the first to present credentials to Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union was the first to gain diplomatic recognition from Kenya. Efforts to give Kenya's Foreign Affairs ministry its present architecture began in February 1964. Simultaneously, the telex communications system was installed at the MFA and Kenyan missions abroad.

With Kenya, like many third-world countries, gaining independence against the backdrop of the Cold War, its diplomatic actions in the global political sphere were to a great extent shaped by Cold War dynamics. By joining the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Kenya treaded the precarious political events with excellent balancing tact. For a long time, Kenya's diplomatic approach was characterized as what Cheluget (2018) calls "low profile diplomacy," as Kenya avoided any form of radical aggressiveness, which could not be promoted or defended. It was a "wait and see, non-committal attitude." This notion

is strongly discounted by Muthaura (2018) that Kenya's diplomacy at the time was aggressive, as demonstrated by the ability of Kenya to host a higher-level World Bank/IMF meeting in those early years. The lobbying and eventual hosting of the UNEP and Kenya's efforts to lead peace negotiations in the Congo. Mathura's arguments were also influenced by the fact that in 1976, Kenya joined 26 other African countries to boycott the Montreal Olympics in protest of the decision by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) not to expel New Zealand for its rugby channels with South Africa, which was reeling under the apartheid regime.

2.5.3. The 1978-2002 Period

Makinda (1983) argues that Kenya's diplomacy was reenergized under President Daniel Arap Moi, with Moi giving it a personal touch. During this regime, he characterizes Kenya's diplomacy as "more of a presidential prerogative, more aggressive and controversial. During the time, Moi fostered a "positive non-alignment" as the official approach of Kenya's diplomatic overtures. This period witnessed many peace mediation efforts spearheaded by Kenya, as seen in Mozambique in the 80s, Sudan, and Somalia. Kenya's diplomacy was also caught in the Cold War cross-hairs, as evidenced in the boycotts of the summer Moscow Olympics in 1980 by the U.S. and also its allies, including Kenya. An article in the Washington Post of 1980 quoted Kenya's news sources that Kenya's action was a reaction to the global condemnation of invasion by Soviet Union in Afghanistan. U.S. President Jimmy Carter had piled pressure on the Soviet Union to have the games relocated, postponed, cancelled, or boycotted if the Soviet troops were not fully withdrawn from Afghanistan. According to Maberera (2016), foreign policy formulation and implementation during the Moi regime were highly centralized with the MFA and other government departments involved in the foreign policy formulation and implementation playing a periphery role, as evidenced in President Moi's active role in conflict resolution peace initiatives in the region. Throughout the 80s, Kenya's diplomacy was significantly shaped by events globally, especially the growing wave of pluralism and the clamour for multi-party democracy. With the end of Cold War in late '80s, Kenya found itself in the whirlwind.

In the region, Moi spearheaded efforts to revive the East African Community (EAC), rejuvenating the years-long endeavour by the three states to renew and give a new breath of air to the regional integration that collapsed in 1977. The East African Cooperation (EAC) inauguration in March 1996, with Francis Muthaura, a Kenyan, as its first Secretary-General, demonstrates Kenya's diplomatic acumen.

2.5.4. The 2002 to 2012 Period

Cheluget (2018) opines that Kenya's diplomacy era was assertive during the Mwai Kibaki presidency. Kenya pursued this to cement her position as a force to reckon with among the community of nations. This "Kibaki Doctrine," as Cheluget calls it, is based on an atmosphere of information sharing by experts to develop a coherent and proactive foreign policy to project Kenya's global interests effectively. Ogaye (2019, pp 18) asserts that although Kenya's foreign policy formulation remained ad hoc under the Kibaki regime, it was largely decentralized. The MFA was leading in policy formulation and implementation. The Kibaki regime was also chiefly characterized by economic diplomacy, as Kenya focused on injecting resources to strengthen her economy. All these endeavours were primed on the Kenya Vision 2030, which envisaged turning Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle-income economy by 2030. President Kibaki's reign was also engulfed in an image crisis following 2007/2008 post election violence that dented Kenya's global image, leading to a shift in Kenya's diplomatic overtures to include image branding. This saw the establishment of institutions such as the Brand Kenya Board in 2008 to spearhead the building, enhance the country's image and national identity, and manage its international reputation.

2.5.5. The 2013 to 2022 Period

From 2013 onwards, Kenya's diplomacy took a new turn with Kenya's foreign policy documentation. Since its independence, Kenya's foreign policy had been executed based on various official documents and executive orders including the Constitution of Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth, and manifestos of the ruling political parties. Other sources of Kenya's foreign policy include National Development Plans, the Kenya Environmental Policy, 2013, Kenya

Vision 2030 including its Medium-Term Plans, and International Treaties, Conventions, Agreements, and Charters.

With Kenya's foreign policy writing, the country's diplomatic activities are more deliberate and focused. The vision of the Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 is "A peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive Kenya." It is premised on five key pillars: Peace Diplomacy, Diaspora Diplomacy, Economic Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy and Environmental Diplomacy. These pillars provide the anchor upon which Kenya's diplomacy is executed. Kenya's global agenda thus is “to build global peace and security; to boost economic development and prosperity; to be the leader in addressing global environmental issues; to expound Kenya's rich culture as a platform to bolster understanding and better relations; and to enhance Kenya's stature in the international affairs,” MFA, (Kenya's Foreign Policy, 2014, pp 12).

Kenya's foreign policy also acknowledges the place of public diplomacy in the contemporary diplomatic dispensation. It explicitly provides leveraging technologies and platforms, mainly social media networks, to communicate with diverse stakeholders to promote Kenya's image actively, values, and culture abroad, (Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014, pp 31). Since independence, Kenya's diplomacy has evolved from the institutional perspective and even execution by leaps and bounds. As of 2021, Kenya had 65 diplomatic missions and consulates to promote Kenya's interests abroad (MFA, 2021).

The MFA as well as the missions are leveraging social media platforms and websites to project Kenya's foreign policy agenda in a highly dynamic diplomatic environment with new realities and policy imperatives constantly influencing the state behaviour.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.0. Introduction

The chapter presents results of data analysis, presentation, and interpretation. This study sought to analyze the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the broader foreign policy ecosystem in Kenya.

The data analysis was structured around the research objectives. The first was to establish the extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva. Secondly, to analyze the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Mission in Geneva, and lastly, to formulate a framework for a digital foreign policy strategy for Kenya.

The respondents in the study were drawn from Kenya Mission in Geneva, the MFA, the Kenya Foreign Service Institute, the CA, and the ICT Authority. These entities are critical in the country's growth and development of a digital diplomatic ecosystem.

Qualitative data were analyzed through content analysis of the various thematic areas aligned to the study's main objectives, capturing the respondents' actual sentiments on various aspects of the study. This approach provided a broader understanding of the case study, further complementing the quantitative data. On the other hand, quantitative data was used to demonstrate the frequency of phenomena, enabling the researcher to make conclusions.

3.1. Background Information and Demographics

The research purposed to establish the demographic characteristics of those who took part regarding their age and gender for the institutions and organizations where they worked.

3.1.1. Response Rate

From total population sampled, 23 questionnaires were filled completely providing a 76.76% return rate.

Table 3.1. Questionnaire Return Rate

Response	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Response	23	76.6
No response	7	23.24
Total Response Rate	30	100

Source: *Author, 2021*

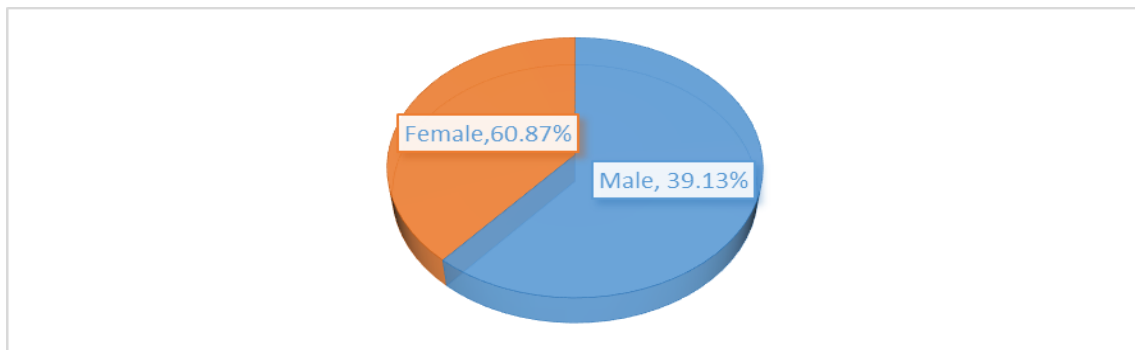
3.1.2. Research Participants

The section shows the bio data of respondents with age and gender as the main variables.

3.1.2.1. Respondents' Gender

This sub-section shows the attributed if the participant in terms of gender, depicted in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Respondents' Gender



Source: *Field data, 2021*

3.1.2.2. Age of Research Participants

The subsection covers results of the participant's age.

Table 3.2. Age of Research Participants

Age of respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
20-30	7	30.43
30-40 years	8	34.80
40-50 years	5	21.73
50-60 years	3	13.04
Total	23	100

Source: *Field Data (2021)*

Majority of participants (34.80%) were between age 30-40 years, 30.43% were 20-30 years, 21.73 were 40-50 years, and 7.41% were 50-60.

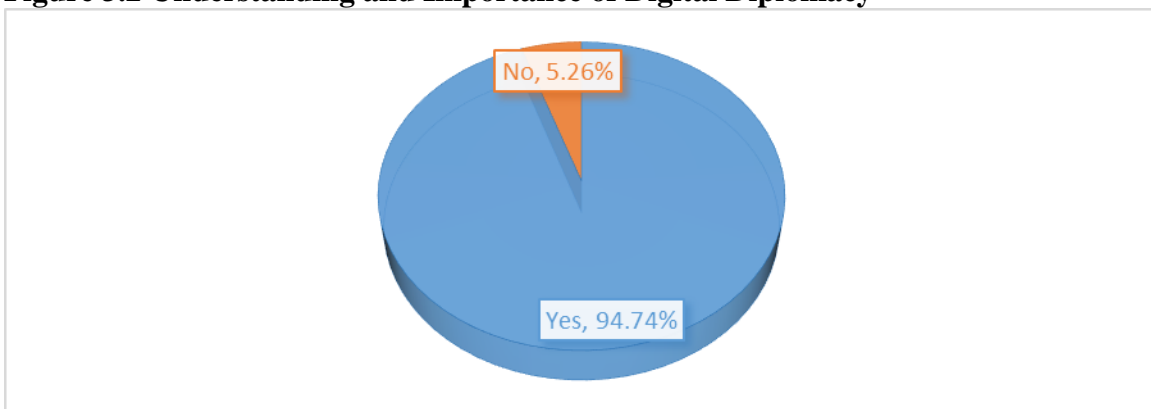
3.2. Assessment of the extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.

The study's first objective was to assess the extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva. This objective was attained by evaluating responses to questions on the following thematic areas: Understanding of digital diplomacy, the existence of policies and procedures, the type of digital platforms available, and the training of diplomats.

3.2.1. Understanding and Importance of Digital Diplomacy

The researcher first purposed to examine participants' level of awareness of the understanding and importance of digital diplomacy as a dependent variable of the study. The respondents included aspects such as the use of social media, use of Internet, digital technology, ICT, and online technology in their explanation of their understanding and importance of digital diplomacy.

Figure 3.2 Understanding and Importance of Digital Diplomacy



Source: Field Data (2021)

Findings show that the majority (94.74%) of the respondents clearly understood the importance of digital diplomacy, while (5.26%) did not express sufficient knowledge and understanding of digital diplomacy. Some of the comments from the respondents on their understanding of digital diplomacy include:

It (digital diplomacy) is a type of public diplomacy where social media is used so that a state can communicate with foreign publics (*Field data, 2021*).

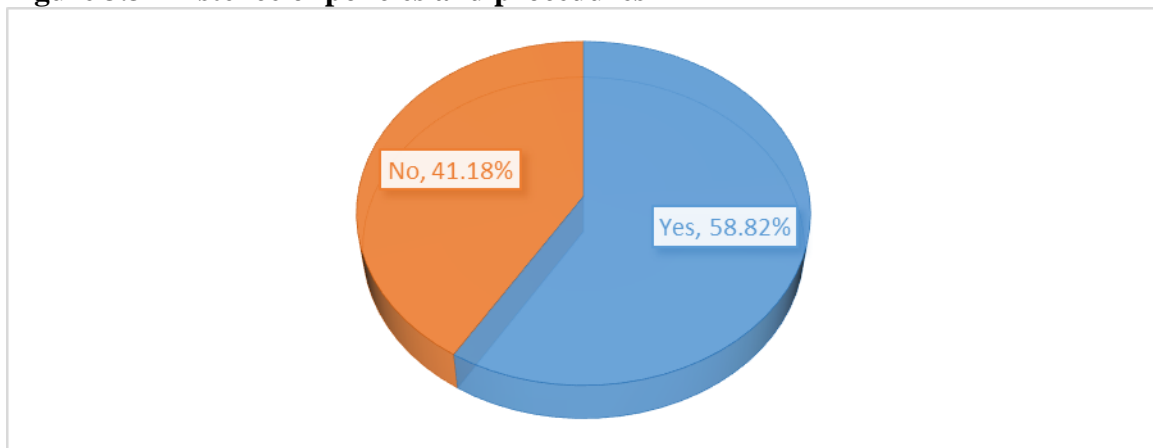
Using technological advances to carry out daily roles, including negotiations, policy processes, and crisis management, are all attached to diplomatic activities (*Field data, 2021*).

New techniques and approaches of conducting diplomacy and international relations by making use of the Internet and ICTs. Also, understanding the impacts of these tools on contemporary diplomatic practices (*Field data, 2021*).

3.2.2. Existence of policies and procedures on digital diplomacy

The researcher sought to examine any policies, procedures, and guidelines on digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the UN and Other International Organizations in Geneva and the MFA.

Figure 3.3 Existence of policies and procedures



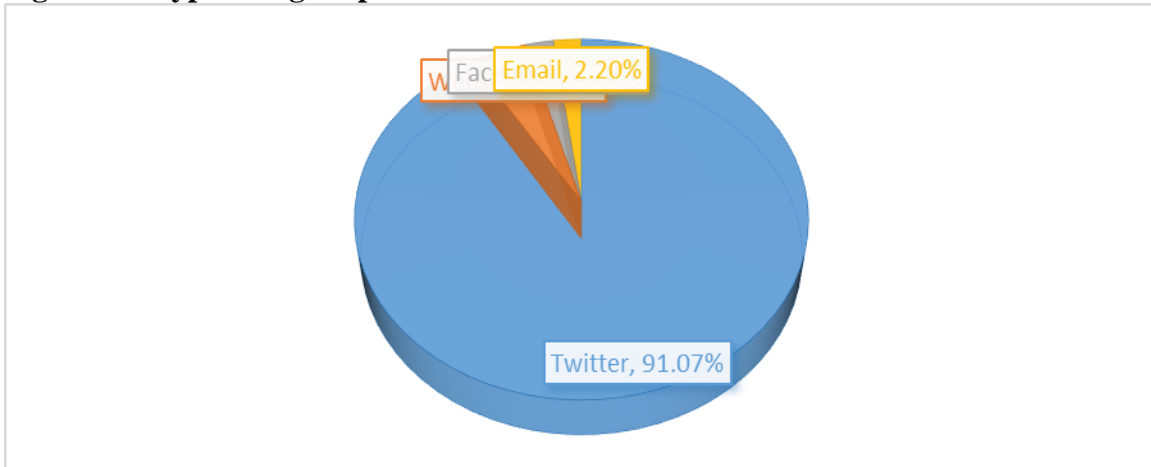
Source: Field Data (2021)

Results show that the majority (58.82%) of the respondents were aware of policies, procedures, and guidelines on digital diplomacy, while 41.18% did not express sufficient knowledge and understanding of the same.

3.2.3. Type of digital platforms available

The researcher sought to establish the digital platforms used for diplomatic activities at the Kenya Mission in Geneva the MFA. The result showed that Twitter was the most preferred platform, followed by the website, Facebook, and email.

Figure 3.4 Type of digital platforms available

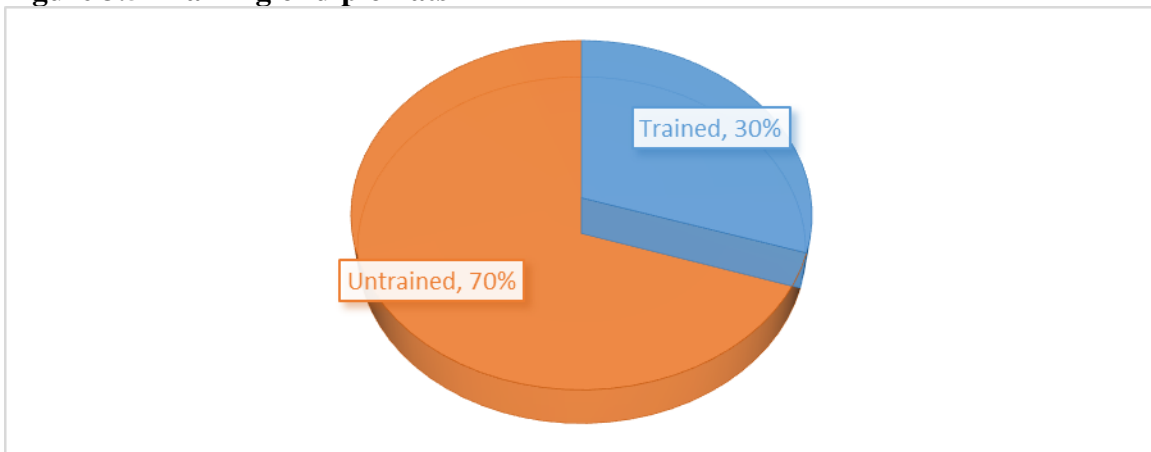


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.2.4. Training of diplomats

The researcher sought to establish from the MFA and the Kenya Foreign Service Institute (KFSA) the number of current serving diplomats trained in digital diplomacy. From the data provided, only about a third of the serving diplomats have been exposed to training on digital diplomacy. The results are displayed in figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 Training of diplomats

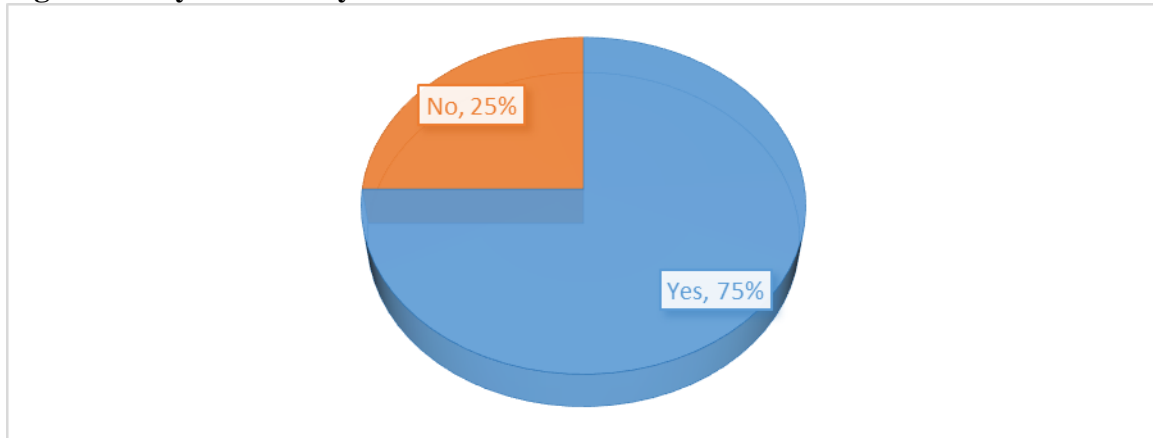


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.2.5. Cyber security assessment

The researcher sought to examine the awareness of cyber security considerations/concerns at the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA. The respondents included aspects such as data leakages, communication interception, and unsolicited comments as significant cyber security concerns. The results are shown below.

Figure 3.6 Cyber security assessment



Source: Field Data (2021)

Descriptive Statistics on extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva.

Table 3.3: Cyber security assessment

Statement	Mean	Std. Dev.
Understanding and Importance of Digital Diplomacy	3.844	1.062
Existence of policies and procedures	3.687	0.849
Type of digital platforms available	3.754	0.774
Training of diplomats	3.731	1.053
Cyber security assessment	3.564	1.123

Source: Field Data (2021)

As per the results, respondents agreed that understanding the importance of digital diplomacy helps in the institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva (mean=3.844), followed by the type of digital platforms available (mean=3.754), training of diplomats (mean=3.731), existence of policies and procedures (mean=3.687), and cyber security assessment (mean=3.564). The findings show that understanding the importance of digital diplomacy helps institutionalize digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva.

3.2.6. Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted hypotheses; digital diplomacy enhances Kenya’s foreign policy, and digital diplomacy does not enhance Kenya’s foreign policy.

Regression Model

The equivalent mathematical formulae for the hypothesis is:

Kenya's Foreign Policy = f (Digital Diplomacy)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.4. Simple Linear Regression Results for the Influence of Digital Diplomacy on Kenya's Foreign Policy

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R	Std. Error of the Estimate	
1	.873 ^a	.762	.722		.09759	
ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	0.183	1	.183	19.200	.005 ^b
	Residual	0.18	18	.010		
	Total	0.363	19			
Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
	(Constant)	-0.829	1.057		-0.784	.463
1	Digital Diplomacy	1.143	.261	.873	4.382	.005
Dependent Variable: Kenya's Foreign Policy						
Predictors: (Constant), Understanding and Importance of Digital Diplomacy, Existence of policies and procedures, type of digital platforms available, and training of diplomats						

Source: Field Data (2021)

Table 3.5 show that $r = 0.873$, inferring a positive link between the independent variable (digital diplomacy) and the dependent variable (Kenya's foreign policy). The R- Squared was .722, meaning that 72.2% of the variation in Kenya's Foreign Policy was explained by variation in digital diplomacy. The other factors explained 27.8%. ANOVA show that the model was statistically significant at ($p < 0.05$).

Results show that the $p\text{-value} = 0.005 \leq 0.05$, $t=4.382$, $p=0.002 < 0.05$, $r= 0.873$ and $r\text{ square}=0.722$. Thus, we reject the null hypothesis that digital diplomacy does not enhance Kenya's foreign policy since the $p\text{-value}$ of 0.005 is equal to 0.05 and accept alternative hypothesis at $\alpha=0.05$ significance interval that digital diplomacy enhances Kenya's foreign policy.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \varepsilon$$

In substituting; $Y = -0.829 + 1.143X_1$

Beta value show that for a one-unit increase in digital diplomacy, Kenya's foreign policy increases by 1.143. It confirms therefore that digital diplomacy had a significant positive influence on enhancing Kenya's foreign policy.

3.3. Analyze the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country through public diplomacy.

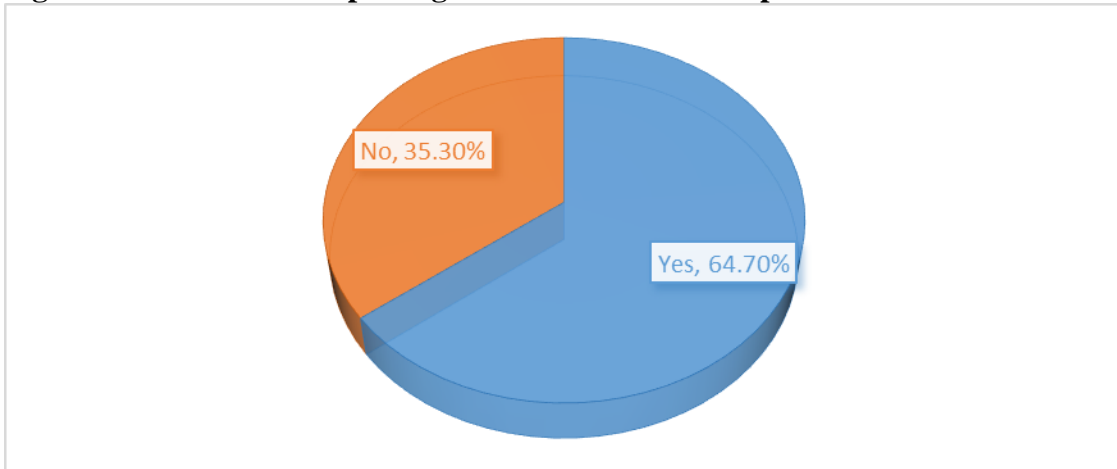
The study's second objective was to analyze the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Mission in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country. Indicators of the scope of utilization of digital technologies were measured by assessing responses to questions on the following thematic areas:

3.3.1 Procedures for posting information on online platforms

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA whether any procedures exist for posting content on the online platforms.

The results are as below.

Figure 3.7 Procedures of posting information on online platforms

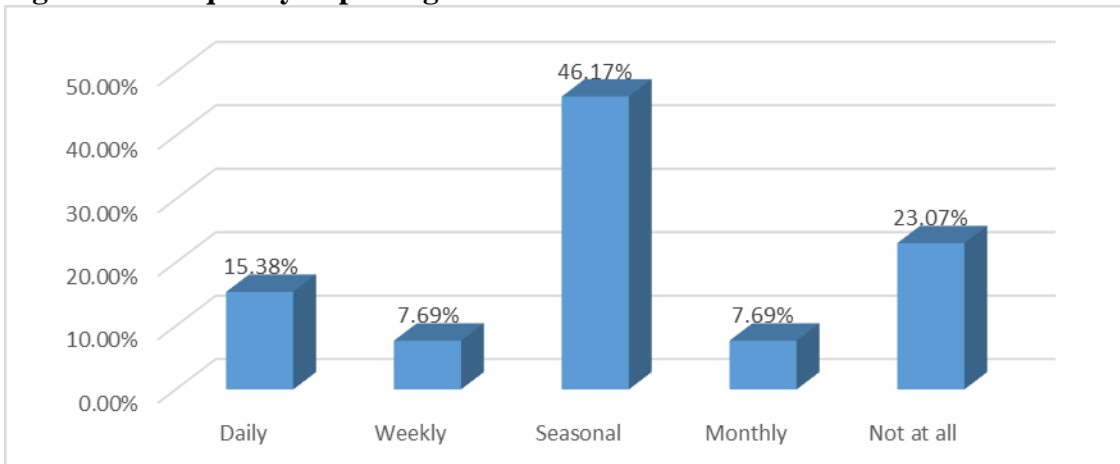


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.3.2. Frequency of posting

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA how frequently information is posted on online platforms. The results are as below:

Figure 3.8 Frequency of posting

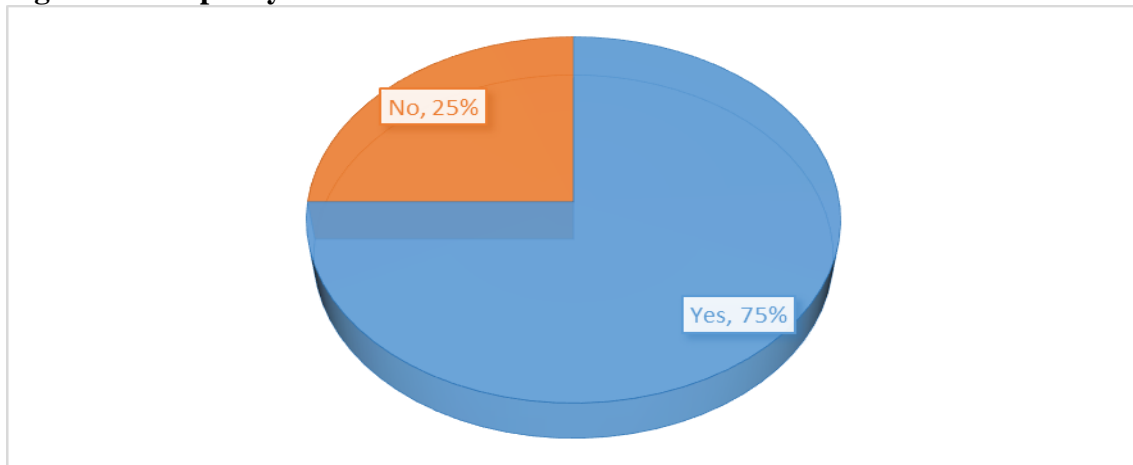


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.3.3. Capacity

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA whether there exists staff dedicated to digital communications. The results are as below:

Figure 3.9. Capacity



Source: Field Data (2021)

3.3.4. Evaluation of the impact of communications initiatives on social media

The researcher sought to evaluate from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA whether there exist mechanisms for assessing the impact of diplomatic communications on digital media platforms and the tools used to undertake that assignment.

From the feedback, there were no tools to undertake the evaluations.

Figure 3.10. Evaluation of the impact of communications initiatives on social media



Source: Field Data (2021) Tools: No evaluation tools for both organizations

Descriptive Statistics on the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country through public diplomacy.

Table 3.5: Descriptive Characteristics of the scope of utilization of Digital Technologies by the Kenya Permanent mission to the UN and other Organizations in Geneva

Statement	Mean	Std. Dev.
Procedures of posting information on online platforms	3.718	1.035
Frequency of posting	3.615	0.881
Capacity	3.641	1.006
Evaluation of the impact of communications initiatives on social media	3.628	1.094

Source: Field Data (2021)

As per results, the respondents agreed that the availability of procedures for posting information on online platforms increases the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Mission in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence on the host country through public diplomacy (mean=3.718), followed by capacity (mean=3.641), evaluation of the impact of communications initiatives on social media (mean=3.628), and Frequency of posting (mean=3.615). This depicts that procedures of posting information on online platforms increase the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Mission in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country through public diplomacy.

3.3.5. Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted hypotheses; that digital technologies enhance public diplomacy, and digital technologies do not enhance public diplomacy.

Regression Model

The equivalent mathematical formulae for hypothesis is:

Public Diplomacy = f (digital technologies)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_2 X_2 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.6. Simple Linear Regression Results for the Influence of Digital Technologies on Public Diplomacy.

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate		
1	.796 ^a	.634	.573	.12095		
ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	0.152	1	.152	10.407	.018 ^b
	Residual	0.27	18	.015		
	Total	0.422	19			
Coefficients ^c						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	0.959	0.882		1.088	.318
	Digital Technologies	0.652	.202	.796	3.226	.018
Dependent Variable: Public Diplomacy						
Predictors: (Constant), Digital Technologies						

Source: Field Data (2021)

Table 3.6 show that $r = 0.796$, inferring a positive link between the independent variable (digital technologies) and the dependent variable (public diplomacy). R- Squared was .634, alluding that 63.4% of variation in public diplomacy was explained by variation in digital technologies. The other factors explained 36.6%. The ANOVA results infer that the model was statistically substantial ($p < 0.05$).

The results indicate that the $p\text{-value} = 0.018 \leq 0.05$, $t=3.226$, $p=0.018 < 0.05$, $r= 0.796$ and $r\text{ square}=634$. Hence based on these findings, we reject the null hypothesis that digital technologies do not enhance public diplomacy since the $p\text{-value}$ of 0.018 is equal to 0.05 and accept the alternative hypothesis at $\alpha=0.05$ significance interval that digital technologies enhance public diplomacy.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_2 X_2 + \varepsilon$$

When substituting; $Y = 0.959 + 0.652X_1$

Beta value infer that for a one-unit increase in digital technologies, public diplomacy rises by 0.652. Thus, it alludes that digital technologies have had a significantly positive influence on public diplomacy.

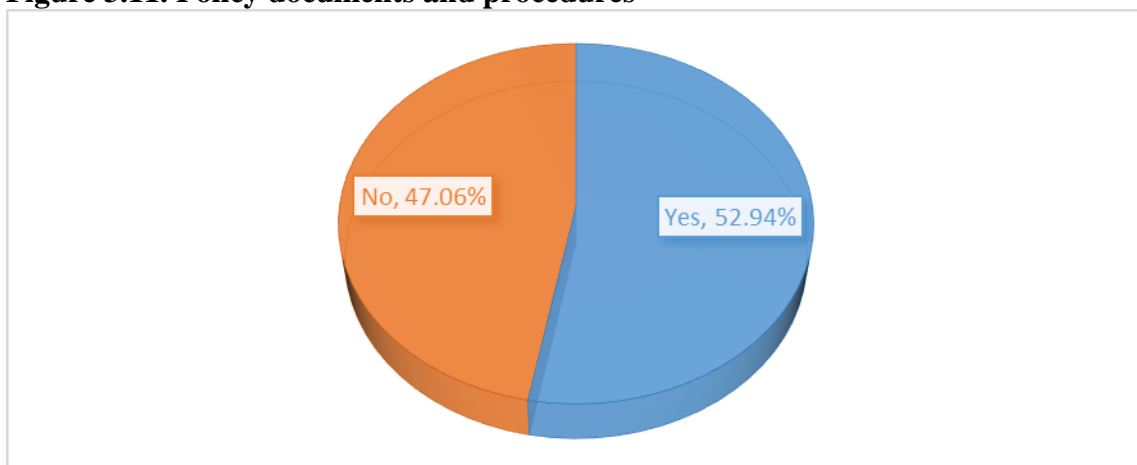
3.4. Assessment of Kenya’s digital foreign policy framework

The third objective purposed to assess Kenya’s digital foreign policy framework. Indicators of Kenya’s digital foreign policy framework were attained by evaluating feedback to questions on thematic areas that follow:

3.4.1. Policy documents/procedures

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva and the MFA if there were policy documents and procedures that supported a digital foreign policy. The results are as below.

Figure 3.11. Policy documents and procedures

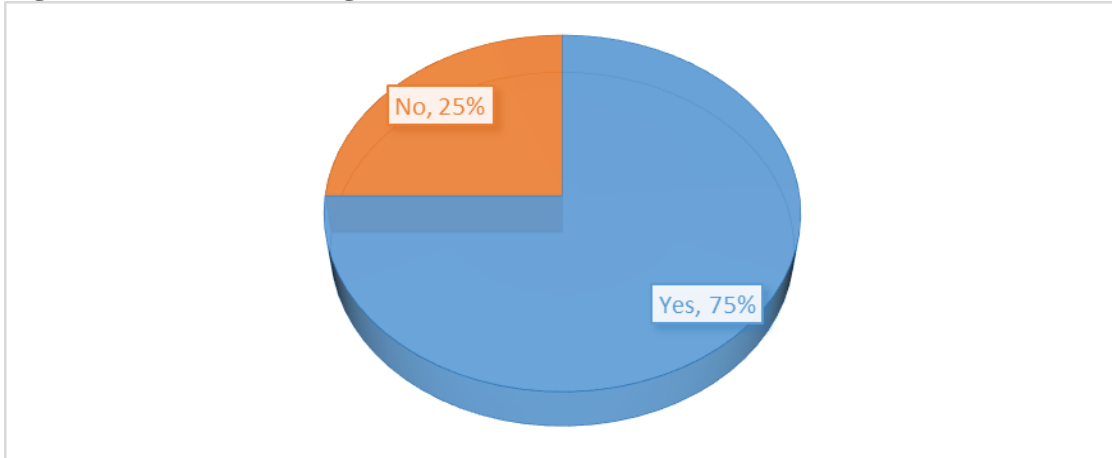


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.4.2. Crisis management

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA whether the digital platforms are being used for crisis management in diplomatic communications.

Figure 3.12: Crisis management

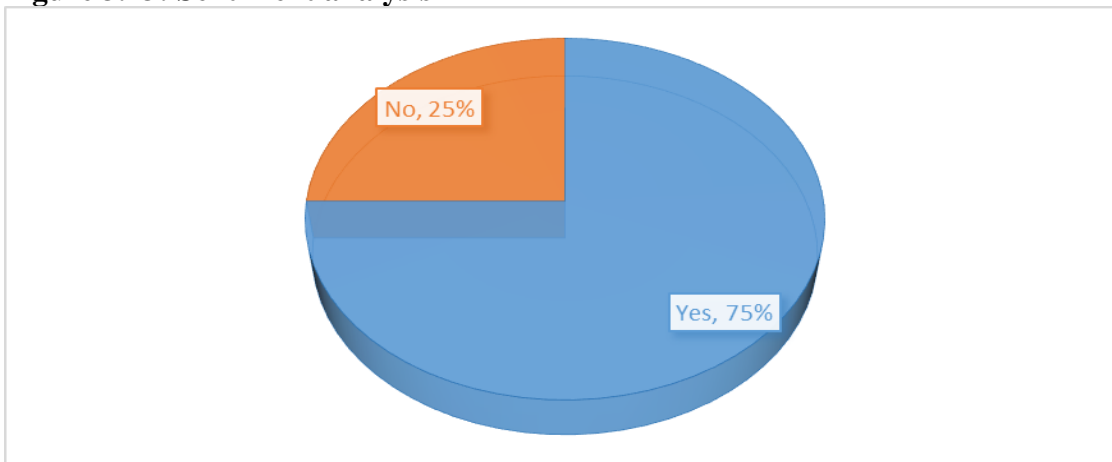


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.4.3. Sentiment analysis

The researcher sought to establish from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA whether there is sentiment analysis on social media on issues that touch on Kenya's interests for effective diplomatic interventions.

Figure 3.13: Sentiment analysis



Source: Field Data (2021)

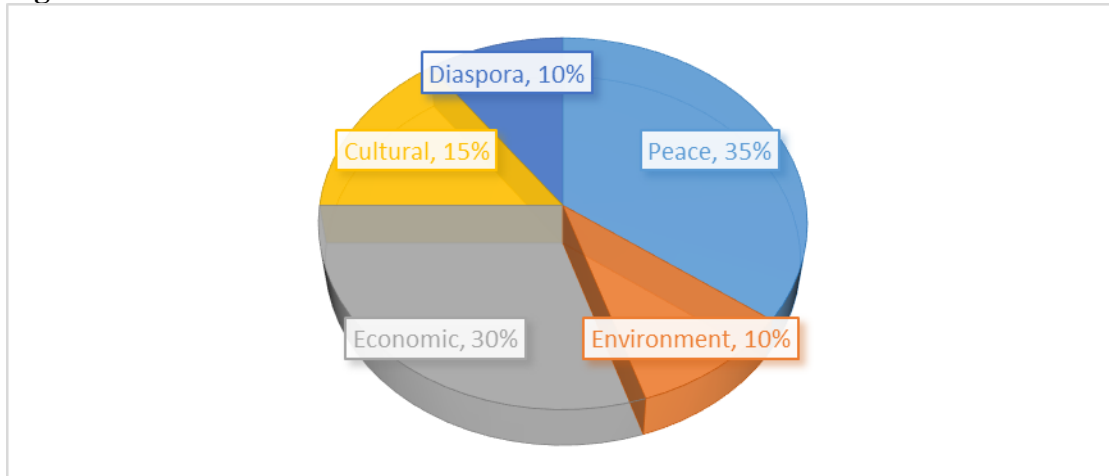
3.4.4. Success and challenges

The researcher sought to find out from the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the MFA about the successes and challenges of digital diplomacy. Results are as below.

3.4.4.1. Successes

The successes were evaluated in line with the five pillars of Kenya's foreign policy.

Figure 3.14: Successes



Source: Field Data (2021)

Peace diplomacy: Some of the successes pointed out include the use of digital platforms to address a meeting of a group of countries that host more than 300,000 refugees, as well as communication of activities as Chair of the Biological Weapons Convention during the 2020-2021 cycle, lobbying for key positions at the global arena, for instance at the United Nations Security Council. Others include President Uhuru Kenyatta attending various international meetings virtually, including the UN General Assembly (UNGA), bilateral meetings, including the virtual meeting with the US Secretary of State Antony Blinken, which was later followed by a state visit, the call for equal distribution of COVID-19 vaccines, and the training of cadets, (*Field data, 2021*).

In 2021, the Foreign Affairs Cabinet Secretary Amb. Rachel Omamo hosted and attended various virtual meetings with world leaders, including the 918th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council Meeting, the hybrid 75th United Nations General Assembly. Additionally, the Chief Administrative Secretary, Ababu Namwamba, co-chaired the fourth virtual session of the Mechanism for Bilateral Political Consultations between

Kenya and Brazil, which focused on a broad range of issues, including cooperation in Education, Health, Agriculture, Trade, Environment, and the UN Security Council, (MFA, 2021).

Environmental diplomacy: Digital platforms were used to highlight the participation of the Kenyan delegation at the 18th Conference of Parties to Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES CoP18) and the communication of activities as Chair of the Biological Weapons Convention during the 2020-2021 cycle. (*Field data, 2021*).

Economic Diplomacy: Digital platforms were used to showcase the joint participation with Cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and Enterprise Development (MoITED) in the World Trade Organization (WTO) Trade Negotiations Committee on Fisheries Subsidies negotiations on 15th July 2021 and the COVID-19 recovery and Aid-for-Trade event on 26th June 2021. Others include sharing tourism, traveling, health-related and safety measures for the 'new normal' on 23rd June 2020 and showcasing Kenya's culinary and craft specialties during Africa Day 2019 celebrations (*Field data, 2021*).

Additionally, the virtual tour of Kenya's national parks by the US Secretary of State Antony Blinken was a significant boost, as well as the call for equal distribution of COVID-19 vaccines by Kenya. Through digital diplomacy, the MFA mobilized donations of COVID-19 vaccines worth over KSh 3.5 billion from various development partners, notably Finland, China, Denmark, India, South Korea, Singapore, Italy, Germany, Japan, Qatar, Egypt, Israel, Slovak Republic, Africa CDC, USA, Russia, and individuals like Jack Ma and many more (MFA, 2021).

Cultural Diplomacy: Digital platforms were used in the celebrations of Jamuhuri Day 2019, the sharing of tourism, traveling, health-related and safety measures for the 'new normal' on 23rd June 2020, as well as showcasing of culinary and craft specialties of Kenya during Africa Day 2019 celebrations, (*Field data, 2021*).

Diaspora Diplomacy: Digital platforms were used to hold discussions and forums on pertinent issues and share information and invitation to diaspora events. Digital platforms

were vital in communicating messages on evacuation efforts for Kenyans abroad at the height of COVID-19.

Used it (digital platforms) to communicate on travel requirements and quarantine exemption lists, issuance of visas online, certification of COVID PCR testing, and other diaspora matters (*Field Data, 2021*).

3.4.5. Challenges

The researcher asked the staff at the Kenya Mission in Geneva and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about their perception on the effective utilization of digital diplomacy. From the responses, 31% said it was effective, 62% said it was somewhat effective, while 8% indicated it was somewhat ineffective, (*Field Data, 2021*). The respondents cited several issues that they felt were hampering the full leveraging of digital diplomacy for effective foreign policy. Firstly, is the lack of education and awareness of digital diplomacy among the diplomatic staff and the feeling that the MFA does not utilize it to its full advantage (*Field Data, 2021*).

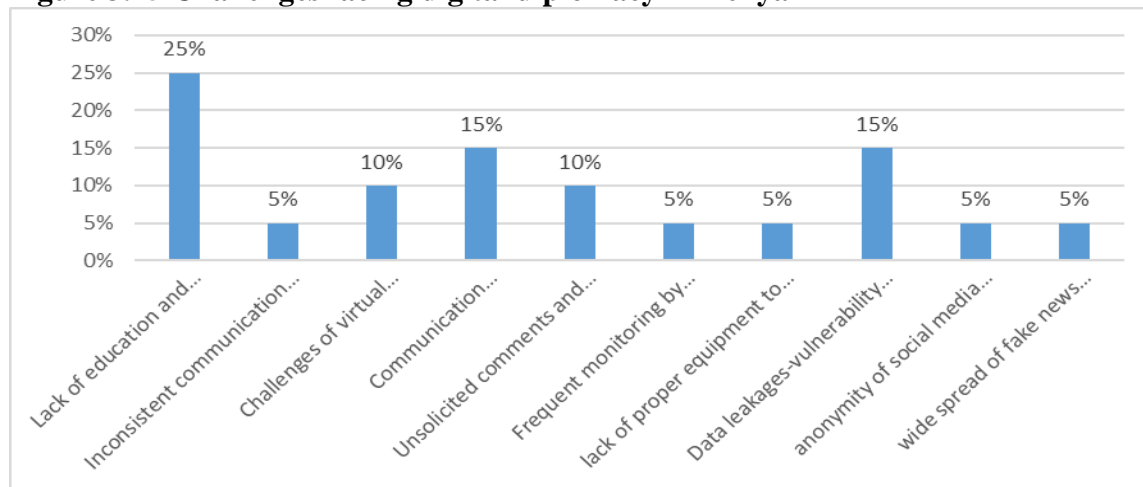
Secondly, cyber security concerns over the likelihood of risks such as hacking of social media handles and misinterpreting posts, and frequent monitoring of content posted by enemy states on social media platforms may hamper the full adoption of this concept (*Field Data, 2021*).

Thirdly, some respondents felt that with the practice of diplomacy often intimate by its nature, there is still a compelling need for in-person engagement, presenting a considerable challenge that might perhaps not need resolving as it is simply sewn into the nature of diplomacy (*Field Data, 2021*).

Lastly, confidential information and documentation vulnerability is also a significant concern, as digital platforms have not been institutionalized, especially for diplomatic engagements (*Field Data, 2021*).

The figure below shows some of the significant challenges cited by the respondents.

Figure 3.15 Challenges facing digital diplomacy in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021) Total responses 20

Table 3.7: Descriptive Statistics on Kenya’s digital foreign policy framework

Statement	Mean	Std. Dev.
Policy documents/procedures	3.718	0.938
Crisis management	3.769	0.836
Sentiment analysis	3.731	0.762
Success and challenges	3.692	0.944

Source: Field Data

As per the results, respondents agreed that crisis management should be a key component of Kenya’s digital foreign policy framework (mean=3.769), followed by sentimental analysis (mean=3.731), policy documents/procedures (mean=3.718), and success and challenges (mean=3.692).

3.4.6. Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted hypotheses; A digital foreign policy strategy leads to a better foreign policy outcome, and a digital foreign policy strategy does not lead to a better foreign policy outcome.

Regression Model

The equivalent mathematical formulae for the hypothesis was as follows:

Foreign Policy Outcome = f (digital foreign policy strategy)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_3 X_3 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.8: Simple Linear Regression Results for the Influence of Digital Foreign Policy Strategy on Foreign Policy Outcome.

Model Summary						
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate		
1	.870 ^a	.758	.717	.09847		
ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	0.182	1	.182	18.750	.005 ^b
	Residual	0.18	18	.010		
	Total	0.362	19			
Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
	(Constant)	0.300	0.809		0.371	.724
1	Digital Foreign Policy Strategy	0.909	.210	.870	4.330	.005
Dependent Variable: Foreign Policy Outcome						
Predictors: (Constant), Digital Foreign Policy Strategy						

Source: Field Data (2021)

Table 3 show that $r = 0.870$, meaning that there exists a positive gradient between the independent variable (digital foreign policy strategy) and dependent variable (foreign policy outcomes). The R- Squared was .758, meaning that 75.8% of the variation in the foreign policy outcome was attributed to a variation in digital foreign policy strategy. The

other factors explained 24.2%. ANOVA show that the model is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Findings show that $p\text{-value} = 0.005 \leq 0.05$, $t = 4.330$, $p = 0.005 < 0.05$, $r = 0.870$ and $r\text{ square} = 0.758$. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis that a digital foreign policy strategy does not lead to better foreign policy outcomes since a p -value of 0.005 is equal to 0.05 and thus accept the alternative hypothesis at a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$ that a digital foreign policy strategy leads to better foreign policy outcomes.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_3 X_3 + \varepsilon$$

When substituting; $Y = 0.300 + 0.909X_1$

Beta value infer that for a one-unit increase in digital foreign policy strategy, foreign policy outcome increases by 0.909, confirming that a digital foreign policy strategy has a significant positive influence on foreign policy outcomes.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0. Introduction

The research sought to analyze the application of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva. It was hinged on five major variables: the institutionalization of digital diplomacy, type and diversity of digital technologies used by the Kenya Mission in Geneva, the execution of diplomatic communication on digital platforms, the success cases of digital diplomacy as well as challenges in the adoption of digital diplomacy. This chapter deals with the summary, conclusion, and recommendations to strengthen the application of digital diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy.

4.1. Summary of Findings

4.1.1. Institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva

The study's first objective was to establish the extent of institutionalization of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva. This entailed assessing the understanding and importance of digital diplomacy, the existence of policies and procedures on digital diplomacy, the type of digital platforms available, the training of diplomats, and cyber security considerations.

The study found that the respondents clearly understood digital diplomacy and its importance in advancing Kenya's foreign policy. At the Mission, the respondents indicated that digital diplomacy was key to showcasing the activities of the Mission in delivering its mandate. Most importantly, digital diplomacy gained heightened importance during the COVID-19 period, during which many containment measures were instituted that prevented in-person engagements and travel across the globe. It was during this period that Kenya, for instance, successfully campaigned for the non-permanent seat at the UNSC and won. Much of the campaign was driven on digital platforms, including setting up a specific Twitter page to coordinate the campaign. The study also established that the Geneva Mission does not have policies and procedures to guide the application of digital diplomacy.

Kenya does not have a digital foreign policy to define how the country will conduct its foreign policy within the digital space, despite the MFA articulating in its Strategic Plan

(2018-2023) that it will leverage digital technologies to bolster Kenya's foreign policy agenda. Regarding capacity building, the Kenya Foreign Service Institute (KFSI) indicated that less than 30 per cent of the serving diplomats had been trained in digital diplomacy.

Concerning cyber security considerations, the study found a clear understanding of the cyber threats at the Mission, with aspects such as data leakages, communication interception, and unsolicited comments cited as the primary concerns. This study confirms that digital diplomacy positively impacts Kenya's foreign policy.

4.1.2. The scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Mission in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country through public diplomacy.

The study's second objective was to analyze the scope of utilization of digital technologies by the Kenya Permanent Mission to the U.N. and other International Organizations in Geneva to set the agenda and exert influence in the host country. The core issues for consideration included the assessment of procedures for posting information on online platforms, the frequency of communications, the staff capacity involved in digital communications, and the evaluation of the impact of communications initiatives on social media

While it was impossible to establish how many other Kenyan Missions have social media presence, the Geneva Mission relies heavily on Twitter, the website, and email as its critical digital platforms.

The study found that inadequate utilization of digital technologies was impacting Mission's ability to leverage public diplomacy to project Kenya's interests in the host country. The study shows that diplomatic communication is not deliberately planned but depends on the need to communicate. Additionally, the Mission only has one staff responsible for posting information on the digital platforms. It was also manifest that the Mission does not evaluate the impact of the communications on digital platforms, making it impossible to have targeted diplomatic communication to achieve various objectives, including shaping positive perceptions from public diplomacy in the host country.

4.1.3. Assessment of Kenya's digital foreign policy framework

The third objective purposed to assess Kenya's digital foreign policy framework to recommend areas of improvement. This aspect was based on assessing policy documents and procedures for digital diplomacy, crisis management, sentiment analysis, and the successes and challenges facing the adoption and application of digital diplomacy in Kenya.

The research unveiled that besides the Kenya Mission in Geneva not having in place the relevant policies and procedures to enable digital diplomacy to thrive, the Mission does not leverage the digital platforms for crisis management and to gauge the perceptions of foreign publics on issues of interest to Kenya, neither does it undertake an evaluation of the impact of diplomatic communications executed on digital platforms.

The study established that digital diplomacy has been vital in publicizing and lobbying for key initiatives for the country on various international platforms, in line with the five (5) pillars of Kenya's foreign policy. The Mission leveraged digital platforms to highlight the joint participation with the Cabinet Secretary for Ministry of Industrialization, Trade, and Enterprise Development (MoITED) at the World Trade Organization (WTO) Trade Negotiations Committee on Fisheries Subsidies Negotiations in May 2021 and COVID-19 recovery and Aid-for-Trade event in June 2021.

Other notable successes as using digital platforms when marking national and regional holidays, creating visibility for Kenya's participation, and critical international forums. These include, for instance, the Kenyan delegation to the 18th meeting of the Conference of Parties to Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES - COP18) in 2019.

The Mission also leveraged digital platforms to publicize Kenya's tourism attractions to the global community, such as the Magical Kenya Tourism and travel health & safety protocols for the 'new normal' at the height of the COVID-19 in 2020 as well as showcasing culinary and craft specialties of Kenya during Africa Day 2019 celebrations.

The Mission also utilized digital platforms in addressing a meeting of countries that host more than 300,000 refugees, as well as communication of activities as Chair of the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) during the 2020-2021 cycle.

But the most important achievement was the lobbying for a position at the United Nations Security Council, which Kenya successfully won by 129 votes against Djibouti's 62.

In adopting digital diplomacy, the study established that even though there is a greater awareness of digital diplomacy at the Kenya Mission in Geneva, there are challenges that impede the full maximization of this frontier. One of the challenges is the lack of capacity-building opportunities in the contemporary dynamic world of diplomacy. The study shows that less than 30 per cent of serving diplomats have been trained in digital diplomacy and associated skills. Additionally, the lack of enablement of diplomats with necessary tools and content to sustain regular communication on digital platforms, uncertainties and risks prevailing on the digital platforms such as hacking of social media handles, as well as misinterpretation of posts and frequent monitoring of enemy states on the digital platforms, are pertinent challenges.

Other challenges cited include the vulnerability of confidential information and documentation and a lack of institutionalization of digital platforms, especially for diplomatic engagements. In contrast, others feel that with the practice of diplomacy by its very nature intimate and requiring in-person interactions, the digital platforms are perceived to be negating this critical aspect of diplomacy.

Further, the widespread phenomenon of fake news, which came in the wake of COVID-19 pandemic, and the lack of adequate staff to undertake digital diplomatic communications, remain a challenge. The study shows that while positive outcomes have been registered in digital diplomacy, the absence of a digital foreign policy strategy is hampering the Mission and the broader diplomatic ecosystem from realizing the full potential of digital diplomacy.

4.2. Conclusion

The study concluded that while digital diplomacy continues to gain traction within the diplomatic ecosystem in Kenya, fundamental issues are inhibiting its full adoption and the maximization of its immense potential in the attainment of Kenya's foreign policy

objectives. This includes the absence of an overarching framework, policies and procedures that can give effect to the effective application of digital diplomacy in Kenya. While the MFA has expressed deliberate intentions to leverage the power of digital technologies to pursue Kenya's interests on the global stage, there remain gaps that need to be addressed to ensure this is realized. This study agrees with Waithaka (2018), and Gichoya (2016) who argue that despite the immense potential that Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) present for diplomatic activities, the concept is yet to gain the desired traction for effective foreign policy outcomes in Kenya, including effective public diplomacy and possibilities like virtual embassies which can widen the country's global diplomatic footprint. Wekesa (2021, para 7) sees public diplomacy as outward looking and targeted at influencing domestic and foreign citizens, by projecting a country's image and power. At the same time, the inability to assess the impact of diplomatic communications on digital platforms using the web or social media analytics makes it difficult to establish areas of improvement or capture issues that require immediate interventions.

Arising from the findings of this study, there is an urgent need for the institutionalization of digital diplomacy within Kenya's foreign policy ecosystem through a holistic Digital Foreign Policy. This approach will provide the much-needed impetus for the country to fully align itself to emerging foreign policy imperatives within the digital space while advancing its national interests.

4.3. Recommendations

4.3.1. Academic Recommendation

This study explored the practical application of digital diplomacy in Kenya's Foreign Policy ecosystem. It is evident that there are gaps still need to be further investigated, including the efficacy of digital diplomacy in attainment of Kenya's economic and environmental agenda. The other area is on the impact of digital diplomacy on global perceptions about Kenya, which is essential in positioning the country's brand globally.

4.3.2. Policy Recommendation

4.3.2.1. Assessment of digital strengths and weaknesses of Kenya's foreign missions

This study recommends that as a starting point in leveraging digital diplomacy, the MFA should undertake a detailed assessment of diplomats' digital strengths and weaknesses at all Kenya foreign missions. This will provide the MFA with the necessary data to influence decisions towards promoting enhanced adoption of digital diplomacy. This may include capturing aspects such as training on digital diplomacy, the technical capacity of diplomats, and recommendations for additional training to enable diplomats to navigate and survive in a highly volatile diplomatic ecosystem. *(See sample toolkit in annex1)*

4.4. Formulation of Kenya's Digital Foreign Policy (DFP) Framework

This study has established several gaps in implementing successful digital diplomacy to attain Kenya's national interests. The absence of policies and procedures upon which this new frontier should be anchored points to the likelihood that the country may not be leveraging its full potential in a world dominated by digital diplomacy. Further, the realization that cyber security concerns may not be given due attention may create a lack of more significant appreciation of the broader dynamics of the online diplomatic spaces and the critical role they now play in positioning countries on major global issues. Additionally, the digital literacy of diplomats is now an essential consideration for the MFA to equip diplomats with necessary skills and tools to fully leverage digital diplomacy. Kurbalija & Höne (2021, pp 7) opine that of the countries that have a developed digital foreign policy strategy, the Swiss Digital Foreign Policy is the most comprehensive of them all, addressing about 30 key pertinent issues clustered in four main areas, which are: digital governance, prosperity and sustainable development, cyber security, and digital self-development. It therefore provides a perfect model that any country can benchmark with, in efforts to come up with a holistic document that addresses a country's digital foreign policy agenda. Arising from this, a Digital Foreign Policy framework for Kenya should encompass the following core elements:

- a) Kenya's interests and values
- b) Foreign Policy Strategy (2023-2027)

- c) Focus Areas of the Digital Foreign Policy
- d) The global ICT ecosystem

4.4.1. Kenya's Interests and Values

With diplomacy key in promoting and protecting national interests, this responsibility is now being significantly shaped by digitalization. New issues such as cyber security are impacting national interests in such areas as national security, with citizens extensively relying on online platforms for their economic well-being, and the Internet occupying a “hallowed ground” in enabling the delivery of education, health, and other critical services, as seen during the COVID-19 pandemic, Kurbalija & Höne (2021, pp 4)

At the epicentre of Kenya's digital foreign policy will be the country's aspirations and values, which are constant, and define the country's *raison d'être*. The Kenya Constitution 2010 and the Kenya Foreign Policy 2014 outline the following as the national values and aspirations:

- a) Unity in Diversity;
- b) Honour and Patriotism;
- c) Peace and Liberty;
- d) Justice and Equity;
- e) Quest for Prosperity; and
- f) Harambee Spirit (pulling together).

In the face of increased digital interdependence, Kenya, therefore, needs to develop international mechanisms for promoting and protecting national interests online.

4.4.2. Foreign Policy Strategy

The inner core of Kenya's digital foreign policy should comprise the country's foreign policy strategy that helps actualize the country's foreign policy for a particular period. In Kenya, strategic plans usually are five-year cycle plans, and as such, a 2023-2027 foreign policy strategy is recommended, focusing on several priority areas. These thematic areas will provide the scope of what the country seeks to achieve in the period, how they will be achieved and what resources and mechanisms will be required to attain the goals.

At the core of the strategy will be a deliberate digitalization plan that is responsive to continual technological developments that may have far-reaching implications in the

structure and systems used in advancing Kenya's foreign policy across the social, economic, and political spectrum.

Specifically, digital literacy among diplomats will be a crucial consideration in equipping them with digital competencies to complement their tradecraft and knowledge. This will entail evaluating diplomats' digital capabilities and providing capacity-building strategies (*see sample toolkit for this assessment*).

4.4.3. Focus Areas of the Digital Foreign Policy

The outer core of Kenya's digital foreign policy will address emerging policy issues in the foreign policy ecosystem such as cybersecurity, digital self-determination, and e-commerce, and a greater emphasis on the integration of leveraging digital tools such as online conference, big data analytics, social media and digitalization of traditional policy issues in the practice of diplomacy and better foreign policy outcomes., Kurbalija & Höne (2021, pp 4).

Cyber security: This will be Kenya's focus on all aspects related to the security in information and communications technology, encompassing technologies related to the Internet and considerations of information processing and related applications.

In this area, Kenya will also define the scope of cooperation with other actors (state and non-state) in this sphere and commit to championing cyber security within the existing global frameworks such as the International Telecommunication Union's Global Cyber Security Agenda (GCA), which seeks to enhance international cooperation in security in the information age.

Digital governance: This refers to mechanisms for engendering accountability, roles, decision-making, and change management in Kenya's presence in the digital space. Digital governance will foster an environment of trust and accountability. Concerning foreign policy, Kenya would require putting in place or participating in establishing standard rules of engagement in the digital ecosystem, strengthening institutions that will be spearheading this agenda and clearly defining the elements of cooperation with other states on this platform.

Digital self-determination: This may encompass the protection democracy and fundamental freedoms of Kenyan citizens in the online spaces and the broader core values of humanity.

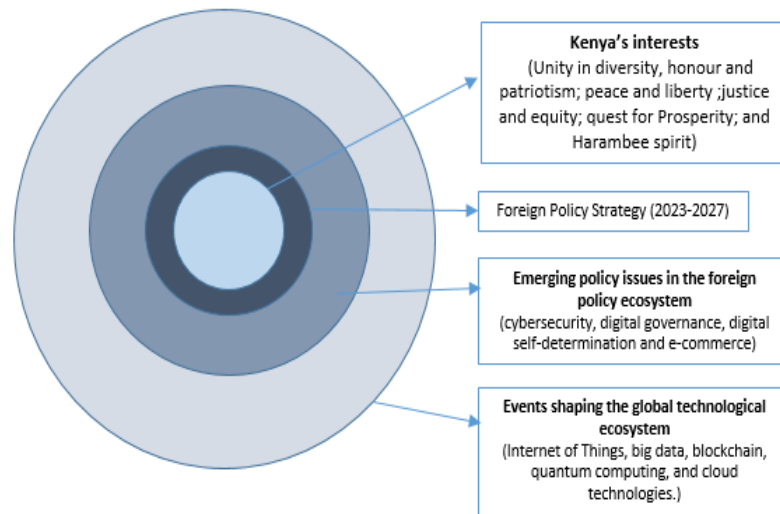
Economic considerations around the digital economy (Kenya already has a digital economy blueprint, e-commerce, and the free flow of data (underlined by the Data Protection Act and associated regulations and may consider overtures to enhance the participation of its citizens in the global digital economy.

4.4.4. Global ICT System

The outer sphere of Kenya's digital foreign policy should address the events shaping the global technological ecosystem., which is experiencing exponential changes with the emergence of new communication technologies such as big data, blockchain, cloud technologies, quantum computing and the Internet of Things.

This digital foreign policy should be responsive to these massive changes, but most importantly now, to the Fourth Industrial Revolution, a collective term used to refer to the unprecedented convergence of digital, bio, and physical technologies. These have a vast potential to impact the conduct of foreign policy in hitherto unforeseen ways. This outer periphery will also be attuned to the changes in the socio-economic and political landscape in which diplomacy operates, including power dynamics, changing nature of sovereignty and interdependence and new types of conflicts, Kurbalija & Höne (2021, pp 4).

Figure 4.1: Kenya’s Digital Foreign Policy



4.5. Proposed Approach Towards the Development of Kenya’s Digital Foreign Policy

According to Kurbalija & Höne (2021, pp 11), there are various approaches that countries can adopt in the development of digital foreign policy. The first approach is to have a technology/digital/cyber ambassador whose key role is to infuse the digital agenda into what has arguably been traditional diplomacy. For instance, France and Australia have established such positions, while Denmark has an ambassador to the Silicon Valley who also doubles up as a linkage to technology hubs such as China and India. The USA now has an ambassador-at-large for Cyberspace and Digital Policy who also heads the Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy (CDP) created in April this year.

The second direction is the involvement of ministries and government departments to have a unified approach to Kenya’s digital foreign policy. In this arrangement, the MFA coordinates the “whole government” on key foreign policy considerations, even as Ministries and specialized government agencies pursue specific foreign policy issues. The greatest challenge in this second approach is the effective coordination of foreign policy, especially on emerging issues such as Artificial Intelligence and data governance that cut across Ministries or other agencies of government which will require that line

ministries are ahead of the curve in terms of keeping up with the constant changes taking place within their domain. The last approach is the “whole-of-country or whole-of-society,” which includes the involvement of other non-state actors in the development and execution of digital foreign policy. Some of these non-state actors such as the Kenya ICT Action Network (KICTANet), a think tank for ICT policy and regulation, are already involved in multi-stakeholder platforms locally and globally or seek to have a voice in them. There may be a need for deliberate efforts to engage these non-state actors, which range from businesses, the academia, and the civil society, to ensure the country establishes and maintains representation in a highly complex diplomatic space. It is important to emphasize that whatever approach is adopted must align with Kenya’s experiences and diplomatic architecture.

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Annex 1: Toolkit for assessment of an embassy's digital strengths and weaknesses

ROLE	DIGITAL NATIVE/ IMMIGRANT	TRAINING	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	INTERVENTIONS
Ambassador					
Diplomat- Press Attaché					
Diplomat - Consular Officer					
Local Employee					

ANNEX2: Questionnaires

Kenya's Permanent Mission to the U.N. in Geneva

1. What does the Mission understand by 'Digital Diplomacy?'
2. How important is digital diplomacy to the Mission?
3. What digital technologies does the Mission have in place for diplomatic engagements?
4. Would you please explain the most preferred social media platforms by the Mission? Why?
5. Does the Head of Mission have a social media presence (private account?)
a) Yes b) No
If yes, how often do they use it for communicating official information concerning the Mission?
6. Are other staff at the Mission allowed to use their personal social media handles to communicate official information about the Mission?
a) Yes b) No
If yes, are there any guidelines on how they should disseminate official information using their private handles?
7. Does the Mission have a communications policy or guidelines on using social media platforms for diplomatic activities?
a) Yes b) No
If the answer is yes, please share a copy of the strategy.
8. Does the Mission have dedicated staff for its digital communications?
a) Yes b) No
If yes, how many?
9. Who decides what is to be communicated?
10. How often is communication on social media platforms undertaken?
11. Is there a procedure that should be followed when posting content on Mission website?
a) Yes b) No
If yes, please explain the procedure.

12. How is cyber security, especially the security of the Mission's online platforms handled?
13. Please explain ways in which the Mission has used/is using digital diplomacy to achieve the following key pillars of Kenya's foreign policy. Provide relevant examples.
 - a) Economic Diplomacy
 - b) Diaspora Diplomacy
 - c) Environmental Diplomacy
 - d) Cultural Diplomacy
 - e) Peace Diplomacy
14. What are the success stories on the application of digital diplomacy by the Mission?
15. How does the Mission use digital platforms to reach out to the online public in the host country?
16. How does the Mission use social media platforms to enhance engagement with Kenyans in the diaspora?
17. Does the Mission undertake sentiment analysis on social media on issues that touch on Kenya's interests?
 - a) Yes b) No.If yes, how is the analysis and the processing of such information done?
18. In what aspects has the Mission used the social media platforms in crisis management?
 - a) What was the crisis?
 - b) How was social media used to address it?
19. Where is the Mission website hosted?
 - a) Who is responsible for the maintenance and posting of information on the Mission website?
 - b) How often is the website updated?
20. In what ways does the Mission use digital platforms to foster positive state-state relations?

21. How does the Mission handle fake news, disinformation and digital propaganda that could injure Kenya's foreign policy objectives?
22. In your opinion, what are the challenges in the adoption of digital diplomacy at the Mission?
23. What are the plans for scaling up digital diplomacy at the Mission?
24. What tools does the Mission use to evaluate the impact of social media posts?

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

1. What does the MFA understand by the term 'Digital Diplomacy'?
2. How important is digital diplomacy to Kenya?
3. To what extent is the concept applicable within Kenya's diplomatic ecosystem?
4. Does Kenya have a digital diplomacy strategy?
 - a) Yes b) NoIf yes, what does the strategy entail?
5. How many Kenyan foreign missions have:
 - a) Social media handles
 - b) Website?
6. How many social media accounts associated with diplomats, embassies, consulates and programmes are run by the MFA?
7. How many diplomats have social media presence (please provide an aggregate of numbers per the various social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc.) using the format (No. Social Media Account).
8. Does the MFA have a social media guidelines/policy for application at the foreign missions?
 - a) Yes b) No
9. How does the MFA use digital platforms to reach out to the online public and improving diaspora engagement?
10. Where is the MFA website hosted?
 - a) Who is responsible for the maintenance and daily posting of information on the website?
 - b) How often is the website updated?
11. How does the MFA use digital platforms to foster positive relations with other

- countries and crisis management?
12. Does MFA have dedicated communications professionals to manage the digital platforms for the missions?
- a) Yes b) No
- If yes, how many?
13. Has digital diplomacy been integrated into the training curriculum for diplomats?
- a) Yes b)No
- If yes, what are the key areas of focus?
14. How many diplomats have been trained in digital diplomacy and related skills?
15. In what aspects has the MFA used the social media platforms in crisis management?
- i) Are there specific instances that the MFA used social media to manage a crisis?
- a) What was the crisis?
- b) How was social media used to address it?
16. How does the MFA handle fake news, disinformation and digital propaganda that could harm Kenya's foreign policy objectives?
25. Does the Mission undertake sentiment analysis on social media on issues that touch on Kenya's interests?
- b) Yes b) No.
- If yes, how is the analysis and the processing of such information done?
17. Does the MFA have a cyber security strategy for foreign missions?
18. What are the challenges in the adoption of digital diplomacy in Kenya?
19. What are the future plans for scaling up digital diplomacy in Kenya?
20. Please explain ways in which the MFA has used/is using digital diplomacy to achieve the following key pillars of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Provide relevant examples.
- a) Economic Diplomacy
- b) Diaspora Diplomacy
- c) Environmental Diplomacy
- d) Cultural Diplomacy

e) Peace Diplomacy

21. What are the main challenges in engaging Kenyans in the diaspora?
22. In the 2018/19-2022/23 Strategic Plan, the MFA has committed to developing a diaspora web portal to enhance engagement with the Kenya community in the diaspora.
 - a) What is envisaged to be achieved by the portal?
 - b) How will the diaspora community be expected to interact with the portal?
 - c) What is the status of implementation of the portal?
23. In the 2018/19-2022/23 Strategic Plan, the MFA has committed to developing a public diplomacy portal to enhance the execution of public diplomacy initiatives.
 - a) What is envisaged to be achieved by the portal?
 - b) How will the public be expected to interact with the portal?
 - c) What is the status of implementation of the portal?
24. In what ways (and tools) does the MFA evaluate the impact of social media communication?’
25. What are some of the success stories for digital diplomacy for Kenya?

Kenya Foreign Service Institute

1. What does the KFSI understand by ‘Digital Diplomacy?’
2. How important is digital diplomacy to Kenya?
3. To what extent has this concept been incorporated in the training of diplomats?
4. Out of the current serving diplomats, what proportion has undergone training on digital diplomacy and related skills?
5. What specific digital technology skills does a diplomat require in the contemporary world?
6. What is the scope of digital diplomacy covered in the current curriculum?
7. What are the key areas of focus for the training?
8. What digital technology tools do the KFSI expose diplomats to?
9. How frequent is the curriculum updated to align it with the changing diplomatic landscape?
10. Is there refresher training for diplomats on emerging digital technologies?

Communications Authority of Kenya (CA)

The Communications Authority of Kenya, through the National KE-CIRT/CC is responsible for managing Kenya's cyberspace.

1. How important is cyber security to Kenya?
2. What role does the authority play in managing Kenya's cyberspace?
3. The National KE-CIRT/CC is Kenya's focal point on national matters and spearheading global collaborations on cybersecurity.
 - a) What linkages, if any, does the Authority have with the MFA concerning their cybersecurity dimensions of the Missions?
4. Does the authority undertake any capacity building on cybersecurity for the MFA/Kenya's foreign missions?
 - a) Yes b) NoIf yes, please list these initiatives.
5. Does the authority receive any cybersecurity threat reports against Kenya's foreign missions?
 - a) Yes b) No
 - i) If yes, how many has it received since 2013?
 - i) How are those incidents handled?
6. What specific initiatives are in place to secure ICT infrastructure at Kenya's foreign missions?

Information, Communications and Technology Authority (ICTA)

The ICTA is responsible for setting and enforcing ICT standards and guidelines for human resources, infrastructure, processes, systems, and technology for the public office and public service.

1. What role, if any, does ICTA play in setting up ICT infrastructure for Kenya's foreign missions?
2. What aspects of infrastructure deployment does ICTA oversee?
3. Does ICTA develop an ICT Governance framework for the MFA and the Kenya Foreign Missions
 - a) Yes b) NoIf yes, please list the frameworks

4. Does the ICTA undertake any ICT capacity building for the foreign missions?
a) Yes b) No

If yes, please list the various ICT capacity building initiatives.

5. What specific initiatives are in place to secure ICT infrastructure at Kenya's foreign missions?

ANNEX 3: University of Nairobi Authorization Letter



University of Nairobi
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Department of Political Science & Public Administration

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31/8/ 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT FIELD RESEARCH

This is to confirm that Chiimbiru Timothy Gimode of Registration Number (C50/9519/2017) is a bonafide student at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi.

Timothy is pursuing a Degree in Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration. He is researching on, **"Strengthening Digital Diplomacy for Effective Foreign Policy: Analysis of Kenya's Permanent Mission to the UN and other International Organizations in Geneva."**

He has successfully completed the first part of his studies (Coursework) and is hereby authorized to proceed to the second part (Field Research). This shall enable the student to collect relevant data for his academic work.

It is against this background that the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi requests your assistance in enabling the student in collecting relevant academic data. The information obtained shall be used specifically for academic purpose.

The student is expected to abide by your regulations and the ethics that this exercise demands. In case of any clarification please feel free to contact the undersigned.

Thanking you for continued support.

Yours Sincerely,



Professor Fred Jonyo (PhD, Makerere)
Chairman,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration