

**DIGITAL DIPLOMACY: THE INTEGRATION OF INFORMATION
COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES IN KENYA'S MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1963-2014**

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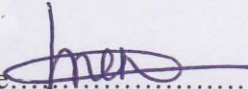
C50/CE/24715/2012

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SECURITY, DIPLOMACY
AND PEACE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY) OF KENYATTA
UNIVERSITY**

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted in any other University or for any other award.

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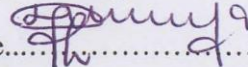
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DEDICATION

To my late Dad Mr. Peter Waithaka, who encouraged me to enroll for a master's programme and supported me through my Scholarship journey till his demise.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost am grateful to the Almighty God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit for granting me the physical, emotional, spiritual and financial help in the course of writing this thesis.

This work would also not have been possible without the contributions of several people. I would like to sincerely thank you Dr. F. Kinyanjui for her enduring patience, guidance and overwhelming support through my scholarship journey. Dr. Wasonga for reading and providing his invaluable insight into my work, thank you.

Special thanks to the members of staff, Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies for their unwavering support and contributions. Special thanks to Dr. Susan Mwangi Owino for consistently asking for my work whenever we met on the corridors of the department.

I wish to also appreciate my postgraduate colleagues Florence, Naomi, Nyakundi, Marcellus, Tony, Nyarieko, Hillary, Albert and Loise who selflessly offered moral and intellectual support throughout the journey.

I would also like to acknowledge the former Permanent Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Dr. Eng. Karanja Kibicho who responded to my plea on Twitter and subsequently assisted me in collecting data. Ms. Njambi Kinyugu who organized interviews prior to my visits in the Ministry, Asante Sana. Special recognition to all the Members of staff at the MFA&IT who willingly agreed to set time for interviews. Without their input and narratives this work would not have been duly completed.

Last but not least, to my family, my mum Rachel Waithaka for her prayers and emotional support. To my siblings George, Jackie, Bernard and Anderson am greatly indebted to you for your kindness, support and love. Special thanks to my adopted sisters Ashie and Maria Gorettie for their love and acceptance when I had to sleep at their home.

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OPERATIONAL TERMS

Diplomacy: refers to the art of conducting negotiations peacefully by employing the persuasion techniques.

Digital Diplomacy: the conduct of diplomatic activities through the use of information communication technologies thus achieving set diplomatic objectives in a new platform.

Digital divide: the disparities in access to ICTs between communities and countries.

Foreign Policy: a document describing the intents and objectives of a state in reference to relating with other countries in the world.

ICTs: the umbrella term for technologies used in the sending and receiving of information in organizations and general working environments

Non- State Actors: They are bodies or organizations that are non-governmental in nature that influences the actions of a state in international relations.

Public diplomacy: the exchange between governments and the public through social media platforms, the internet, real time videoconferencing among other ICT tools

Publishing- the dissemination of institutional/organizational information to a wide scope of audience through platforms such as websites.

Interaction- two way communications between distinct parties

Transaction- the ability of citizens to access institutional/organizational services online

Bilateral relations: the productive relations between two sovereign states.

Multilateral relations: the productive relations among more than three different countries in the international platform.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AISI	African Information Society Initiative
ANT	Actor Network Theory
AU	African Union
CCK	Communications Commission of Kenya
CDMA	Code Division Multiple Access
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CS	Cabinet Secretary
EAC	East African Community
EASBRIG	East African Standby Brigade
EASSy	Eastern Africa Submarine Cable System
ERP	Enterprise Resource Planning
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on African –China Corporation
FP	Foreign Policy
FSI	Foreign Service Institute
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GITS	Government Information Technology Service
GSM	Global System for Mobile Communication
G2C	Government to Citizen
G2G	Government to Government
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
IDRC	International Development Research Centre

IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCA	Kenya Communication Act.
KICTAnet	Kenya ICT Action Network
KIF	Kenya ICT Federation
KIRDI	Kenya Industrial Research and Development Institute
KM	Knowledge Management
KP&TC	Kenya Post and Telecommunications Corporation
MC10	The 10 th WTO Ministerial Conference
MDGs	Medium Development Goals
MFAs	Ministries of Foreign Affairs
MFA&IT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
MTPs	Medium Term Plans
NAASP	New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NOFBI	National Optic Fibre Backbone Infrastructure
NSAs	Non-State Actors
PADIS	Pan African Development System
QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

S.M.S	Short Message Service
TEAMS	The EAST African Marine System
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNON	United Nation Office in Nairobi
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
UNVDR	United Nations Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations
USA	United States of America
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
VLANs	Virtual Local Area Networks
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

This study delves into the implementation of digital diplomacy in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Digital diplomacy is a relatively new concept that is widely rolled out and researched in the developed countries. Developing countries are however still in the process of integrating ICTs in the conduct of public service. This study explored the integration process in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign affairs and International Trade but with a bias to the sphere of diplomacy. This study's core objective was to survey the use of ICTs in Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic trends. The researcher utilized Actor Network Theory as well as the three stages of e-governance integration as articulated by the Centre for Democracy and Technology. In reference to the methodology, the researcher employed purposive sampling in the selection of departments and respondents that would provide pertinent information. Primary data was sourced from interviews as well as official Government of Kenya and Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents such as the strategic plan and foreign policy. Secondary data was sourced from journals, text books, theses, newspapers and online materials. The study demonstrated that the foreign policy in Kenya is often shaped by the Presidency and appointed Ministers in Foreign Affairs. Jomo Kenyatta's Presidency was noted for having laid the foundation of Kenya's foreign policy and employed a delegated approach in its management. President Moi exhibited presidential and peace diplomacy in the management of foreign policy. The Kibaki Presidency on the other hand espoused economic diplomacy while Uhuru Kenyatta's presidency has edged towards presidential diplomacy given the many foreign trips taken. Kenya was noted to have taken a slow but gradual process in setting up the ICT infrastructure in the country and more precisely at the MFA&IT. The results indicated that integration of technology in the ministry is informed by the desire to enhance administrative duties as well as offer better services to clients and international partners. Further, the study established that some of the common uses of ICT at the Ministry included online dissemination of information, online sharing of documents and memos as well as direct communication. The study established that indeed ICT is gradually being harnessed in the foreign policy and diplomatic processes. Thus enhanced information gathering, knowledge management, policy planning and coordination as well as implementation. In addition, the study demonstrated that diplomatic processes precisely bilateral and multilateral relations have changed in light of ICT integration. Some of the changes noted include heightened virtual representation, new ways of sharing documentations in international conferences, compressions in costs involved as well as enhanced ways of negotiations.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The world is experiencing an ICT revolution that is progressively influencing all spheres of life including diplomacy and precisely so diplomatic communication. This chapter delves into the concept of digital diplomacy and its implementation in developing countries with a bias in Kenya. To this end, it is organized into the following subtopics: background of the problem, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, premises of the study, justification and significance of the study, scope of the study and limitations of the study. This is followed by a detailed literature review, methodology, summary and conclusions.

1.1 Background of the Problem

The 21st century is characterised by pervasive use of information communication technologies (ICTs) in all aspects of life. According to Baro (2011), the significance of these ICTs cannot be ignored in the contemporary society. In a speech on an opening ceremony of the General Assembly, the former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that the social, economic and political facets would be greatly enhanced by the integration of ICTs (Annan, 2003). Grech (2006) acknowledged that use of ICTs is revolutionizing all aspects of life such as transportation, tourism, communication, trade, finance, education and health to mention but a few. Similar sentiments are echoed by Radunovic (2010) who observes that advancements made in ICTs in the modern societies have led to radical changes in the political, economic and social aspects of life. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development defines ICT as the incorporation of manufacturing and service industries involved in the capturing, transmission and

electronic display of information and data (OECD, 2002). Kimathi (2012) provides a simpler definition of ICT as the technologies utilized in the sending and receiving of information in industrial and working contexts.

According to Toffler (1980), the world has gone through three waves of revolutions that have resulted in significant changes in human civilization. The first wave, 1650-1750, was the agrarian revolution, which led to the transitioning of human lifestyles from nomadic to sedentary. The second wave occurred in the 18th century is referred to as the industrial revolution and was characterised by mass production of goods. The third and current wave is the information age that is embodied by the consumption of information and knowledge management. Toffler (1980) explained that the integration of new technologies in the third wave has resulted in dramatic changes in virtually all fields of study from physics, genetics to politics and even in everyday routine activities. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) were of the view that the third wave is an on-going process that exemplifies media abundance and explosion of means of communication.

The transformations made during the three waves of revolutions have gained considerable interest from researchers and scholars alike. Ipu (2013) looks into the third wave from a political perspective and articulates that many countries appreciate the potential of digital technologies and have started implementing them in state activities. This has led to an increase in global studies concentrating on the relationship between political communication and integration of ICTs. Maarek and Wolfsfeld (2005) noted that such studies have however been concentrated on a few countries in the world particularly so in the United States. Significant works have

also been produced in other developed countries such as United Kingdom, Germany, Netherlands and, Canada (Maarek & Wolfsfeld, 2005).

The ubiquitous nature of ICT is also felt in the area of diplomacy. In view of this, it has led to the emergence of the concept of digital diplomacy. According to Grech (2006), the phrases digital diplomacy, virtual diplomacy, cyber diplomacy and e-diplomacy are used interchangeably by researchers and academicians. As it is the case in political communication, Abbasov (2007) noted that the question of digital diplomacy has only been powerfully built and researched on in developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom and Canada. This creates a gap in literature on the status of digital diplomacy in developing countries such as Kenya. It is from this vein, that this study is deemed significant.

Since diplomacy involves communication between sovereign countries, one questions whether the entrenchment of digital diplomacy in the developed countries is causing a subsequent quest to integrate ICTs in developing countries' Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFAs). This is a critical question because, there is an identified gap in ICT infrastructure between the developed countries and the developing countries, a gap referred to as digital divide. Baro (2011) defines digital divide as the disparities in access to ICTs between communities and countries. Similarly, Westcott (2008) highlighted that the digital divide is not only apparent between the wealthy and poor countries but also between people in the same nation state. In this light, Adomi (2006) argued that the digital divide between developed countries and African countries has led to less integration of ICTs in the political, social and economic domains in African contexts. However, Moon-GI (2006) cautioned that

there are dissimilar impacts of ICT revolution on politics, international relations, economic social as well as security settings across the globe.

As a result, this study sought to explore the explicit relationship between ICTs and diplomacy. Nweke (2012) emphasized that digital diplomacy is only possible between states that have access to digital information as this enables them to participate in the delivery of diplomatic services electronically. Westcott (2008) argued that nations that assume that diplomacy will continue to be conducted in the traditional way in the contemporary society are likely to lose ground. This is because they will fail to understand the new dynamics that are necessary for putting in place policies that enable the integration of ICTs in the sphere of diplomacy. This notwithstanding, what are the prospects of digital diplomacy in the developing world especially in the context of a world characterised by a digital gap?

The above question is significant because African nations are characterised by lack of adequate ICT infrastructure as well as manufacturing industries for ICT products. Nweke (2010) stated that developing countries are not isolated from the impact of digital technology.

This study sought to explore the ICT revolution in the field of international relations and diplomacy. There are several studies that have focused on integration of ICTs in the field of international relations. After delving into the literature available on the role of cyber space in international relations, Reardon and Choucri (2012) established that there are five most researched themes in this respect that include global civil society, governance of cyberspace, effects of cyberspace on

authoritarian regimes, economic development as well as cyber security. These studies, however, do not focus on digital diplomacy.

In reference to studies that have specifically focussed on diplomacy, most researchers have edged towards the aspect of public diplomacy which is the engagement of citizens in a nation's foreign policy through ICT tools (Shehadey, 2013). Public diplomacy in this context, considers the transformation of the exchange between governments and the public through social media platforms, the internet, real time video-conferencing among other ICT tools (IPU, 2013). Nweke (2010) categorises this form of engagement as Government to Citizen (G2C). However, the questions that this study sought to answer is what is the status of ICT integration in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and what implication does this have on the conception of digital diplomacy at the ministry.

Kenya has embraced ICT development and has an active national ICT policy of 2006 (Ndung'u, Waema & Mutillah 2012). Ndungu et al., (2012) further assert that the integration and use of ICTs in Kenya is apparent in varied sectors such as education, financial institutions, small and medium enterprises as well as the judicial sector with the virtual court rooms. In reference to ICT usage in diplomacy, Ipu (2013) observed that Kenya has attempted to cultivate its public diplomacy through encouraging interaction of the public and government through government websites, Facebook, twitter and other social media handles. Mutambo (2014) reported that Cabinet Secretary for foreign Affairs at that time, Amina Mohammed, had stated that the Kenya MFAs ambition was to digitise and subsequently have "tweeting diplomats". However, there no study has been conducted in the country to establish

the current situation in the ministry in reference to integration of ICT in the sphere of diplomacy.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The implementation of ICT in the public sector accrues benefits to the governments as well as citizens. Digital diplomacy is one of the areas where ICTs is of great importance. Diplomacy involves communication between states. For developing countries, digital diplomacy has the potential of reducing the huge costs involved in setting up and running physical embassies. In addition, it reduces the aspects of time and space. However, the digital divide exists between the developed countries and the developing countries thus curtailing the rolling out of digital diplomacy in developing countries that have limited and outdated ICT infrastructure. Given that digital diplomacy requires good ICT infrastructure, this study explores the integration of ICTs in Kenya's diplomatic operations amid the digital divide between the developed and developing countries.

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions

1. What has been Kenya's Foreign Policy and diplomatic trends since independence 1963-2014?
2. What is the state of ICT infrastructure in Kenya and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade?
3. What is the status of ICT integration in Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic processes?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following main objective which was to investigate the scope to which Kenya has integrated ICT in the conduct of its diplomatic activities.

Consequently, the particular objectives of the study were as follows

1. To survey Kenya's Foreign Policy and diplomatic trends
2. To explore the ICT infrastructure in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.
3. To examine the integration of ICT in Foreign Policy and diplomatic processes.

1.5 Research Premises

1. Regimes types have shaped Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic trends
2. Kenya has made efforts to develop ICT infrastructure in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.
3. ICT has been integrated in Kenya's Foreign Policy and diplomatic processes

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Diplomacy is a two way traffic that requires constant flow of information between the countries involved. It is therefore important to find out the extent to which developing countries have entrenched ICTs to enhance engagement with other developed countries who are more advanced in terms of technology compared to them. Accordingly, the focus on Kenya was justified as Kenya is one of the significant developing countries in East Africa as well as Africa in general.

The study specifically focuses on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because diplomacy as an institution in Kenya and in most countries in the world is conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Last but not least, the period 1963 to 2014 was warranted because Kenya attained independence in 1963.

The study was also significant as it filled the gap in literature on the concept of digital diplomacy in the developing countries. The study findings inform diplomacy stakeholders and bureaucrats in Kenya about the potential of embedding technology in the conduct of diplomatic services. Further, the findings of the study illuminate on the changing nature of diplomacy in a world that is progressively becoming digital in its operation.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study sought to analyse how Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has incorporated ICT in the conduct of diplomatic activities *vis-à-vis* digital diplomacy. This was justified given that digital diplomacy is a concept that is widely being researched in developed countries while its status in developing countries is under-researched. The process of ICT integration was examined from 1963 to 2014 particularly because 1963 is the year that Kenya got independence and 2014 in order to capture the trends, changes and the present status.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The study was confined to Kenya's MFA since it is the entry point for diplomacy. The respondents to the study were personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a constricted preference to those in the diplomacy and ICT departments. This

because they were best suited to provide the necessary information needed to meet the study's objectives. Given that it is difficult to get information from government departments, the researcher had to corroborate the information provided with available secondary sources. In addition, the researcher had to work with the appointments scheduled by the respondents. This slowed up the process of getting the data required to a great extent.

1.8 Literature Review

The literature review section focuses on several themes that are relevant to the present study in respect to the conception of digital diplomacy and its varied facets that are deemed ideal in its actualization. Further, the literature review is also consistent of the American Experience with a view to give a background on digital diplomacy in developed countries.

1.8.1 Diplomacy as Communication

Ever since diplomacy was conceptualized, it has always been hinged on communication and interaction. Drawing from Johnson and Hall (2002) both practitioners and observers acknowledge that communication has an essential role in diplomacy. Similarly, Constantinou (1996) advances the concept of diplomacy as communication by defining diplomacy as "*a regulated process of communication*". James (1980) also defined diplomacy in reference to communication by stating that it is *the communication system of the international society* (p.942). Tran (1987) gave an analogy arguing that just as blood is to the human body so is communication to diplomacy. To this end, the diplomatic fabric or process would collapse should communication cease to exist. According to the UN Vienna Convention on

Diplomatic Relations (UNVDR) 1961 communication as the lifeline of diplomacy is captured in several clauses for example Art 27.1 the host state is obligated to authorize and protect free communication on the States that have missions for all their official responsibilities. Copeland (2009) emphasized on the significance of communication in diplomacy by arguing that diplomacy as a tool of international relations provides states with alternatives in regards to non-violent conflict resolution methods such as cross-cultural communication, compromise and negotiation.

Johnson and Hall (2002) traced the word diplomacy to a Greek verb “diploun” which means “to double” and a Greek noun diploma which implies an official document written on double leaves and joined together. In view of this, diploma has a connotation of communication which in the context of international relations may have a secret message and an official paper that confers particular rights to the bearer (p.67).

Among the communication methods significant to diplomacy is signaling. Signaling in diplomacy is characterized by ambiguity that is deemed creative as well as constructive (Johnson & Hall, 2002). This is because diplomatic communication is meant for sovereign polities and as such, conceals crucial information from each other. The audience of diplomatic signaling can either be domestic or foreigners. Signaling in diplomacy is actualized both in verbal and non- verbal ways (Johnson and Hall, 2002). According to Nalwanga (2011), signals can also be identified through the reception and mannerisms accorded to an envoy by the host country. For example, in diplomatic circles, signals are identifiable in aspects such as venue of

meetings, a hand shake, level of representation as well as exchange of gifts among representatives of sovereign nations. Johnson and Hall (2002) explained that a handshake is especially used to exemplify the quality of inter-state relations. Consequently, the venue of meeting and the kind of negotiating table signals aspects of power and prestige as so do the delegations sent as representatives of states (Chen, 1981).

Written communication is the other communication method in diplomacy and entails varied documents utilized in communication between states with specific formats on how they should be written (Nalwanga, 2011). These include protocols, memorandum of understanding, treaties, Aide memoires, press communiqué, joint communiqué as well as resolutions. Other forms of written diplomatic communication include briefs, reports, diplomatic notes, messages as well as speeches. Nick (2001) advises that written diplomatic communication should generally be grounded on the fundamental principles of international law as well as the principle of equality of states in the international system.

Rana (2009) identified verbal communication as the other method of diplomatic communication and goes further to argue that it is more elaborate than written communication. Nick (2001) expounded that verbal diplomatic communication is further understood in reference to the tone of voice used which in this case can be interpreted as friendly, nonchalant, confidential, menacing among other possibilities. Moreover, the choice of words used in verbal communication is deemed to be very significant in diplomacy. Johnson and Hall (2002) asserted that modern diplomacy emphasized on the verbal skills and eloquence of diplomats.

The above diplomatic communication methods serve as an ideal background in understanding how diplomatic communication has changed with the integration of information communication technologies. The next section will detail on the evolution of diplomatic communication in light of ICT integration.

1.8.2 Evolution of Diplomatic Communication

Having identified why communication and diplomacy are inseparable, it becomes important to identify how the communication revolution has impinged on diplomatic communication. According to Archetti (2010), diplomatic communication can be traced to the dawn of history by arguing that gathering, sharing and reporting of information have been the staple diet for diplomats since time immemorial. As early as the 14th century in Ancient Egypt there were the Amarna letters that were basically a collection of the cuneiform tablets that contained intelligence on how Egypt needed to maintain control of her empire in Asia (Jonsson and Hall, 2002). Consequently, the diplomacy in Byzantine Empire was grounded on information gathering and communication.

According to Lewis (2008), the introduction of resident ambassadors by the Italian City States in the 18th century initiated the modification of diplomatic communication. The success of resident ambassadors particularly in bilateral communication resulted in the concept being adopted in the League of Nation's framework. Diplomatic communication as a role under the, Ministry of Foreign Affairs was conceptualized three centuries after the initiation of resident embassies (Nalwanga, 2011). Berridge (2002) argued that the role of MFAs in diplomatic communication was indeed essential as it helped in formation of organized

communication mechanisms and further enhanced the aspect of secrecy in diplomatic communication. Organized communication methods at the ministry level with time yielded to the need for states to train their diplomats on ciphering and deciphering of diplomatic information for purpose of restricting access to information.

Grech (2006) documents that wind powered sailing vessels formed the bulk of diplomatic communication a century and a half ago. This evolved as new avenues of communication such as steamships, telegraph, telephone and air mail were actualized. Nickles (2003) upon examining the impact of the telegraph on diplomatic communications indicated that it had accelerated international relations and overcame the challenge of distance thus opening up the possibility of messages travelling faster than people could by horses, ship or train.

Accordingly the print press, radio as well as telephones followed. The later innovations that have since been injected include televisions, early generation computer, digital computers as well as satellite. Modern day diplomats have a wide array of communication channels especially in respect to digital computers and phones that have access to the Worldwide Web. In more recent times, diplomats have started exploring the potential of the social media among other internet provisions such as electronic mail and video conferencing (Grech,2006). This is in line with the premise of this study that there has been a shift in paradigm from traditional diplomatic communication to adoption of digital communication methods in the transmission of diplomatic messages and information.

1.8.3 Diplomatic Trends

Over the years, there have been several forms of diplomacy that have been utilized by states across the globe including track one diplomacy. According to the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, track one diplomacy is conducted by the official representatives of a government or state. Gichoya (2016) explained that track one diplomacy involves discussions spearheaded by officials from the ministry of foreign affairs, government heads or high level state representatives. The conduct of this form of diplomacy occurs at either the bilateral or multilateral levels. Track one diplomacy is ideal in issues touching on conflict resolution, border disputes as well as the equal distribution of resources and opportunities. Essentially, this type of diplomacy is limited to senior government officials and thus has high potential of escalating the conflict.

Consequently, there is track two diplomacy. The United States Institute of Peace defined track two diplomacy as the informal associations in conflict mitigation mechanisms that aim at generating new thinking and hence build relations that could foster official negotiations. Non-state actors and state actors are involved in this kind of diplomacy. According to Chigas (2003) track two diplomacy is best suited for creating an environment of mutual understanding by providing an atmosphere that is non-judgmental and low key. It is regarded as low key as it is not overseen by the major decision makers in a state. The involved parties are hence able to share their conflict resolution ideas freely and devoid of hard-line positions that are often taken by governments.

Gichoya (2016) provided shuttle diplomacy as the other form of diplomacy. Shuttle diplomacy is conducted by a senior mediator who travels back and forth to meet the parties involved in a negotiation process. Shuttle diplomacy is preferred as it does not require the use of the common tactics employed in public conversations. In addition, it is private and creates a substantial level of trust that would not be possible in other contexts. Shuttle Diplomacy is ideal for intense international issues. Gichoya (2016) further documented that shuttle diplomacy is enhanced by modern means of transportation especially in the aviation industry as well as information communication technologies.

Multilateral diplomacy is the next form of diplomacy. The 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations traces multilateral diplomacy back to the 20th Century and involves relations among three or more countries. Drawing from the UN Charter, multilateral diplomacy has over time augmented the instruments used to conflicts both peacefully and coercively. The States that break the rules or norms of the UN may be subjected to economic sanctions, negotiation, mediation, adjudication, diplomatic pressures, arbitration or military force when the other avenues have failed.

Public diplomacy is another form of diplomacy that has taken shape with the integration of information communication technologies in ministries of foreign affairs. According to Ipu (2013) public diplomacy can be defined as the art of relating a State's values, policies and cultures to the publics of other nations without going through their governments. Public diplomacy is propagated through development of mutual trust, influencing the opinion of the public through sports,

media and cultural exchanges as well as cultivating likability. Ishmael (2013) argued that public diplomacy seeks to promote, build and relay positive image of a country with the intent of influencing the opinion of international citizens abroad. In other words public diplomacy is a form of branding the image of a country with a view to appeal to the foreign citizens. Public diplomacy enhances relations between the state the foreign citizens, provides avenues of feedback on a state's foreign policy and promotes cultural diversification. Last but not least is digital diplomacy that forms the bulk of this thesis and is discussed in the following section.

1.8.4 The Concept of Digital Diplomacy

According to Larson (2004) the wave of information revolution facilitated the growth of digital diplomacy otherwise referred to as E-diplomacy, Virtual diplomacy or Cyber diplomacy. Larson also suggested that based on the current technological and economic trends, the information revolution is bound to advance even further.

Abbasov (2007) reported that the term digital diplomacy was coined when diplomacy started subscribing to communication methods that use the newest and latest information communication technologies. The president of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Richard H. Solomon in 1997 defined virtual diplomacy as the political, social and economic interactions that are mediated through electronic gadgets as opposed to the traditional face-to-face communication. Digital diplomacy, according to the United States Institute of Peace (2006), can be distinguished from the traditional form diplomacy by the fact that communication and coordination of information in digital diplomacy is conducted using ICTs.

Grech (2006) cited Gordon Smith's definition of virtual diplomacy that articulates it as "*the conduct of what was regarded as classical diplomacy but that is now an activity being practised in a different way because of changes in technology and because it is practised by a broader a range of people including those that are not professional diplomats.*" Digital diplomacy thus ceases to be a professional affair and draws from ideas from people of other professions with certain global interests and concerns. Nalwanga (2011) best explained this by arguing that the advances made in technology has made diplomacy to cease to be a reserve for a few as the Non State Actors (NSAs) now have an avenue to broaden the international development agenda and as such scaling down the hegemony of states in the field of diplomacy.

Nweke (2010) stipulated that the implementation of digital diplomacy is only possible in states that have the ability to send, receive and process digital information. According to Ipu (2013), the use of ICTs in diplomacy has transformed international communications among the foreign states as well as official diplomats abroad. Electronic communication can be traced to the invention of the World Wide Web in 1989. Other scholars have however traced digital diplomacy to inventions made during the industrial revolution as well as the communications revolution in the 1980s (Abbasov, 2007).

From an international relations and diplomacy perspective, the technological breakthrough led to various innovations that have advanced the discipline theoretically and in practice through enhanced service delivery. Lichtenstein (2010) described digital diplomacy in the 21st C to entail swapping of tweets for broadcast,

open ended short-messages-service (S.M.S), Facebook posts, You Tube, Google to mention but the few possibilities when it comes to exploring the online communication platforms. Digital diplomacy is likened to a new marriage between state departments in this context Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Silicon Valley giants whose job is promoting tech evangelism in international trade and relations.

The concept of digital diplomacy has started gaining immense attention among the Western Scholars. However, there are only a few studies that have focussed on digital diplomacy in African countries. Considering that the concept is still at its infancy stage, there is need for African scholars to increasingly venture into it and hence be at the fore front in advising the African States on the possibilities of digital diplomacy in reference to their States' interests.

1.8.5 Diplomacy as a Foreign Policy Tool

In international relations, foreign policy analysis concentrates on how actual nation states conduct themselves and how their decisions are arrived at. Subsequently, foreign policy in international relations and diplomacy is a tool that helps individual states to interact with other states in an organized way and further pursue their interests in an orderly manner. Barston (1986) indicated that generally the foreign policy of nation states is segmented into three major sections. The first segment is made up of generalised statements that dictate the broad aims and overall interests of the states as articulated in communiqués, statements and other public pronouncements. Nevertheless, there are also chances that there be involvement of secret interests otherwise known as covert foreign policy objectives that is advanced

by private diplomacy. Secondly, foreign policy can be articulated as a range of issues and preoccupations of a Nation. In the case of European Countries these issues may include community budgets pertaining to the harmonisation of the African Union policies on development. The third segment involves the specific daily operational problems which make up the routine of the external such as visits, lobbying of a vote in the UN, instructions to a delegation, consular problems and so on. Moreover, it is important to note that the foreign policies of individual states do not remain static in light of changes in governments after the electioneering periods.

Hill (2003) stated that it is not the “foreign” that is eliminated when there are changes in governments but rather the policy is redesigned to align to the goals, objectives and the ideas of the new government. Changes in foreign policy as Keukeleire and Schunz (2008) indicated is also influenced by transformative social changes such as, technology, globalization and the embrace of global governance bodies. Holsti (1995) discerned that the essence of foreign policy to states governments is that it acts as a diplomatic note to other friendly and non-friendly states in the world. Foreign policy as a diplomatic note leads to actions between states such as making trade alliances, attending summit meetings and sharing of doctrines that influence the international economy.

Consequently, Holsti (1995) argued that there exist some common goals in the International system that drives the existence of foreign policies in the different contemporary states. These purposes include security, autonomy, welfare, status and prestige of the states in the global system. However, the priorities placed on these purposes differ in the different states as some prioritize others at the cost of

others. Essentially, all states would wish to place the same priority on the stated goals however those who make the foreign policy are inclined to maximize on some of them at the cost of others in light of the real world issues. For example, there have been competing priorities of “*guns versus butter*” which implies that in order to pursue deterrence in armaments then states have to sacrifice this by imposing high tax on weapons and other arms (Dikici, 2013). In addition, States may also face competing interests in the formulation of the foreign policy such as realizing that the strategy of promoting economic growth through regional trade reduces their goal of political autonomy. To avert this, states may embrace IT development to influence their nation’s competitiveness in the globalized world (Moon-Gi, 2006).

Foreign policy is also significant in today’s globalized World because the contemporary world societies are more connected through networks of interdependency and transnational associations. In light of this, the document can be used by the governments to sustain relations with other states, to manipulate the actions of other states on certain issues or even to alter the conditions of other countries (Westcott, 2008). This is possible because countries that depend on other countries for their developmental projects in terms of loans and grants may be forced to align their foreign policy towards the issues advanced by donor countries. For example, some western nations are forcing African countries to adopt gay rights to continue receiving grants. To this end, foreign policy also acts as an instrument for diplomatic negotiation and recognition of states in the International forum.

Close Up Foundation (2013) summarized that foreign policy as a tool for diplomacy can be used to pursue national interest in the following areas scientific and cultural

exchanges between or among states. It can also be used to propel diplomatic recognition in world conferences and summits besides enhance participation in discussions leading to joining or withdrawing from international agreements or treaties. The foreign policy also informs on the processes joining alliances vis-à-vis membership in international as well as regional organizations. Ultimately, diplomacy serves as one of the tools in advancing the objectives and goals of a state's foreign policy to other nations in the global arena. To this end, the embedding of ICTs in conduct of diplomacy implicitly extends to the foreign policy making process.

Scholars agree that diplomacy is indeed a significant tool in advancing a state's foreign policy objectives and goals. European States, Australia, Canada and United States of America have linked the concept of digital diplomacy in propagation of their Foreign policy objectives and goals. Nweke (2010); Nalwanga (2012) provide insights on the context in African countries with a bias towards Nigeria and Uganda respectively.

1.8.6 Application of ICTs in the Foreign Policy Process

The foreign policy process plays a crucial role in the achievement of diplomatic goals and objectives of a state. Efficient management of foreign policy process consequently results in the achievement of diplomatic objectives. As such, it is important to articulate what constitutes efficient management of foreign policy. Dizard (2001) pointed out that there has been little attention from scholars on the impact of ICT in the conduct of the foreign policy process. From a policy making perspective, Lavery (2013) opined that policy makers have a task of not only

understanding the new technologies but further harnessing them in the quest to achieve policy objectives.

Several scholars have determined varied ways of assessing a foreign policy process. For instance, Aronson (1991) provided that there is a general cycle that informs the foreign policy process that includes 1) information gathering that is made efficient with access to ICTs. 2) Transmission of information gathered that is heightened by the World Wide Web. 3) Analysis, synthesis as well as presentation of information gathered by foreign policy specialists. 4) Governments ability to implement foreign policy decisions through winning support from target interest groups. Aronson emphasizes that the advances made in ICTs have been essential in efficiently managing the foreign policy cycle.

Hanson (2012) provides eight key elements of the foreign policy process that include knowledge management, public diplomacy, information management, consular communications, disaster response, internet freedom, external resources as well as policy planning.

There is scarcity of studies in Kenya that have focused on ICT integration in the foreign policy process. In an effort to fill this gap, this study will be guided by the foreign policy process of information gathering, knowledge management, policy planning and coordination as well as implementation.

1.8.7 The General Application of ICTs in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs

According to Huxley (2014), the development of information communication technologies is constantly changing the modes of communication among

individuals, organizations as well as states through the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFAs). The emergence of advanced ICTs has revolutionized the communication among MFAs as well as other stakeholders in international relations (Grant, 2005). Essentially, the application of ICTs in the MFAs has led to the emergence of several diplomatic buzz words such as public diplomacy and digital diplomacy.

Saddiki (2006) explains that the first generation of ICTs to be integrated in MFAs as forms of diplomatic communication included the telegraph, print press, telephones as well as radio. Subsequently, televisions, early generation computer, digital computers as well as satellite were integrated. Grech (2006) documents that in modern day, the digital computer and the World Wide Web has shaped diplomatic communication thus the utilization of social media, electronic mail among other internet substitutes available to modern diplomats.

In view of this, there has been a continued increase in studies conducted by countries as well as individual researchers on application of ICTs in ministries of foreign affairs. For instance, Dutton and Thelwall (2012) noted that there had been several studies conducted by the American State Department which is an equivalent of an MFA on the utilization of social media. Similarly, Christensen (2013) did an exploratory study on the Swedish government's utilization of twitter in view of nation branding. Ipu (2013) in a study titled *E-Diplomacy in East Africa: Case Study of Kenya* stated that the application of ICTs transform the way sovereign states conduct their international communications both with the foreign states as well their own official diplomats abroad. Nweke (2012) explores on the changes and

implications for African Nations in light of integration of digital technology in international relations.

Nonetheless, the existent studies on digital diplomacy are based on the experience of developed western nations. Subsequently, these studies on digital diplomacy fail to focus on how ICTs are utilized in the MFAs in respect to diplomacy and instead assume that digital diplomacy is a representation of all online actions exhibited by MFAs.

1.9 Theoretical perspectives on Digital Diplomacy

According to Nweke (2010), there is no single theoretical underpinning that precisely explains how technology and international relations and diplomacy are related. Nweke (2010) further argues that the evolution of digital governance cannot be linked to any “grand theory” as the circumstances surrounding its embedding by individuals and organizations alike is stemmed from different and wide ranging perspectives.

1.9.1 The Actor Network Theory (ANT)

The researcher utilized the Actor Network Theory (ANT) as the explanatory framework of analysis to the concept of digital diplomacy. According to Ziemkendorf (2007) ANT can be traced back to the mid-1980s and is precisely linked to Bruno Latour (1987), Michael Callon (1986) as well as John Law (1992). According to Nweke (2012), the Actor Network Theory is especially significant in the exploration of socio-technical processes. According to Huxley (2014), ANT has

in the last few years gained immense influence in international relations as well as organizational and state studies.

Nweke (2012) argued that though proponents of ANT have mostly edged towards science and technological activities, it cannot be denied that science is not profoundly different from social activities. From this vein, ANT was fundamental to this study as it acknowledged both the human actors as well as non-human actors within an institution. The theory identifies two major players in a communication setting that is the actor and the actant. Drawing from the theory, the actor is linked to the non-human aspects hence machines, hybrids and texts among others. In addition, the actors can be defined as the “identities”, “things”, relations or networks that have the potential of layering within other assorted networks. Consequently, “actants” are the agents who can in this context be individuals or collective bodies that can form or discontinue relations with other agents. Essentially, actants are responsible for the aspect of forming associations.

In reference to the study’s interest digital diplomacy, the actors represented information communication technologies while the actants represented all the state agents attached to the political and diplomatic affairs directorate. Since ANT covers hardware and software components of ICT, the researcher was be able to comprehensively investigate how ICT is employed in the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade.

Nweke (2012) argues that ANT pertinently illustrates the link between actors and actants and further goes ahead to expound its relevance in international relations and

diplomacy. Within the constricted focus on diplomacy, the theory helped the researcher to interrogate how diplomats or rather the diplomatic fraternity applies ICTs in their quest for achieving their states interests in the international scene. It is important to note that states pursue their interests and identities through the foreign policy. In reference to this study, this helped the researcher in interrogating Kenya's foreign policy in relation to the diplomatic trends. Moreover, it aided the researcher in exploring how the systematic vicious cycle of communication or interaction evidenced in the delivery of diplomatic services has changed in view of the digital age.

1.9.2 Centre for Democracy and Technology the three Phases of e-Government

One of the challenges of evaluating the level of ICT integration in an institution is measuring the extent of integration. To this end, the researcher sought to find a framework that can aid in evaluating ICT integration. According to the Centre for Democracy and Technology (2002), there are three phases that can help organizations, institutions, ministries as well as governments to oversee the implementation of e-governance. It is further emphasized that the three phases are conceptually viable when it comes to thinking about the goals of e-government which in this study was replaced by the goals of digital diplomacy. The three phases are consistent of **publishing, interacting as well as transacting**. When it comes to **Publishing** it is expected that institutions should publish or disseminate information about the ministry or information complied by the ministry to a wide audience. As such, publishing of ministry of foreign affairs and international trade sites can serve as the benchmark of edging towards digital diplomacy. The second phase of **Interaction** is characteristic of two-way communication that begin with basic

functions such as email contact for government officials as well as feedback forms that can allow users to submit policy proposals or even legislative comments. The final stage is on **Transaction** that is characterized by ability of citizens to access ministerial services or transact business with the foreign ministry online. In such a context a transaction website offers direct links to the ministerial services at any given time. This is deemed significant as it enhances public service delivery precisely because it ensures that those services offered by the ministry are made faster, simpler and cost effective for both the ministry and stakeholders.

Given that this study is qualitative in nature, the framework helped the researcher in deriving the relevant narratives from informants which in-turn aided in answering the research questions on digital diplomacy.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

The researcher employed exploratory and descriptive designs of study. The exploratory design was useful in the establishment of the state of digital diplomacy in developing nations with a constricted focus on Kenya. Further, the descriptive design was appropriate in determining digital diplomacy as a phenomenon and its operation in a real-life context. The research phenomenon of the study was Digital diplomacy as a continuum of embedding of ICTs in the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As such, by employing a descriptive design the researcher was able to provide actual narratives detailing how the phenomenon is altering the traditional conduct of diplomacy in the country. The narratives were sourced from key informants in the Ministry as they had the needed descriptive information on the

evolution of the institution of diplomacy in Kenya. This in turn helped the researcher in conducting an in depth evaluation on the state of digital diplomacy in Kenya.

1.10.2 Population Sampling

1.10.2.1 Population

The target population of the study was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The researcher began by visiting the information desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade so as to obtain the relevant information about the structure of ministry. This aided the researcher in identification of the most ideal participants in the Ministry to inform on the study.

1.10.2.2 Sampling and Sampling Technique

Upon identifying all the potential informants in the Ministry who could provide the relevant data sought from the study, the researcher selected a representative sample from the target population. To this end, the researcher sought advice from the information desk in the ministry in sampling of informants who were not only readily available but also those who represent the diversity present when it comes to the conduct of diplomacy in the country. The researcher employed the non-probability type of sampling technique. In particular, the researcher utilized purposive sampling in selecting the respondents to the study. Teddlie and Yu (2007) articulated that the purposive sampling technique is chiefly used in studies that are qualitative in nature. This was in line with this study. The researcher utilized the purposive sampling technique in selection of relevant departments in the ministry such as the Information Communication Department in establishing the level of integration of ICT in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Other

Departments and offices selected included the Political and Diplomatic Directorate, Economic and International Trade Directorate, Protocol Directorate, Administration Directorate African Union and African Affairs office, Diaspora and Consular Services office, Communications Unit and Public Affairs and Communication Office. In addition, the researcher also used the technique in selecting individuals that informed on the set research questions. Purposive sampling was ideal for the study as it allowed the researcher to choose respondents basing on their line of work at the Ministry. This not only allowed for inclusion of key informants but also for varied categories that gave the researcher an opportunity to compare the informants' views on the subject of the study. In addition, the technique allowed optimum efficiency within the projected constraints of finances, logistics and human resources. The researcher sought to capture the views of 5 senior level officers, 7 middle level officers as well as 3 low level officers in the Ministry. To this end, the interviews conducted cut across Heads of departments, diplomats to desk officers. Nonetheless, majority of the interviewed respondents were senior and mid-level officers.

1.10.3 Data Collection Methods

The researcher employed both primary data and secondary data. The primary data was collected through oral interviews as well as official Government of Kenya and MFA documents. The interviews allowed the respondents to express their views on the study as well as enable the researcher to avoid being alienated from the respondent. Interviews were ideal for the study as they had a high response rate, were easy to administer as well as allowed the researcher to probe further and seek clarifications where needed. The interview guide utilized by the researcher was to a

large extent informal and as such the researcher was not necessitated to follow it to the letter. Instead the researcher treated the questions flexibly and used every opportunity available to gather as much information as possible from each of the respondents. This allowed the researcher to harness more information from the respondents depending on their mandate, knowledgeability as well as their patience in answering the research questions.

The discussions with the respondents were grounded on themes such as use of ICTs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Training of Staff on utilization of ICTs in conduct of diplomacy, ICT and Foreign Policy Transformation, the Perception of Digital Diplomacy among the Staff in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the level of ICT integration at the Ministry. This approach was highly beneficial to the researcher especially in aspects of seeking clarifications as well posing further questions as the discussion took course. The researcher was forced on several occasions to intervene especially when the respondents divulged out of scope or when the response given was an indication that the respondent had not understood the question.

Except on very few occasions, the researcher used the Sound Recorder application in the Infinix 504 Mobile Phone to tape the Interview sessions which were later transcribed for analysis. This approach was highly beneficial as it saved on time taken for the interview; it was also favourable to the respondents who had busy schedules. English was the main language of communication utilized by the researcher. One of the respondents at the Ministry declined having the session tape recorded hence the researcher used the listen and write approach. In addition, the

researcher engaged Kenyan Diplomats who are active on Twitter and based in Kenyan Missions abroad.

Initially, the researcher was faced with the challenge of access to the desired information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. This is despite the researcher presenting a copy of the Introduction Letter from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) approving the study. Upon pursuing why there was no official communication detailing why the Ministry officials could not allow the study to proceed, the researcher was sent from one office to the other. It was a case of the researcher camping in the MFA&IT offices to see officials only to be referred to another official. Essentially, it was a frustration technique that led to the researcher consulting widely with everyone who was willing to listen at the Ministry. When a breakthrough was not forthcoming, the researcher took to Twitter a social media platform to seek redress from the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The results were fulfilling as the Permanent Secretary acted swiftly and scheduled a meeting with researcher. The meeting led to the researcher being accorded with all the necessary help to collect the data. Indeed, the researcher was elated by the fact that the social media platforms had helped in breaking the Chains of Bureaucracy in the Ministry. More importantly the online breakthrough was related to the researcher's study on Digital diplomacy.

In reference to the secondary data, the researcher gathered the relevant information from Journals, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade records, other supporting Government of Kenya Records, economic surveys, newspapers as well as

statistical abstracts. The secondary data aided the researcher in corroborating the primary data's validity and reliability. It is from this vein, that the researcher formed a basis of analysing as well as interpreting the state of digital diplomacy in Kenya.

1.10.4 Data Analysis

Information gathered from the in-depth interviews was related to the study's premises. Interpretation of the gathered information was done in relation to the research topic, objectives of the study, nature and the methodology. Inductive analysis was employed to discover patterns, themes and categories of the data that was gathered. The researcher was also able to employ deductive analysis to analyze if the gathered data was in line with the study's conceptual framework. The qualitative data gathered helped the researcher in revealing the state of digital diplomacy and its operation in Kenya. The collected data was described and illustrated using tables, graphs and pictures where necessary.

1.10.5 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a letter from the University to introduce her to the officials at the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Consequently, NACOSTI approved the study and provided an introduction letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade for the researcher. The researcher also obtained a research permit from NACOSTI. The research study commenced upon obtaining clearance from the then Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Emphasis was made that the study results would be purely utilized for academic purposes. The informants to the study were assured of their

confidentiality such that the information they provided would in no way be used to compromise their position.

1.11 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has endeavoured to problematize the issue of digital diplomacy in developing countries with a constricted focus on Kenya. The researcher argues that digital diplomacy has gained ground in the developed countries thus creating a ripe ground for research on its status in the developing world.

The researcher utilized the Actor Network Theory (ANT) in explaining the nexus between Information Communication Technologies and staff at the MFA&IT. In addition the researcher evaluated the level of ICT integration by using the three phases of e-governance as articulated by the Centre for Democracy and Technology. The three phases of e-government that include publishing, interaction and transaction. The chapter further details on the primary and secondary methods of data collection adopted by the researcher besides expounds on the process adopted in analysing of data.

CHAPTER TWO: KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMATIC TRENDS

2.0 Introduction

This work falls within the framework of diplomatic communication and more precisely digital diplomacy. Diplomacy as an institution is mainly centred on foreign policy. As such, the researcher found it important to interrogate Kenya's foreign policy as well as her diplomatic trends in the quest to find out how ICT has been integrated. The chapter is organized into the following subtopics diplomacy as a foreign policy tool, understanding the nature of Kenya's foreign policy, foreign policy during the Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta regimes, foreign policy aspects as articulated in Kenya's new constitution and the written foreign policy. Last but not least is Kenya's diplomatic trends.

2.1 Understanding the Nature of Kenya's Foreign Policy

According to Alden (2011) foreign policies can better be understood by focusing on the psychological and cognitive factors of the policy-makers. This approach can be studied by focusing on the interplay between leaders, organizational culture and bureaucratic actors chosen to spearhead the foreign policy of a given elected president. Since independence, Kenya's foreign policy is essentially, controlled and directed from the office of the President. The most influential foreign policy shaper in Kenya is the President who consciously chooses a cabinet secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in line with his/her vision and mission for the country in international issues.

A different perspective is provided by Angawa (2010) who opined that Kenya's foreign policy is best understood by articulating how the political system in the country works especially in matters of policy making. Angawa further states that though Kenya promulgated a new constitution in August 2010 the conduct of foreign policy has largely remained under the premise of the old constitution in which the President is the overall head of most government institutions. Ultimately, it then goes to say that the final decisions on the formulation, implementation and projection of Kenya's foreign policy lies with the President. In view of this, Kenya's foreign policy in light of the five decades of independence have been shaped by different Presidents that are Mzee Jomo Kenyatta 1963-1978, Daniel Arap Moi 1978- 2002, Mwai Kibaki 2002-2012 and currently, Uhuru Kenyatta. As such the following is an interrogation of Kenya's Foreign Policy under the above stated ruling elites.

2.2 Foreign Policy in Kenya during the Kenyatta Regime 1963-1978

Upon attaining independence, Kenya began to adjust politically, economically and socially as a free state. As such, there were many adjustments made in light of the change to self-rule of the country. According to Oyugi (1994) the period between 1963 and 1966 was marked by efforts to formulate the philosophy and objectives of Kenya's foreign policy (FP) as an independent state. The process also involved outlining the national interests, developing a system of decision making when it comes to the FP as well as the implementation process. This process was characterised by conflict between two lines of thought in international relations which are idealism versus realism. Nonetheless, the prerogatives of foreign policy were ultimately designed by the president and his character. Nyangena (2011)

described President Kenyatta as a Pan-Africanist who essentially took a pragmatic approach when it came to the conduct of both domestic and international affairs.

Given that Kenya had no written foreign policy during this reign, the principles and objectives of Kenya's FP during the Kenyatta regime are only traceable in the KANU manifesto which was the ruling party as well as the Sessional Paper no.10/1965 on African Socialism. In view of this, the KANU manifesto (1963) outlined that Independent Kenya would safeguard Kenya's national integrity, preserve military forces with the capability to protect the Kenyan people as well as the state, promote East African Cooperation through developing foundations such as the East African Common market and the East African Common Services Organization. Further, Kenya would fully participate in international issues and be a non-aligned state when it came to global politics and internal economics.

In reference to management of the foreign policy, Kenyatta exhibited some restraint and entrusted this role to Ministers of Foreign Affairs including Joseph Murumbi 1964-1966, Mbiyu Koinange 1966-1967, Mbiyu Koinange 1969, Njoroge Mungai 1969-1974 and Munyua Waiyaki 1974-1979. This restraint is further documented by Murray-Brown in '*Kenyatta: A Biography*' where he writes that during his fifteen years as president, Jomo Kenyatta only made two foreign trips one to a Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in England and the other to Ethiopia in 1969 in honor of Haile Selassie whom Kenyatta highly regarded (Murray-Brown, 1979).

Oyugi (1994) discussed that the foreign policy during the Kenyatta regime was rather unequivocal as it mostly edged towards the intensification of relations in two major regions in the world, Eastern Africa as well as Western Europe. As such, relations with the socialist bloc as well as the rest of Africa were on the peripheral. This was evidenced by the ample Kenyan ambassadors in Western Europe and Eastern Africa as opposed to the communist countries. The robust relations with the Western countries ensured that Kenya continued to be a recipient of aid. For example, in 1964 Kenya signed an agreement with Britain training Kenya's security forces as well as supply of military equipment and arms. Further, the Royal Air Force in Britain was authorized to establish Kenya Air Force (Howell, 1968).

Nevertheless, Kenya sustained a relationship with both sides of the divide. Gitelson (1977) observed that Kenya also maintained cordial relations with communist countries such as China and Russia as they also provided aid as well as technical assistance. For example, in May 1964 President Kenyatta sent a delegation to the Soviet Union headed by the then Vice-president Oginga Odinga, Joseph Murumbi and other close allies with the aim of pitching and securing investment to the country's burgeoning economy.

The successful strike of a balance between the Western and Communist countries had an impact in the international context as in 1973 Kenya was successfully elected into the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (Gitelson, 1977). Subsequently, Kenya hosted several international conferences such as the IMF/World Bank conference in September 1973 and the fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD IV) that was held in May 1976. Kenya's status in the

international platform was further cemented when she was selected as the headquarters of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP). It is important to note that this was the first time a United Nations body was being located in Sub-Saharan Africa. These aspects made Kenya attain prestige in the international system besides boosted her economic empowerment.

The critics of Kenyatta however disagree that he exhibited the non-alignment principles as his government seemed to have strong anti-communist inclinations. Some instances in this regard are documented by Oyugi (1994) who notes that in 1966 Kenya broke diplomatic relations with China and subsequently in 1968 with Czechoslovakia citing interference with domestic issues. In the case of China, ideological differences were attributed to the tense diplomatic ties that saw the demotion of ambassadorial post to Kenya be lowered to a Charge d'affaires (Larkin, 1971). This worsened in 1967 when the then Charge d'affaires was declared as *persona non grata*. In the case of the Soviets, the main reason appeared to have been linked to a controversy surrounding the shutting down of the Lumumba Institute that had been funded by the Soviets. This was further compounded by the refusal of aid amounting to 16 million sterling pounds without any explanation. As such, it is argued that the Kenyatta regime considered that the best interests of Kenya economically, socially and politically lay in strengthening ties with North America as well as the Western European countries.

From an economic perspective, Kenyatta's regime embraced an open policy when it came to engaging in the international economy. This means that the regime was willing to trade with any nation irrespective of its ideologies at the time. The regime

recognized that Kenya had to borrow money, technology as well as any economic assistance without any long-term commitment. In reference to technology, which is the foundation of this study, it is imperative to note as will be articulated in the following chapter that the Kenyatta regime was skeptical on its capabilities and thus the 1970s ban on importation of computers. The regime was especially attracted to economic engagements that had no strings attached politically. Orwa (1987) explained that the Kenyatta regime pursued an open policy due to the belief that this would diversify Kenya's external trade by virtue of attracting all interested foreign investment partners and thus paving way for rapid economic development. These economic interests were also hinged on the realization that domestic saving as well as tax increases were not sufficient to spur economic growth hence the need to attract foreign private investment as well as borrowed money from international financial institutions. The economic interests pursued by Kenyatta's regime in the foreign policy were given the same importance as internal security, territorial integrity, political independence and stability (Orwa, 1987).

Essentially, Kenya's foreign policy during the Kenyatta regime was not radical while this could be attributed to the president's pragmatic approach other factors should be highlighted such as lack of a highly experienced foreign policy personnel given that the British had previously decided on Kenyan foreign policy matters. Moreover, Kenya lacked adequate resources to push for radical nationalistic interests in the international world system. Oyugi (1994) cites *African Daily* 1968 that quoted Njoroge Mungai the minister of state in charge of foreign affairs during the Kenyatta regime, who stated that Kenya adopted a policy of, wait and see in regards to global issues before deciding on the stand to take on them. This approach

was due to limited resources available to the ministry in the quest to push for national objectives in the international context. Incidentally, the state of affairs also provided the Kenyan elites with an opportunity to set for Kenya the international goals which also advanced their interests in the domestic frontier.

2.3 Foreign Policy under the Moi Regime 1978-2002

The foreign policy under president Moi who took over the presidency after the death of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was not substantially different. This is because he sought to follow the footsteps of his predecessor hence the Nyayo slogan which is a Swahili word meaning footstep. The principle of non-alignment persisted in his relations with countries in the international system. In addition, the Moi regime strengthened relations with Western European Countries which was exhibited through presidential visits. Further, Kenya strengthened her support to African countries that were still under colonial rule which was exhibited through invitation of liberation leaders to military pass out parades as well as national day celebrations.

According to Orwa (1987) the most distinct aspect of Kenya's foreign policy under the Nyayo era is the increased presidential involvement in diplomacy and management of Kenya's relations with other countries. Moi took center stage in foreign policy matters through presidential personal diplomacy where he travelled to promote Kenya's national interests abroad. Consequently, the Moi regime eased tension with the Soviet Union as well as China in the 1980s for example, the President travelled to China and signed economic and cultural agreements. Subsequently, China provided Kenya with economic assistance amounting to 300 Kenya million shillings in support of improving the sporting facilities in the country.

Additionally, in 1985 Moi sent a delegation led by KANU party chairman David Akiki Amayo to Soviet Communist party in Moscow. This was reciprocated when the Chinese party officials came to visit Kenya.

Oyugi (1994) informs that the renewed relations with the Soviets and China in the 1980s should be viewed against a background of understanding that Moi had first normalized relations with the United States of America and Western European countries and further announced closer economic relations with the two. Moreover, it should also be noted that unlike the 1970s and 1980s when China was viewed as a communist threat in the international system things had changed due to her cooperation with USA in both capital investment as well as arms transfer.

Odhiambo (1990) articulated that in reference to Kenya's relations with Eastern Africa the objectives were relatively the same as during the Kenyatta era. This is because the 1980s were exhibited by concerted efforts by Kenya to increase trade within the region as well as countries in the northern corridor such as Rwanda, Sudan, Burundi and Zaire.

Wanyama (2013) noted that Kenya maintained a sound economic policy in the international trade platform during the 1980s. In this period the regime concentrated on changing from substitution of imports to the promotion of exports given that the world was not only becoming more interdependent but was further facing heightened trade barriers owing to the diversity required in international markets. In light of this, in 1986 under the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) Kenya

initiated its quest to expand its markets in the African continent as well as liberalise trade in the domestic frontier.

According to Mwangi (2006) the pursuits of Kenya's foreign policy in the 1980s were distinct as there were heightened efforts to change the course of events in Kenya's *near abroad*. This was exhibited through presidential diplomacy in conflict management in war zones within the near African region. This was premised on the thought that Kenya's interests in Central and East Africa would be compromised by a regional environment characterized by protracted conflicts. As such, Kenya initiated several measures that sought to manage conflicts in Somalia, Uganda and Sudan in order to secure an enabling environment for trade within the region. For example, in 1986 President Moi successfully mediated against a civil war in Uganda between forces of General Basilio Okello and those of Yoweri Museveni. In addition, Moi was at the centre stage in managing conflict between FRELIMO government and Renamo rebel group in 1989 in Mozambique.

Drawing from Keesing (1983) the Moi regime similar to the Kenyatta regime was categorical when it came to aspects of guarding national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security. To this end, President Moi in 1983 was quoted saying that "*our foreign policy continues to be guided by principles of non-alignment, good neighborliness and non-interference in internal affairs of other sovereign states.*" (Keesing,1983). The regime was adamant that good neighborliness could be guaranteed through an effective and active defence policy hence the president's efforts to modernize Kenya's defence forces equipments. Moreover, parallel to an agreement signed by Kenyatta with the British in 1964

President Moi signed a military agreement with the U.S.A. in 1980 that provided Kenya with access to facilities of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. This was deemed necessary due to the uncertainty of the long-term objectivities of Cuban and Soviet forces in Ethiopia.

Accordingly Gachie (2011), the 1980s as the diplomatic golden age that was characterized by several heads of States visiting the country including the British monarch, British Prime Minister as well as the Catholic Pope John Paul II. In the same light, President Moi made trips to countries such as France, United States of America, China, Britain and Germany. Further, Kenya hosted several important world events such as the World Conference on Women as well as the establishment of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Towards the end of 1980s and throughout the 1990s Kenya's diplomatic golden age dwindled with the end of Cold War on one hand and the rise of multi-partisan politics in Kenya on the other. The prevailing Kenyan diplomatic ties with the Western European Countries and the USA were tested as was evidenced through diplomatic conflicts. This is attributed to the support of multiparty politics by the Western Countries as well as the collapse of Socialism in the Soviet which left Kenya with no bargaining power with the Western Countries (Oyugi, 1994). In 1990, for example Kenya recalled her ambassador to Canada accusing the country of sympathizing with the Somalis who were being arrested and sent back to their country. Moreover, the decade was marked by verbal battles between the government and the American Nairobi Embassy. The pinnacle of these diplomatic

conflicts with former allies was when Kenya broke diplomatic ties with Norway due to alleged interference with Kenya's domestic affairs.

Mwagiru (2006) notes that Kenya's diplomacy of conflict management in the 1990s came to an end when the then Zaire was engaged in civil war between 1996 and 1997 despite Kenya's mediation efforts. Kenya's efforts were transcended by South Africa which attained independence in 1994. Nonetheless, Mwagiru argues that the diplomatic efforts exhibited in the 1990s were often ad hoc in nature hence did not assert Kenya's foreign policy direction per se as it was dependent on the personalities appointed to spearhead the country's diplomatic objectives at the regional level as well as at the international level.

2.4 Foreign Policy under the Kibaki Regime 2002-2012

The year 2002 was monumental for Kenya as it marked the end of a 24 year rule by President Moi and the rise of a new era by President Kibaki. President Kibaki's regime articulation and dispensation of foreign policy objectives was unique and developmental in nature. The regime sought to explore new opportunities and leverages in its foreign policy objectives. Drawing from the New African Magazine (2012) President Kibaki's ten year rule was marked by transformation precisely in the infrastructural sector that was spearheaded by international allies such as the Chinese, Indians as well as Japanese. This was in contrast to previous regimes where the major allies in development were drawn from the Western part of the globe and the United States of America. It is implicit to note that much of this infrastructural development was aided by Kenyans living in the Diasporas. Other major

development partners that were conspicuous during the Kibaki era were South Africa and Brazil.

The article by New Africa Magazine asserts that Kenya's FP during the Kibaki reign can be underscored by three major paradigms. To begin with, the regime was keen on the East African Community (EAC) that now comprised of Kenya, Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania. Secondly, the regime was keen on pursuit of a larger Horn of Africa through IGAD hence encompassing Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia. This was further evidenced by the redrawing of Kenya's diplomatic roster such that Kenyan diplomats within the EAC, IGAD and AU were ranked higher than those in EU capitals. Thirdly, is Kibaki's radical push for the so called East Policy where the presidency actively involved with countries such as China, Japan and South Korea. As would be expected, in light of this East Policy his regime's relations with the traditional allies such as the European Union (EU) countries were lukewarm to say the least.

Munene (2013) observed that the Kibaki administration was basically concerned with multilateral diplomacy hence the quests by the president to fast track the regional integration of EAC. Moreover, Kibaki was instrumental in the establishment of East African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) in 2004 under the patronage of IGAD. In light of this, Kenya was nominated as the EASBRIG headquarters and has since been a leading player in the implementation of the body's strategy. EASBRIG Mission and activities are well documented and available online at www.easbrig.org. Consequently, Kibaki's regime pursued other multilateral bodies in its diplomatic engagements such as Forum on African –China

Corporation (FOCAC), New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership (NAASP) as well as Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) based in Japan (Munene, 2013).

Chege (2012) noted that as soon as Kibaki was accorded power in 2003 the government developed an economic reform program whose aim was to oversee the economic recovery of the country within a span of three years. Indeed, the quest was successful as the GDP growth between 2003 and 2007 rose from 2.9% to 7.1% (Chege, 2012). Subsequently, the economic growth was also diversified in that several other sectors such as tourism, transport, construction, agriculture, manufacturing, telecommunications as well as the financial sector contributed to the rise of GDP. It was against these economic objectives that Kenya's foreign policy was anchored. The most significant aspect of this growth is that it was mostly spurred at the domestic level as opposed to foreign direct investment. Chege (2012) cites that as opposed to the case in most African States Kenya recorded external aid at between 5 to 10 percent during the first term of President Kibaki. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) during this period was still largely linked to Western European countries especially Britain.

Nonetheless, the East tilt was notable as China, Korea and India were engaged in huge multi dollar infrastructure, service, technological as well as mining contracts a reserve that was previously held for the Western allies (Gachie,2014). For example, three Chinese construction firms were contracted to develop the eight-lane Thika Super Highway these include Shengli Construction, China Wu Yi and Sino Hydro Corporation. Subsequently, there was the construction of the largest geothermal

power plant in Naivasha which was spearheaded by Japanese firm Toyota Tsusho, Hyundai from Korea as well as Indian Contractor KEC International Limited (New African Magazine, 2012). The budding relations were further strengthened by President's Kibaki visits to Tokyo, Beijing, New Delhi and Tripoli.

In reference to conflict management, the Kibaki administration inherited the Sudanese peace process which in 2005 gained a milestone through the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Presidential Press Service, 2010). The Kibaki administration through regional organizations such as IGAD, COMESA and the UN supported the implementation of the CPA besides seeking commitment of President Omar Bashir and First President Salva Kiir. Kenya has continued to be a persistent peace guarantor on the region which was significant in January 2011 when a referendum passed with a 98.83 percent for South Sudan to be an Independent Country. Davis (2011) argued that Kenya through the Kibaki administration had a challenge of striking a diplomatic balance whilst pursuing its national interests in South Sudan. Nevertheless, Kenya was able to maintain a neutral posture besides act as an impartial player by managing its Pro-South interests without being anti-North. As such, Kenya's inclinations in Khartoum were not perturbed by her pursuit of CPA instead the influence was significant in ensuring a peaceful referendum process.

2.5 Foreign Policy under President Uhuru Kenyatta's Regime 2013-2014

Given that president Kenyatta has been in Power since 2013 it is not possible to comprehensively generalize his foreign policy inclinations as the current President of Kenya. However, there are some specific events and documents that can help in

shedding the light towards his influence in the pursuit of Kenyan interests abroad. According to Obala (2013) during Kenyatta's inauguration on 9th April 2013, the President's elect speech gave a foreign policy basis on aspects such as free movement of goods and people, regional security, strengthening of regional bodies as well as respect to the equality of nations in the international system. The President elect was emphatic on the significance and the need to enhance relations with regional bodies such as IGAD and East African Community. IGAD was cited as essential in the fight against terrorism and piracy in Somalia while the EAC was noted to be key in the advancement of regional cooperation and trade. The president elect indicated that his administration would push for the abolishment non-tariff barriers to trade within the East African Nations. Further, Uhuru Kenyatta pledged continued partnership with the African Union and argued that African Nations could work together in the innovations of solutions to African problems. To the rest of the world, the president promised that Kenya would continue to invest in deepening relations with other nations across the globe besides engage and endorse international instruments and treaties.

Consequently, the Jubilee manifesto had foreign policy hints that included the quest to strengthen Kenya's position in the East African region as well as other regional frontiers. The manifesto further asserted that the Jubilee coalition would not only engage with the traditional economic powers such as United States of America, United Kingdom as well as other European countries but also with other emerging economies such as Brazil, China, Russia and India.

According to Kagwanja (2013) in an article titled *Inside Kenyatta's Emerging, Assertive Policy in East Africa* he argued that Kenyatta's government was edging towards an African-centred approach in its foreign policy objectives. The conclusion drawn from the article was that the regime is moving away from the traditional "look west policy" as well as the newly described "look east policy" and is instead focusing on a "look inwards policy" in light of the International Criminal Court cases. Nevertheless, this line of thought can be challenged given that Kenya has solidified its relations with the western allies. This is evidenced by the President's visit to the UK as well as the visit of United States President Barack Obama to Kenya. Essentially, the contradictions exhibited within the foreign policy agendas of Uhuru Kenyatta's regime are proof that it's too early in the term to draw conclusions on its foreign policy strategy.

The Kenyatta regime has associated itself with the paradigm of being digital to date. In fact, during the 2013 general election the Jubilee coalition used the digital narrative as a campaign tool. The coalition identified itself "digital" team as opposed to "analogue" which referred to the Raila Odinga lead team (Mutiga, n.d.). This resonated well with Kenyans and indeed Africans given that the continent was transitioning from conventional extraterrestrial television to digital television.

2.6 Foreign Policy Aspects as Articulated in Kenya's New Constitution

On August 2010, Kenya promulgated a new constitution that needless to say articulated Kenya's conduct of foreign relations given that a constitution serves as the supreme law of a given state or republic . The role of the new constitution in the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations is evidenced through the provisions of

ratifications of international instruments such they are recognized under the Kenyan law. The old constitution necessitated international treaties to be domesticated for them to be applied as municipal laws. However, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) in article 2 (6) states that '*Any treaty or convention ratified by Kenya shall form part of the law of Kenya under the constitution*'.

The new constitution is also hailed for its attempt to shift the aspect of managing Kenya's foreign policy from the presidency alone to include other stakeholders such as Parliament. For example article 152 (2) concisely state the presidential appointment of all cabinet secretaries must be approved by the Parliament. As such, the top foreign affairs officer who is the Cabinet secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade must be evaluated and approved by parliament. Subsequently, Parliament is given power by article 152 (6) to dismiss the cabinet secretary due to reasons such as gross violation of the law as articulated by the constitution, commission of crime in contravention of both national and international law as well as gross misconduct.

War is indeed a foreign policy tool. The old constitution accorded the executive power to declare war. The current constitution however in Article 95 (6) concisely states that *The National Assembly approves declarations of war and extensions of states of emergency*. As such, under the new dispensation, the executive has the responsibility of convincing parliament to allow it to send troops to a war zone or even engage in a war by articulating the national interests that would necessitate that kind of radical action. Additionally, given that parliament is given the role of making laws it then means that their input must considered before the ratification of

any international treaty or convention. Essentially, this process should allow evaluation of a given treaty/convention and its significance to the achievement of Kenya's national interests in the international platform. To this end, the Kenyan Constitution 2010 asserts that the legislature must be fully involved in foreign relations matters for purposes of allowing a judicious debate on significant conventions and treaties that Kenya seeks to ratify.

The establishment of the National Security Council is a significant inclusion in the constitution in article 240. Essentially, the council's mandate is to harmonize military, domestic and foreign policies. It is constituted by the President, Deputy President, Cabinet Secretary (CS) Defence, CS Foreign affairs, CS Internal Security, Attorney General, Chief of Kenya Defence Forces, Director, National Intelligence Service as well as Inspector-General National Police Service. Security is not only implicit in the formulation of the foreign policy process but also in its implementation process. The Security Council according to article 240(7) is expected to report to parliament on an annual basis about the security status of the country. Moreover, the council as espoused in article 240 (8a, b) the council with the approval of parliament has the power to deploy national forces outside Kenya beside approve the deployment of foreign forces in Kenya.

Article 132 (1) (c) subsection three mandates the president with the obligation of submitting *a report for debate to the National Assembly on the progress made in the fulfilment of International obligations of the Republic*. This clause is premised on the aspect of accountability of the incumbent government when it comes to its mandate in the international platform. In reference to financial probity of state

officials article 76 (1) articulates that *a gift or donation to a State Officer on a public or official occasion is a gift or donation to the Republic and shall be delivered to the State unless exempted under an Act of Parliament*. Subsequently subsection 2 (a) of the same article prohibits state officials from *maintain a bank account outside Kenya unless in accordance with an Act parliament*. This is deemed as a significant measure in curbing government officials from getting compromised when involved in high stake international negotiations.

Article 119 that gives the citizenry the right to petition parliament. This means that informed Kenyans can petition parliament on matters regarding the foreign policy issues. This is especially significant to the Kenyan citizens living in the Diaspora as well as those with business interests in other countries given today's world that is highly interconnected. Essentially, the new constitution recognizes varied significant aspects when it comes to managing the country's foreign policy.

2.7 The Written Kenya Foreign Policy

History was made in 2014 when Kenya produced a written foreign policy that was subsequently launched officially by President Kenyatta in January 2015 at Kenyatta International Conference Centre (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The document conceives the vision of *a prosperous and globally competitive Kenya* while the mission is *to project, promote and protect Kenya's interests and image globally through innovative diplomacy and contribute towards a just, peaceful and equitable world* (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The foreign policy heavily draws from other national development policies such as Constitution of Kenya, Kenya Vision 2030,

Sessional Papers, Medium Term Plans, Executive pronouncements and circulars as well as manifestos of the ruling political parties.

Consequently, the foreign policy is grounded on five inter-linked pillars that include the Peace pillar that seeks to heighten Kenya's legacy of promoting peace and stability which are prerequisite conditions for prosperity and development both at the national level and regionally. Second is the Economic pillar that espouses a strong economic engagement for purposes of securing Kenya's socio-economic development and prosperity at the global level. Third is the Diaspora pillar that seeks to harness the diverse skills, expertise as well as the potential of Kenyans living in other countries besides integrating them in the national development agenda. The fourth pillar is the environmental aspect that gives emphasis to Kenya's commitment to sustainable management of the environment as well as shared natural resources. Last but not least is the Cultural pillar that aims to utilize culture as a tool for projecting a favorable image as well as prestige for the country internationally (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

In addition, the major objectives espoused in the newly published foreign policy include the following: guarding Kenya's sovereignty as well as territorial integrity, encourage regional and sub-regional integration as well as cooperation, advance regional and global peace and security, enhance economic prosperity of Kenya as well as her nationals. Other objectives include projecting Kenya's image and prestige, promoting cooperation at the international level as well as multilateralism, promoting and protecting Kenyan interests abroad as well as heightening partnership with Kenyans living in the Diaspora as well as their descendants (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

After decades of debate among the elite Kenyan leaders on whether Kenya should have a written foreign policy it finally came to pass and the question that lingers is does having the document in paper impact on the conduct and implementation of foreign relations? Mwagiru (2006) argued that having a recognizable written foreign policy is significant as it will diminish the enigma of what is pursued in the former *ad hoc* foreign policy objectives. Mwagiru also argues that a foreign policy document will encourage the pursuit of a strategic approach when it comes to its management as well as its implementation. A written foreign policy also allows for the articulation of a long-term vision for Kenya's quest to enhance her foreign policy relations in a globalized world context. In addition, the written foreign policy is anticipated to shift the balance of international interests from the elite Kenyan leaders to the citizens of Kenya. In reference to planning, a written foreign policy aids in meticulous allocation of resources for its implementation.

Having interrogated Kenya's Foreign policy since independence, the researcher thought it wise to relate it to the conduct of diplomatic activities in Kenya by analyzing the diplomatic trends in Kenya. This was premised on the fact that diplomacy serves as a tool to advance foreign policy objectives and goals.

2.8 Diplomatic Trends in Kenya

There have been notable diplomatic trends across the globe over time. Chapter one, literature review, documents on some of the notable diplomatic trends beginning with the use of trusted messengers to deliver diplomatic communication. This was followed by the introduction of resident ambassadors and later the creation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs that would oversee the conduct of diplomatic activities.

Diplomatic trends are heavily influenced by communication trends given that the two are intertwined. Therefore diplomatic communication has evolved from use of wind powered sailing vessels, steam ships, telegraph, telephones to modern day digital gadgets such as computers and mobile phones. The forms of diplomacy have also augmented over time from track one type of diplomacy to what is currently identified as digital diplomacy.

Kenya is a relatively young nation that acquired independence in the early 1960s and thus the conduct of diplomatic trends has either been pegged on bilateral diplomacy or multilateral diplomacy. Drawing from the written foreign policy in Kenya, bilateral relations continue to be a major avenue of propagating the foreign policy objectives especially in aspects of trade, political, cultural as well as environmental spheres (Republic of Kenya, 2014). Essentially, bilateral relations are characterized by cooperation between two nations at the administrative and political levels besides in academia, civil society matters as well as private sectors. Among the countries key to the bilateral engagements in Kenya are East African Community member States precisely because of their strategic proximity as well as the significant number of Kenyans living in those countries (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

Bilateral relations in Kenya as a Sovereign Country began in 1963 when the country gained independence from Britain. This led to the setting up of diplomatic missions abroad whose key mandate was to strengthen bilateral relations with the different host countries. The setting up of missions abroad has for a long time taken a pragmatic approach given that missions are established based on strategic significance to Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2014). This is in accordance with Rana

(2002) argument that states establish missions upon identifying their niche with a view to strengthen bilateral relations along the target spheres. By 2014, Kenya had 54 diplomatic missions in 49 countries across the globe which are indicators of existent pursuit of bilateral relations. Moreover, Kenya has appointed twenty five Honorary Consuls that aid in promotion of Kenya's interests in the diasporas.

Table 2.1: List of Kenya's Diplomatic Missions in the Five Diplomatic Regions as per Kenya's MFA and International Trade

Region	Countries and Headquarters
Africa	Botswana-Gaborone, Burundi-Bujumbura, Democratic Republic of Congo-Kinshasa, Egypt-Cairo, Libya-Tripoli, Namibia-Windhoek, United Nation Office in Nairobi (UNON) Nigeria-Abuja Rwanda-Kigali, Somalia- NSSF building in Nairobi South Africa-Pretoria, South Sudan- Juba, Sudan-Khartoum, Tanzania-Dar-es-salaam, Uganda-Kampala Zimbabwe- Harare Zambia- Lusaka United Nations Office In Nairobi- Gigiri
Americas	Brazil-Brasilia Canada- Ottawa United States Of America- Washington, Los Angels(Consulate) United Nations-NewYork

Asia and Australasia Region	Australia- Canberra China-Beijing India- New Delhi Japan- Tokyo Malaysia- Kuala Lumpur Pakistan-Islamabad South Korea- Seoul Thailand-Bangkok
Europe Region	Austria- Vienna and UN Belgium-Brussels France- Paris Germany-Berlin Italy-Rome Ireland-Dublin Netherlands-Hague Russia-Moscow Spain-Madrid Sweden-Stockholm Switzerland-Geneva and UN Turkey-Ankara United Kingdom-London UNESCO-Paris
Middle East	Iran-Tehran Israel- Tel-Aviv Kuwait-Kuwait City Omani-Muscat Qatar-Doha Saudi-Arabia-Riyadh UAE-Abu-Dhabi

For the purposes of this study, the functions of diplomatic missions in relation to bilateral relations are discussed along the functions of representation of the sending state: which serves as the basic function of a diplomatic mission. Secondly, protection and promotion of the home country's interests: this is done through keeping abreast with the host country's happenings and assessing all situations that could enhance or hamper relations with the home country. To this end, diplomatic missions are obligated to enhance bilateral relations development in matters such as trade and investment, education, political and cultural aspects. Thirdly, service to citizens: this is where diplomatic missions serve citizens as well as organizations requiring government services offered by the home country. Fourth, negotiation: this is where diplomatic missions on behalf of the home country engage with the host country to resolve disputes as well as foster further relations.

Besides pursuing bilateral relations, Kenya is also keen on enhancing her multilateral relations precisely during a time like this when globalization has heightened the interconnectedness between sovereign nations. The Kenya foreign policy recognizes multilateralism as essential in the quest to promote international peace, security, trade, democracy, human rights as well as sustainable development (Republic of Kenya, 2014). To this end, Kenya subscribes to the mission and vision of United Nations (UN) that is essentially the echelon of multilateral relations bodies in the globe. Other leading global institutions include World Trade Organization which Kenya is party to. In addition, there are regional institutions/organizations that are significant to Kenya's foreign policy that include the East African Community (EAC) Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-

ARC), Commonwealth as well as South-South Cooperation (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

Wanyama (2013) argued that Kenya's foreign policy pursuit on multilateralism was increasingly evidenced after the end of Cold war when focus was centred on East Africa. The Focus on East African Community was aimed at the quest to maintain a peaceful co-existence whilst at the same time promote regionalism among the member states. Through the EAC, Kenya has been at the forefront in the quest to foresee the implementation of common instruments such as a common market, custom union as well as a political federation.

Since then other regional bodies that have shaped Kenya's relations in the quest for regional integration include the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) that addresses matters of sustainable development in the region. There is also the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) which is essential to Kenya in light of economic diplomacy. This is because the bloc provides extensive investment opportunities for Kenyan investors as well as a market for Kenyan export products. In addition, Kenya is a member of the African Union and is especially keen on the support of the AU Agenda on the expansion of intra-African trade as well as the fruition of Africa's potential as a global economic hub.

2.9 Summary and Conclusions

It was the objective of this chapter to survey Kenya's Foreign Policy and diplomatic trends. In light of this, it was demonstrated that the Kenyan foreign policy has since independence embodied pragmatism particularly because of the consideration for

realities of international politics of the time. Consequently, it was evidenced that Kenya's foreign policy exhibits strong control from the President as well as the people chosen to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nonetheless, a change in approach was highlighted in fact by the various presidents when it came to delegation of foreign policy matters whereby President Jomo Kenyatta delegated while President Moi took a hands-on approach. The 1990s were noted as crucial as Kenya experienced a diplomatic golden age by serving as a mediator to war torn countries in Africa. The approach taken by President Kibaki when it came to diplomacy was developmental in nature thus the forging of new international allies such as China, Japan, India and Korea. This led to the so called look East Policy which was in contrast to the conventional look West Policy. In reference to President Uhuru Kenyatta, the approach being pursued could not be adequately analyzed given the limited period covered. However, the Uhuru presidency has exhibited a hands-on approach due to the many foreign trips made by the President.

Ultimately, the conclusions drawn from the four regimes are that the Kenyatta regime was notable in setting up the foreign policy infrastructure upon Kenya gaining independence. Consequently, the Moi regime espoused two unique traits of presidential diplomacy and peace diplomacy that culminated to the diplomatic golden age. The Kibaki regime pursued economic diplomacy while the current presidency (Uhuru Kenyatta) has been notable in presidential diplomacy.

In reference to the diplomatic trends, Kenya was noted to have relied on both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy since independence. The country has 54 diplomatic missions in 49 countries and is signatory to the major multilateral bodies

such as United Nations, African Union, East African Community, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa to mention but a few.

CHAPTER THREE: ICT INFRASTRUCTURE IN KENYA AND THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

3.0 Introduction

ICT has been recognized as a powerful enabler of Sustainable Development at the global level. Kenya in particular recognizes ICT as one of its developmental tools and therefore has integrated it as a driver towards the Vision 2030. One of the chief objectives underscored in Kenya's Vision 2030 is universal access to ICTs. This chapter focused on the ICT environment in Kenya and its integration within the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade.

3.1 Kenya's ICT Environment 1963-2002

Africa has not been left out in the adoption of information communication technologies policies despite the slow pace exhibited by majority of the African nations in their implementation. African Information Society Initiative (AISI) was the regionally created institution mandated to support the implementation of e-government in Africa (Massaba, 2015). Other institutions within the African union that have at one time or another spearheaded or supported development of ICT policies in the region include New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as well as Pan African Development System (PADIS). Asogwa (2011) observes that the aforementioned institutions within the region are evidence of the rationale that development in Africa is grounded on development of Information Communication Technologies.

According to Bowman (2010) a profound understanding of the ICT process in Kenya necessitates knowledge on the postcolonial politics and its linkage to the policy making process. Under the leadership of the first president of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta, policy making in Kenya was grounded on clientelism, neo-patrimonial as well as particularistic patronage (Barkan&Chege, 1989). This was different from when Kenya was still under the British rule where there was a firm administrative structure that segmented Kenyans first based on ethnicity and subsequently into divisions, districts as well as provinces (Klopp, 2001). Between 1977 and 1998 Kenya Post and Telecommunications Corporation (KP&TC) was established by an act of parliament as a monopoly parastatal becoming the sole provider of telephone services in Kenya. Kenyatta's rule was especially skeptical about ICT integration in Kenya as was evidenced in the 1970s when the government imposed punitive measures in the importation of computers (Aduda&Ohaga, 2004). Ironically, the justification made was that computers would result in high rates of unemployment.

Similarly, under the Moi regime computers were viewed with distrust as was apparent in many other African countries. The allocation of resources during the Moi regime was based on loyalty and support for his government. Barkan and Chege (1989) argued that Moi shifted the allocation of resources to regions that had not been favored by his predecessor. In reference to policy making, Moi's regime was decentralized as resources were allocated to those regions whose leaders supported the intents and objectives of his government. According to Klopp (2001) the decentralization during Moi's regime was not well intended as rather than ending the inequity between the wealthy and the underprivileged it propagated selfish political leanings.

During the 1990s Moi's government position in reference to the importation of computers, hardware as well as software was that it posed as a threat to national security. This is because it was perceived that these technologies would lead to the exposure of secrets of the state. Bowman (2010) viewed this as a diversion as Moi run a semi-authoritarian government whose take on integration of computer technology meant a substitute to information source which was a threat to the government given that the 1990s had an increase on a rather powerful opposition. The resistance to integration was so intense such that in 1991 the head of Public Service Commission issued a warning to all government offices prohibiting them to integrate the internet in conduct of their mandate (Bowman, 2010). The existent drafts on informatics policy during this regime were only available to the executive. Subsequently, their content was questionable as it lacked participation of all the relevant stakeholders.

Aduda and Ohaga (2004) observe that the integration of computers in Kenya took a turn in the 1990s when Kenya's telecommunications sector was liberalized despite Moi's government paranoia. The push is linked to the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that began in the late 1980s and were initiated by World Bank as well as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The aforementioned international bodies demanded that for talks to resume with regard to funding Kenya, then Telkom had to be privatized. It is implicit to also note that in 1997, 69 governments consented to a World Trade Organization (WTO) proposition of liberalization of domestic telecommunication markets to foreign competitors (Aduda and Ohaga, 2004). International pressure on the liberalization of the communications sector was also pursued by International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Ultimately, it then

emerges that the evidenced integration of technology in Kenya in the 1990s was not attained due to efforts by the Government of Kenya but rather due to the coercion of the regime by the international stakeholders in the sector. Consequently, the liberalization of the telecommunications sector in the country was articulated in Sessional Paper No.2 of 1996 (Bowman, 2010).

By the year 2000 the world was experiencing increased economic activities in both the telecommunication sector as well as global computing. Drawing from Republic of Kenya Report (2000) the National Y2K steering committee initiated a telecommunications and computing policy pitch by bringing stakeholders in the sector together. Among those who were included in the committee were high level government employees as well as the private sector stakeholders who recommended that the committee be made permanent to steer the country in the quest for ICT integration in development. Nonetheless due to Moi's lack of interest the recommendations were not discussed in cabinet meetings.

3.2 Kenya's ICT Environment 2002-2014

The year 2002 was a historic one in Kenyan politics as it saw a regime change from Kenya African National Union (KANU) to the opposition National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) under the leadership of Kibaki. Kibaki's regime was characterized by profound success in the integration of ICT in Government of Kenya departments as well as ministries. Etta (2005) indicated that the Kibaki regime was characterized by multi-stakeholder politics that allowed for all stakeholders in the ICT sector to assert their role in the ICT policy making process. In addition, the regime recognized the crucial role of ICT in the quest for development in the

country and thus the emphasis on technocratic experience as opposed to former regional ties in the allocation of resources. President Kibaki thus hired Dr. Juma Oketch who had previously acted as the director of Rwandan Information Technology Authority as the director of e-government. Subsequently, the minister of information and communications appointed by Kibaki, Raphael Tuju held a masters in Mass communication from the University of Leicester. Similarly, the permanent secretaries appointed to the ICT ministry were scholars in the field such as Bitange Ndemo. The process of appointing skilled individuals was significant as it allowed them to focus on the development of an ICT policy that actually made sense in the field as opposed to scoring political mileage. Bowman (2010) argued that under the leadership of the NARC government, Kenya began to have open and meaningful conversations about the integration of ICTs as well as the development of policy.

Ministry of Planning and National Development (2003) held an Economic Recovery workshop that sought to motivate the participation of the private sector in the quest to push for economic growth. In the end, it was established as the Economic policy for the NARC regime one that strongly stressed that ICT integration was indispensable in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process. World Bank replicated the process in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa. Subsequently, through the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation that was launched in June 2003 the Kenyan government recognized eight major economy sectors and among them was ICT. During the workshop the government also suggested to have an inter-ministerial committee whose mandate would be to oversee the integration of ICTs in government operations, implement tax reductions on computer software and hardware, invest on ICT training and education as well as review of legal

frameworks that had previously acted as stumbling blocks to adoption of e-commerce.

The year 2004 was profound in relation to ICT integration in Kenya as under the Leadership of Dr. Juma Okech, an E-Government strategy was launched in March 2004 (Republic of Kenya, 2004). The E-government strategy report (2004) generally promised on the increase of computer literacy among government employees, networking of all government ministries, development of government websites as well as the computerization of government office operations. Moreover, it recognizes increased collaboration between the government and the Kenya Private sector on matters relating to ICT integration. This collaboration was evidenced in November 2004, When the Ministry for Information and Communication released a second ICT draft policy during a *National ICT Visioning Workshop* that was organized by the private stakeholders such as Kenya ICT Federation (KIF), civil society organization KICTAnet as well as multilateral donor International Development Research Centre (IDRC) (Kihanya & Oloo, 2004). Among the issues and themes featured during the workshop included ICT in sector visions such as education, government, trade, agriculture, health, industry as well as small and medium enterprises. Other aspects discussed were social justice in ICT as well as the role of government and civil society in the promotion of privatization in the technology sector.

Mulunda (2005) reported that the communication sector had created 12,000 direct jobs besides earning about 714 million dollars annually by the year 2005. Subsequently, more conventions were held by stakeholders in the sector to continue

with the dialogue of ICT integration in Kenya. For example, the Kenyan private sector, non-profit organizations, academics as well as the Kenya ICT community were hosted on March 2005 by Kenya ICT Action Network (KICTAnet) for the Second National Kenyan ICT Convention in Safari Park. The convention led to the development of sector working groups that were mandated with the task of commenting on specified segments of draft Kenya ICT policy.

Kenya's first information communication technology policy was realized in March 2006 and was published through a special issue of the Kenya Government Gazette. The vision embodied in the policy is to have a *prosperous ICT-driven Kenyan Society* while the mission is to *improve the livelihoods of Kenyans by ensuring that the availability of accessible, efficient, reliable and affordable ICT services* (Republic of Kenya, 2006). In view of development, the national (ICT) policy and by extension the Kenyan government identifies that ICTs are essential to social and economic developments as is envisaged in the Economic Recovery Strategy for wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007. It is important to note that the policy was only adopted after significant consultations and revisions drawn from public comments, academics, private sector as well as the civil society.

Subsequently, in 2007 the Government of Kenya (GOK) reiterated that ICT was a key enabler in development as articulated in Kenya's Vision 2030 which is the country's economic blue print. In reference to ICT, the vision as stated in the vision is to *transform Kenya into a truly knowledge and information based economy by enabling access to quality, affordable and reliable ICT services in the country*. The

overall goal is *to facilitate provision of equitable and affordable quality information and communication services countrywide.*

The year 2008 was characterized by further collaboration between the government and the private sector as Kenya Industrial Research and Development Institute (KIRDI) as well as KICT board together with Kamtech Associates which is an Indian software developer company, UNIDO and the Ministry of Industrialization initiated an incubation service (Ncube & Ondiege, 2014). Essentially, the incubation service supports commercial ICT innovations in varied sectors such as education, tourism, health, commerce, agriculture and more so e-government. Moreover, in an effort to work towards the attainment of Kenya's vision 2030 the government launched 2008-2012 Medium Term Plan (MTP) that was grounded on the social, economic and political pillars. Accordingly, drawing from an internal evaluation of the same by the government it emerged that considerable progress had been made in the ICT sector especially in light of the landing of the undersea fiber cable otherwise referred to as The East African Marine Systems (TEAMS) as well as the finalisation of the first phase of National Optic Fibre Backbone Infrastructure (NOFBI) (Republic Of Kenya, 2012). In addition, it was further realised that between 2010 and 2012 the ICT sector had cumulatively created 7000 direct and indirect business process outsourcing jobs which was 500 less the target of 7500 whereas there were 37 digital villages against a target of 210.

Until 2013, the integration of ICT in the GOK was overseen by five distinct organizations that included Ministry of Information and Communications, Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) that serves as the regulator, the

Government Information Technology Service (GITS) that was mandated to provide ministries with computer and technology support, the National Communications Secretariat that is mandated to advance the government's communications policy as well as the Directorate of E-government whose function was to drive information technology adoption in government. As, would be expected, the aforementioned bodies had overriding functions hence the duplication of services. In amid to rectify the situation, Sato (2013) reported that the GITS, Directorate of E-government and the Kenya ICT board had been merged to become the Kenya ICT Authority. The move was deemed necessary due to the apparent duplication of roles that had been exhibited over the time. The merger happened after President Uhuru issued a directive calling for harmonization of all ICT agencies in the Country.

In addition, the GOK has also set up several legal frameworks in an effort to regulate ICTs. These include the 1977 Science and Technology Act, Cap.250, the 1988 Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Act, the 1998 Kenya Communication Act (KCA) and the 2011 Kenya Information and Communications Act, Cap 411A.

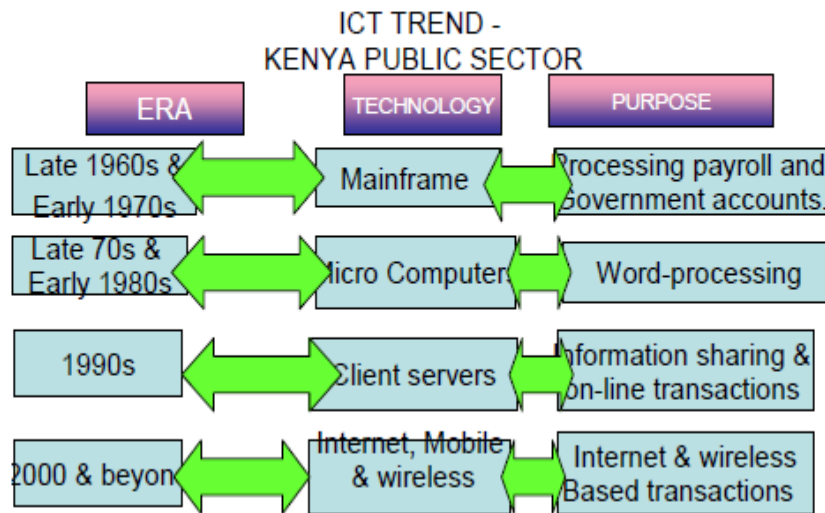
It is implicit to recognize that the first three aforementioned legislations were deemed inadequate in addressing aspects of e-government, electronic commerce and convergence hence the development of Kenya Information and Communications Act that sought to address some of the challenges. The 2006 National ICT policy, serves as a legal framework for ICT integration in Government of Kenya institutions however, there lacks coherence in the available regulations.

3.3 Understanding e-Government in Kenya

It would be erroneous to discuss the application of ICTs In Kenya's MFA and International Trade without first explaining the tenets of E-governance in Kenya. This is precisely because the use of ICTs in government ministries in Kenya is rooted to the quest for E-governance in the country.

According to the Computer Society of Kenya (2013), the history of ICT in Kenya and precisely within the government is traced back to the 1960s when treasury purchased a mainframe computer that automated the payroll services of government employees. This became the epitome of ICT usage in Kenya and for decades it was managed by the Government Information Technology Services (GITS). Bowman (2010) records that mainframe computers were mostly installed in international airlines, universities, government ministries as well as in major parastatals. Siambi (2008) observes that the next major integration of ICTs in Kenya was in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the Microcomputer was embraced for word-processing. Consequently, in the 1990s there was introduction of client servers that aided in information sharing as well as initiated on-line transactions. From 2000 up to present there has been an increase in uptake of Internet, mobile and wireless that are significant when it comes to access of internet and wireless transactions.

Figure 3.1: A Graphical Representation of the ICT Trend in the Kenyan Public Sector



Source: Siambi, W. (2008). *Introduction of ICT in the Public Service Commission of Kenya for Service Delivery: Experience and Challenges*. Canadian International Development Agency.

Essentially, the greatest landmark in the development of ICTs in Kenya were seen after the 2002 election when President Kibaki was elected. Bowman (2010) documented that during Kibaki's first term there was evidence in ICT policy and infrastructural development. For example, there was provision of internet using Code Division Multiple Access (CDMA) and Global System Mobile (GSM) technologies in most postal offices across the country. Fundamentally, CDMA is a kind of digital cellular technology that is known for enhancing the capacity for voice and data communication (Beal, 2015). It was first used as a military technology during the Second World War by the English allies when the Germans had

attempted to jam their transmissions. CDMA technology allows for several subscribers to connect at any given time thus being the cornerstone of 3G technologies (Beal, 2015). Subsequently, mobilecomputing.com (2007) observes that GSM is a digital mobile telephony system that digitizes and compresses data and consequently sends it to a channel with other streams of user data. The GSM technology is traced back to 1991 in Finland. Kenya made further strides in ICT through her participation in acquisition of live marine internet cable through projects such as EASSy, TEAMS as well as SEACOM. The end results were increased internet speeds, reduced prices for mobile consumers as well as diminished broadband pricing for consumers. Nonetheless, Bowman (2010) argues that the infrastructural developments between 2002 and 2007 did not so much benefit Kenyans living in the rural areas rather the biggest beneficiary was the government through wiring of ministries where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was no exception.

ICT integration within government institutions is a growing phenomenon across governments in the world. Governments embed them in service delivery and hence the term E-government. According to United Nations (2006), E-government is defined as the process of delivering government services and information through the employment of the internet and other related information communication technologies. Consequently, governments across the world have come up with custom definitions of e-government. A Kenyan E-government strategy report (2004) defined E-government as the utilization of technologies such as internet, wide area networks and mobile computing in government departments in an effort to re-engineer public service delivery hence enhancing efficiency, effectiveness and

promotion of democracy. The report further articulates that for information technologies to support government operations there was need for investment in other relational aspects such as tools, policies and people. This is in line with the observation made by Otwoma (2012) that for E-government to be a success it is dependent on three essential pre-requisites a minimum threshold level of technology, human capital as well as e-connectivity to all the citizens.

Technology is not a substitute of good policy nevertheless, it gives citizens the power to question the regulators actions as well as bring to the fore systematic issues that would otherwise not have been possible without it (Otwoma, 2012).

The integration of ICTs in Kenya's public sector has been a process of change since the use of mainframe computers to the current utilization of wireless as well as mobile technology. Drawing from the E-government Strategy (2004), ICT has consistently featured in Kenya's development agenda as is articulated in several national plans, government initiatives as well as individual government departments strategic plans. To this end, the overall goal of E-government in Kenya was to make government more result oriented, citizen centred as well as efficient. Subsequently, the specific objectives of the strategy included the following: improve cooperation between government departments thus reducing duplication of efforts as well as enhancing on effectiveness and efficient in resource use. It also seeks increase Kenya's competitiveness through timely provision and delivery of government information and services. In addition, the strategy seeks to cut on transaction costs for the government, citizens as well as the private sector through electronic

provision of products and services. Last but not least to offer a forum for citizen participation in government activities.

In an effort to realize the objectives of e-government strategy a directorate was created Directorate of E-government Kenya in 2004. The body was charged with functions of provision of coordination and advice on issues relating to technology, telecommunications as well as electronic business. Further, it would plan and develop strategies that would direct government operations in all departments besides contribute to the development, analysis and evaluation of technology policies, legislations and issues.

3.4 The Architecture Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Prior to exploring the ICT infrastructure at the ministry of foreign affairs it is important to describe the general structure of the ministry. From a historical perspective, the first Kenyan ministry of foreign affairs was established after independence in 1963. It was known as the Department of External Affairs and was in the office of the Prime Minister. In view of this, the first minister of foreign affairs in Kenya was the then Prime Minister Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. The external Affairs department was later renamed Ministry of State for Foreign Affairs but still fell under the office of the President. The ministry became fully fledged in 1969 with three major divisions that included Political/Economic, Protocol and Administration. In 1980 the ministry was relocated to its present headquarters, the Old Treasury Building (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Upon attaining independence, Kenya established missions in London, Washington, Paris, Cairo, Moscow, Bonn and Peking which is currently referred to as Beijing.

Other diplomatic missions were set up in the course of 1969 in Lusaka, Tokyo, Addis Ababa and New Delhi (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

The Ministry was re-named Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 2013 and hence expanding its mandate as articulated in Executive Order No.2 of May 2013. The Ministry is structured to include sixteen Technical services of foreign affairs, fifteen General administration and support services as well as 54 diplomatic missions spread across the globe.

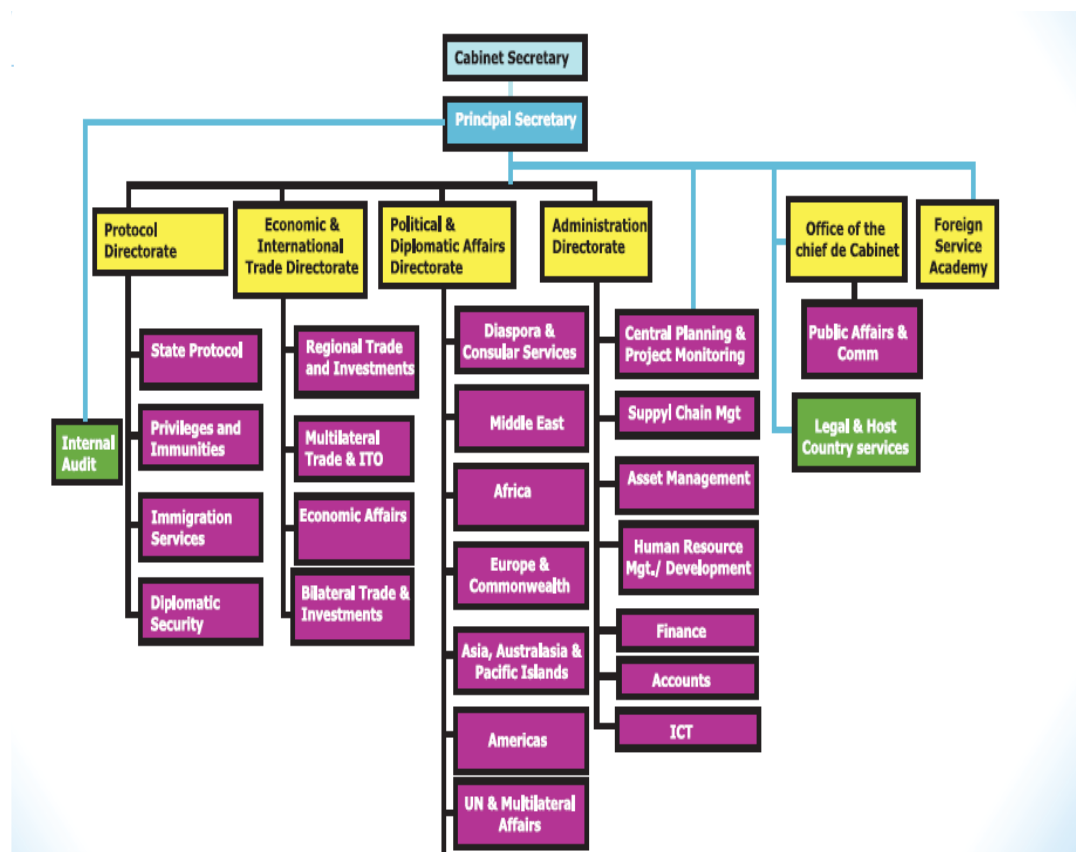
Nonetheless, as stipulated in the ministry's strategic plan 2013/14-2017/18 a new structure of the ministry is articulated in accordance with the new mandate of international trade. The new structure is consistent of four directorates

- 1) **Political and Diplomatic Affairs Directorate:** The directorate is mandated with management of Kenya's Foreign Policy as well as the implementation of Kenya's position and interests in global, regional and bilateral functions of the Ministry. The directorate is headed by a Secretary who leads in the management of eight major departments of the directorate.
- 2) **Economic and International Trade Directorate:** This docket was previously placed under the Ministry of trade. Within the MFA and International trade the directorate is in charge of promoting Kenya's economic and international trade affairs.
- 3) **Protocol Directorate** that is in charge of Kenya's diplomatic issues as well as management of diplomatic and consular missions abroad

4) Administration Directorate: that is charged with the responsibility of administrative and financial management oversight within the ministry as well as the diplomatic missions abroad

Consequently the new ministry's structure provides for the position of Chief de cabinet whose mandate is to manage the offices of both the Cabinet Secretary as well as the Principal Secretary to the Ministry. Moreover, the Foreign Service Institute is a semi-autonomous Foreign Service Academy. In the same vein, the division of legal and host country affairs is set to be elevated to a self-governing department.

Figure 3.2: The Structure of the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014). *Strategic Plan 2013/2014-2017/2018*.

Government Press.

3.5 Application of ICTs in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

For purposes of presentation, this study was grounded on two essential explanatory frameworks that guided the researcher in investigating the use of ICT in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international trade. First there is the Actor Network Theory that indicates that an institution is consistent of two major aspects in reference to ICT integration that are human actors as well as the non-human actors. The researcher acknowledges that the integration of ICTs in diplomacy vis-à-vis digital diplomacy is consistent of both the human as well as the non-human actors. The human actors are necessitated to have the right skills and knowledge to utilize the non-human actors which in this case are the ICTs in the quest to achieve Kenya's diplomatic objectives. As such, the researcher investigated the non-human aspects of the Ministry of Foreign affairs and International Trade which form the ICT infrastructure. In addition, the researcher went ahead to investigate the status of the human actors in terms of acquiring the right skills and knowledge on ICTs. Consequently, the theory informs on the two major players involved in a communication context the actor as well as the actant. For purposes of this study, the researcher distinguished the actor as the non-human aspects such as machines, hybrids, hardware and software which generally form ICTs. Subsequently, actants are identified as the collective bodies that form or discontinue relations or form associations hence has much to do with the human aspects of an institution.

Towards this end, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has an Information and Communication Technology Division that is charged with the following functions: managing the Ministry's information and communication

facilities, developing and executing the Ministry's ICT strategy, advise the Ministry on management of current ICT options as well as solutions and provide technical support to staff on matters related to information communication technologies. In addition, the division regularly up-dates the Ministry's website maintains and updates the inventory on ICT equipment's in the Ministry, facilitate proper maintenance as well as support all ICT equipments in the Ministry. The division also facilitates training of staff on matters of using and handling ICT equipments available to them (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). The Ministry is equipped with the following Mail servers, website, virtual LAN (VLANS) and security systems. Rehema¹ an officer at the ICT department indicated that

Some of the ICT equipments available at the Ministry include laptops, computers, tablets, printers, photocopiers, internet phones, wired internet, Wi-Fi internet, mail servers as well as scanners." The respondent went ahead to clarify that every member of staff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has access to a computer, shared photocopier and printer. Subsequently, all the heads of department are provided with a tablet that is easier to carry around when they go for conferences and meetings.

This illustrates that the Ministry of foreign affairs has already procured some of the relevant technological gadgets that are needed in the implementation of digital diplomacy.

It is significant to realize that in some instances the lower level staff members have to share computers. Radunovic (2010) explains that the evolution of small devices with functionality applications similar to computers such as lap-tops, tablets, digital pads and palm tops that have essentials such as integrated microphone and camera

¹ Rehema-not real name

as well as ability to connect to wireless internet allows for mobility of work across the diplomatic circles.

Additionally, another respondent noted that the Ministry had acquired a teleconferencing facility, security hardware as well as access to a satellite equipment that is used to share security information with the relevant stakeholders.

In another instant Sunkuli² a senior officer in the Economic and International Trade Directorate indicated that

For a start, the Ministry is focusing on having relevant ICT platforms such as the ERP which is short for Enterprise Resource Planning. This is an ICT tool that will help us in fully digitising our operations vis-à-vis content and records. This is because we appreciate the fact that for E-diplomacy to function we must be able to relay information to users, clients and partners online.

This denotes tacit knowledge among the ministry staff on the prerequisite ICT infrastructure needed to advance the concept of digital diplomacy in MFA & IT.

Drawing from the Ministry's Strategic Plan 2013/14-2017/18 the Ministry sought to strengthen its ICT Capacity and infrastructure through acquisition of items such as video conferencing facilities, computers, VSAT Technology, cloud computing as well as high speed network printers and copiers. Moreover, the Ministry envisions upgrading its ICT infrastructure to host the Global web Portal, Virtue Private Network as well as Electronic Document Management System. Additionally, the Ministry plans on enhancing its virtual connectivity with its missions abroad besides installing varied systems for information and data management as well as enabling

² Sunkuli- not real name

real time reporting. Last but not least the Ministry also plans on further enhancing the uptake of ICTs by its staff members through training for purposes of improving on service delivery and efficiency (Republic of Kenya, 2014).

In the global context, the developed countries have more complex ICT integrations such as blogs and avatars. According to Pingdom (2010) blogging has become a popular practice in the recent past such that by the end of 2009 there were 126 million blogs that had been created. The practice of blogging has been embraced by some of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs across the globe. This can be exemplified by the official blogs of the US Department of State (<http://blogs.state.gov/>) or of Israel (<http://www.isrealli.org/>). Copeland (2009) stated that the British and Swedish Foreign Ministers encourage the practice of blogging among their diplomats. This helps in creating virtual identities for the aforementioned countries.

Consequently, the developed countries have integrated virtual embassies that use virtual representatives that are otherwise referred to as avatars. Radunovic (2010) explained that the integration of avatars is beneficial as it creates a dummy feeling of proximity and presence. Ideally, this is seen as a replacement to the aspect of real touch which is not offered by other integrations of Technologies. Countries such as Maldives, Sweden, Serbia, Macedonia, Philippines, Estonia and Albania have integrated virtual embassies in the Web-based 3D virtual universe that is popularly referred to as *Second Life* (Copeland, 2009).

TechCrunch (2009) indicated that viewers of YouTube watch an approximated 1.2 billion videos in a day. In view of this mass audience, some Ministries of Foreign

Affairs have integrated the use of smartly planned videos in spreading their foreign policy objectives. In addition, they have established YouTube channels to enhance this cause. Video sharing is essentially utilized by educational institutions however in the recent past international organizations have integrated YouTube as tool of dialogue and information sharing such as Internet Governance Forum of United Nations (<http://www.youtube.com/igf>).

3.6 The Uses of ICTs in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

The sampled respondents were asked "What are some of the common uses of ICT in your line of work? The researcher compiled some of the mentioned uses of ICT in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to include the following.

3.6.1 Online dissemination of information

Through the Ministry's official website www.mfa.go.ke there is improved dissemination of information. Musau³ a senior officer at the Political and Diplomatic Affairs Directorate stated that

We provide and update information on the website on a need to know basis. As such, sensitive information may not be featured on the website. Nonetheless, this has enhanced the visibility of the Ministry to the public and our clients.

The need to know basis means that the information published on the website is for public consumption and hence is not covert. Publishing of the information on the

³ Musau- Not the real name

website enhances the visibility of the ministry in the cyber world which is key in today's world as more people search for information over the internet.

Rehema (O.I.,2016) explained that

Dissemination of information through our website is qualitative by virtue of the fact that we can incorporate pictorials for example some of our tourists destinations in the country. This indeed brings the narratives projected in the content to life hence convincing our clients, stakeholders and partners.

Publishing information on the website allows for inclusion of supportive materials that makes it easier to sell a country or build a brand. It is important to note that people learn more through seeing pictorials or videos as opposed to just reading marketing texts.

Information dissemination in the Ministry is also pursued through the Ministry's Social media platforms such as the Ministry's Facebook page that had over 10,000 likes/followers by the time the study was being conducted as well as a Twitter account@ForeignOfficeKE that had over 89,000 followers. The Social Media platforms are used to disseminate information about important day to day activities conducted by the MFA&IT. Similarly, the social media platforms allow for incorporation of photos, audio and video content which amplifies the intended message or narrative. Laban⁴ an officer in Public Affairs and Communication department at the ministry opined that

Our social media platforms have come in handy in communicating our daily activities, uploading of speeches made by our Cabinet

⁴ Laban –not the real name

Secretary as well as the Permanent Secretary and in some instances the President.

This is a visible effort of harnessing technology in the conduct of diplomacy as well as trying to reach to the online community which is growing in volumes as the uptake of smart phones and access to the internet blossoms.

Keohane and Nye (2006) articulated that dissemination of free information heightens the potential for persuasion in world politics. In a national perspective the ability to control information use or abuse it to a country's advantage is a way of empowerment in the international context.

3.6.2 Online Sharing of Documents and Memos

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has an intranet platform Zimbra that facilitates online sharing of documents and Memos. Radunovic (2010) explained that intranets are corporate computer networks that allow information sharing within an institution. Jonathan⁵ an ICT officer at the ministry noted that Zimbra was integrated in the Ministry to provide a collaboration platform for open source email, contacts, documents and many more features.

Zimbra allows us to digitally share memos as opposed to having hard copy productions.

This is an indication of awareness about the existence of the intranet feature within the ministry.

Rehema (O.I., 2015) described Zimbra as

⁵ Jonathan- not the real name

A document sharing facility that allows the staff at the Ministry to access information but is dependent on the level of access. This means that the access to documents shared is limited to the staff members that have authorization to interact with the information at hand.

The above definition denotes that zimbra has levels of access which is important in diplomacy when dealing with information that is classified as highly sensitive and thus should only be known by few people.

Laban (O.I., 2015) described Zimbra as a centralised mailing system that allows us to share documents online with our colleagues despite the geographical differences. This allows for faster access, action as well as saves on time.

This is in contrast to a physical filing department in offices where a lot of time is spent searching for the information needed by the various diplomats and subsequently handed to them. This poses several risk such as loss of data due to negligence or calamities such as fire.

Mundia⁶ who is an ambassador in UN described the internet in the following words

The internet in general has really helped in sharing of documents online. This enhances our efficiency as diplomats can share documents such as resolutions in conferences almost in real time. On the down side internet connectivity in some of our missions abroad is very poor and as such the traditional forms of sharing such documents which is the diplomatic bag are still very much in use.

Access to the internet hastens the process of sharing documents however, this is only applicable in countries that have invested in developing the ICT infrastructure. This means that the diplomatic bag is still very important in situations where the host country has very poor internet.

⁶ Mundia-not the real name

The online sharing of documents was noted to have drastically reduced the contents of the traditional diplomatic bag. Beth Ann⁷ a senior officer in AU and African Affairs stated

The diplomatic bag has drastically reduced as many of the documents that require the attention of Ministry officials and diplomats are electronically shared. In fact, the cost of the diplomatic bag has also reduced given that it is only the top secret documents that are sent using it.

Nonetheless, some of the respondents were skeptical about online sharing of documents citing poor security systems. For example, Laban (O.I.,2016) explained that

The diplomatic bag will always continue to be an integral part of diplomatic work and diplomatic communication. As long as the Internet remains highly insecure it means that foreign services around the world will never completely abandon the diplomatic bag. The diplomatic bag is for secure communication and for original text that require signature, confidential and legal material as well. This will not change in the near future.

This indicates a very important global issue of internet privacy and security especially at a time when incidences of hacking are on the rise globally.

Austin⁸ an officer in the Bilateral Trade and Investments docket explained that

Indeed the internet has enhanced online sharing of documents however; we should not forget the threats posed should there be a security breach at the Ministry. The Ministry needs to improve on

⁷ Beth Ann- not the real name

⁸ Austin- not the real name

securing its systems and servers for there to be enhanced sharing of documents online.

The convenience of online sharing of information is at times diluted by security breaches which can lead to the leak of covert information as was evidenced by the infamous wikileaks.

Rosemary⁹ who is a senior officer in the Political and Diplomatic Directorate defended a security breach of government's websites in 2014 saying that

As much effort as possible was being put in place to securitize information and documents in the Ministry. For example, we often encourage our staff to password protect their documents when sharing them over the internet. Consequently, we are also looking at encrypting measures such that approved Ministry officials can learn institutional codes that can enhance their online interaction while at the same time safeguarding national secrets.

Securing information online requires the input of all those entrusted with it by adoption of proactive measures of password protecting documents prior to sharing them online. To this end, the ministry should entrench this in training of staff besides incorporate it as a policy.

However, the researcher observed that despite there being an online sharing facility for memos many of them were still being typed, printed and subsequently distributed to the various departments at the Ministry. Upon probing further, it was noted that some people do not recognize emails as official communication. Laban (O.I., 2016) explained that

Email has never been official and neither are soft copy documents as such they have to be printed, signed and then physically distributed to the relevant departments. The Communications Unit receives the

⁹ Rosemary – not the real name

memo, scans the memo, print several copies and subsequently circulates to all the directorates.

This applies mostly in external memos. This dilutes the perceived benefit of cost reduction on paper and printing costs. Gabriel¹⁰ senior human resource officer noted that

We are starting to accept emails partially especially those that are sent from the centralized mailing system. However, you will realize that the younger officers will accept them more as opposed to the older staff who will insist on the mails and documents being printed before they can act on them. In the directorates, it is the secretaries who receive the mails and documents which they print and subsequently forward to their bosses for action.

This evidences that there is no clear policy in the ministry articulating the formality of emails thus creating a loophole that can lead to inaction of online documents by some of the members of staff. Given the difference of opinion among the staff in the ministry there is need for the ministry to have an official stand on the matter.

3.6.3 Direct Communication

The integration of ICTs in MFAs has also enhanced communication. This should be understood against a background of appreciating that diplomacy is indeed communication. In Kenya's MFA&IT, communication is in form of briefs, reports, speeches, diplomatic notes and messages as well use of non-verbal forms of communication. The use of emails has indeed revolutionized written communication in diplomacy. E-mails allow diplomats to send long diplomatic letters almost in real time. Angelica¹¹, an officer in charge of the communications unit stated that

¹⁰ Gabriel- not the real name

¹¹ Angelica- not the real name

The communications unit receives over 200 emails on a daily basis. The emails are sorted out and subsequently forwarded to the relevant departments. Ideally, the integration of emails was supposed to reduce paper work however, many are the times that those emails will be printed. To this end, I could say that we pay so much lip service to reduction in costs through use of the varied ICT tools yet we still want to do things the old way.

This evidences a case where there is adoption of technology but its utmost benefits are not felt as the old way of doing things prevails.

Musau (O.I., 2016) opined that

The beauty of using emails in sending long letters is that you have the option of sending it to different people at one time this saves on time and enhances my efficiency. Indeed, the convenience of using emails as a communication tool cannot be overemphasized in my line of work.

Bulk sending of emails saves on time which means that the sender does not need to have a whole day doing administrative duties as this is made easier and convenient by online platforms.

Moreover, use of emails is now complimented by other forms communications such as real time short messages sent via mobile phones, video chats as well as audio.

This well covered by Wangeci¹² an officer in UN & Multilateral office

The speed at which diplomatic messages are transmitted has drastically changed over time and space. Today, I can just call a colleague to confirm if he or she has received an email. This improves on efficiency besides enhances service delivery which is ideal in this fast paced world.

¹² Wangeci- not the real name

Multimedia utilization enhances efficiency and ensures that the sender and the recipient are aware of the actions of the other. This minimizes the chances of sending a diplomatic message via email but the recipient does not check the email on time.

Beth Ann (O.I., 2016) observed that

Due to the convenience of using ICT as a tool of communication the nature of diplomatic messages has also changed hence being shorter as clarification can easily be sought through sending messages that would be replied in real time. Prior to these changes you had to make sure that everything needed in the diplomatic message is put in the diplomatic bag as failure to that would mean waiting for a week or more to have the correct and desired message delivered.

The burden of ensuring that all details are put in the diplomatic bag lest you have to wait a week or so to send another diplomatic bag is minimized in the digital age. This is because any clarifications needed to a diplomatic message can be sought in real time.

Nonetheless, the utilization of instant messengers comes with the burden of expectations of instant reply. Failure to reply leads to a row by the receiver and the sender. In the diplomatic circles, this can be interpreted as a signal detailing lack of willingness.

3.7 Training on ICT

The success of ICT integration as earlier stated is also dependent on having a skilled workforce that can tap into the potential of ICT tools at their disposal to attain institutional or diplomatic goals and objectives. Digital diplomacy is largely dependent on competency of skills and knowledge among the staff at Kenya's

MFA&IT. In regard to their training on ICT skills, Gabriel (O.I., 2016) a Human Resource official indicated that

The Government Policy asserts that we have to train our officers in all areas and use of ICT is not excluded. Every officer is entitled to five days of training each year. To this end, we do a capacity building audit of our staff for purposes of identifying the skills gap and eventually offer them training on the areas identified. I can confirm that indeed some of our officers have a skills gap on the utilization of ICTs and we have enrolled some for a certificate in computer applications. Moreover, we have a ministerial training committee that considers requests for training from our officers. They also rely on supervisors who identify the needs of officers attached to their departments and divisions. Training of the staff is however dependent on the availability of resources allocated specifically for capacity building. We also face the challenge of having to strike a balance between giving our staff study leave and having enough human resource to ensure that their duties are catered for during their absence.

The benefits of technology are only plausible when the staff members in the ministry are able to harness their potential while conducting their mandate. The case of digital diplomacy is not exempted as diplomats need to have the requisite skills to adequately employ them for the benefit of the country and achievement of diplomatic objectives and goals

Sunkuli (O.I., 2016) explained that

Some of the organized trainings in reference to ICT are impromptu however there are annual trainings in each financial year for purposes of emphasizing on the issue of ICT security. The organized training are differentiated on a seniority basis hence we have trainings for the top notch ministry officials, for the middle level officials as well as the low-level officials. The content in trainings is majorly directed by

the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in collaboration with Kenya School of Government as well as the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies at University of Nairobi. Most of the training we have had so far have focused on the use of computer applications such as Word, Excel and Power point presentations. Given that these are very short trainings we are forced to at times develop short cards or reminders that are put on the users' desktops for purposes of reminding them how to access online resources such as e-newspapers.

Trainings that are impromptu may not have the desired benefits to the trainees as they may be absent while those present may not be in the right state of mind to acquire the requisite skills. As such, the ministry should have structured trainings that move beyond the basic skills of computer applications to efficient utilization of social media in propagation of a desired narrative.

Consequently, Rehema (O.I., 2016) noted that trainings happen

When we have a new kind of technology, we train the staff that will be using it on how to use it as well as understand its features and how it is supposed to make their work easier. For example, when we moved to Zimbra we trained all the staff members on the procedure of access as well as their level of access of information in the intranet system.

It is indeed right for the members of staff to be taught on how to utilize a new pieces of technology lest it remains unused due to fear of being embarrassed or venturing into new frontiers. For the staff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to log into Zimbra they are required to have an official email with the ministry.

Additionally, the researcher found out that FSI had developed a new curriculum that had a component of digital diplomacy. This is identified as an entry level course

titled Information Communication Technology (ICT) & Diplomacy. It consists of sub-components such as Microsoft Office Packages, Internet and Diplomacy, Security of Information and Communication, Digital diplomacy as well as Information Communication Technology in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & International Trade.

The guiding objective to the aforementioned components is 1) to understand the use of technology for effective modern day diplomacy 2) to understand the impact of ICT on traditional forms of diplomatic communication and 3) to understand the effects of social media on diplomacy (Government of Kenya, 2015).

3.8 Application: Levels of ICT Integration

The researcher drew from levels of e-governance integration as a description measure for the level of ICT integration in the Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international trade. In view of this, the researcher was grounded by the levels of publishing, interacting as well as transaction as provided in Chapter one on Theoretical Framework (Centre for Democracy and Technology, 2002).

3.8.1 Publishing

The publishing stage entails the simple provision of information about the Ministry. Drawing from www.mfa.go.ke there is provision of information about the mission, vision as well as the core values of the ministry. Subsequently, the website is outlined with the core functions of the Ministry.

As earlier mentioned, The MFA&IT provides information to the public on a need to know basis and as such the website was noted to be updated depending on the events

of the Ministry. Nonetheless, the researcher observed that the most regular form of update in the website was the section of employment opportunities.

Agencies that own their own website are more likely to develop than those whose content is developed. The Ministry's website is hosted by the ICT Authority. A respondent Jonathan (O.I., 2016) an ICT officer at the ministry is quoted saying

The ministry has access to its website but its control is done by ICT authority. To this end, we develop the content and send it to the ICT authority for uploading.

This indicates that the ICT department at the ministry mandate is not robust besides signify that the ministry has not heavily invested in ICT infrastructure.

Further, it is important to mention that, the ICT personnel is not trained on diplomatic standards of communication as such the content is developed by the department in charge of a given function and later forwarded to the ICT personnel for purposes of editing and compression to the required standards.

3.8.2 Interaction

It allows for interaction between the Government and the Citizens (G2C), Government to Government (G2G) as well as Government to Business (G2B). The Ministry's website and social media platforms reveal that there are very low levels of interaction between the government agency and the citizens. This is evidenced by the lack of a feedback form in the official website of the Ministry. Moreover, in the social media platform the agency does not respond to comments and questions. Rosemary (O.I., 2016) indicated that

We do have a specific officer charged with the mandate of interacting with the citizens on a full time basis.

Nonetheless, the official Ministry's website had contact details to the ministry which included an email address, phone numbers as well as an SMS line.

3.8.3 Transaction

The transaction level of integration allows citizens to access ministerial services online. In this regard, the Ministry of foreign affairs website had features that allowed for transaction of business online particularly so in reference to consular services. These include application for visa, passport renewals, name change in passports, registration forms for Kenyans living abroad, registrations forms for children born abroad, dual citizenship forms as well as issuance of Kenya National Identity Cards. Other consular services accessible to citizens in the Ministry's website as well as missions' websites were certificates of police clearance, certificate of impediment to Marriage, issuance of pet import license, duplicate Marriage Certificate as well as Transportation of deceased persons.

3.9 Summary and Conclusions

It was the objective of this chapter to explore the ICT infrastructure in Kenya and in particular in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The chapter has provided a historical background of ICT integration in the country. In light of this, the chapter has demonstrated that integration of ICT in the public sector has been a slow process marred by skepticism and suspicion by the subsequent regimes in Kenya until President Mwai Kibaki's regime. The evolution of integrated

information communication technologies in Kenya's public service is traced back to the Main frame computers to today's mobile technology.

ICT was linked to several benefits at the MFA&IT such as enhanced efficiency in ministerial duties, improved delivery of services to clients, improved visibility of the ministry in a global context, reduced transaction costs as well as increased competitiveness especially in a world that is immensely fast paced.

The conclusion drawn in the chapter is that ICTs use in Kenya's MFA&IT includes online dissemination of information, direct communication as well as sharing of documents and memos. Nonetheless, its usage is faced by challenges of low infrastructural development, lack of training as well as information security concerns. In addition, the ministry lacks a digital diplomacy strategy that can guide the staff on how to effectively utilize the available ICTs in promoting the Nation's interests in the global platform.

CHAPTER FOUR: APPLICATION OF ICTS IN KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMATIC PROCESSES

4.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have endeavored to demonstrate the intricate link between ICT and diplomacy that results in digital diplomacy. This is premised from a point of appreciating that diplomacy is being conducted in a new environment characterized by pervasive use of ICTs. Therefore, this chapter sought to explore ICT integration in foreign policy and diplomatic processes.

4.1 Application of ICTs in Kenya's Foreign Policy Process

The discussion on application of ICTs in the foreign policy process begins with understanding what is constituted in the process. Comprehension of the foreign policy process will then serve as a guide in identifying how ICTs can be harnessed to achieve foreign policy objectives. This study articulates that effectively managing the foreign policy process is characterized by several key activities that include information gathering, knowledge management, policy planning and coordination as well as implementation.

Therefore this study evaluated the application of ICTs in Kenya's Foreign Policy Process by focusing on the above stated elements in the foreign policy process. This was anchored within the tenets of the Actor Network Theory. This is based on the argument that the application of ICTs in the foreign policy process necessitates both actors and actants. The theory defines actors as the non-human aspects thus inclusive of machines such as computers, tablets, internet, websites, hybrids and

texts among other aspects. Actants on the other hand are defined as the agents of a process thus the humans or individuals involved in the foreign policy process.

4.1.1 Information Gathering

According to Johnson and Hall (2002) the foreign policy process necessitates continuous gathering of information as well as its analysis with a view to devise strategies that can further enhance the implementation of a state's foreign policy. Diplomats are entrusted to gather and analyze information about the host country and report back to the headquarters Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the context of a digitized world, diplomats have to deal with information overload hence the daunting task of isolating relevant and significant information for one's home country from meaningless information. Information about the host countries is now easily available as most Ministries of Foreign Affairs across the world publish online resources such as speeches from stakeholders, press releases, unrestricted internal correspondence, official statements as well as information available on the websites (Nalwanga, 2011).

Rosemary (O.I., 2016) observed that:

Information gathering in the diplomatic circles has been made easier as most countries in the international platform as well as organizations such as the UN and the AU have active websites with a provision of a search engine that further enhances the process. Prior to online information, we had to go to the libraries and begin with a catalogue that took so much time.

The ease in information gathering is attributed to the entrenchment of ICTs in almost all sectors of a country's social-cultural, political and economic aspects that are relevant to other states or the international community in general. It is worth mentioning here that this ease in information gathering is only applicable to

diplomats who have accepted and learnt how to effectively utilize the actors or rather technologies at their disposal. The technology laggards on the other hand view information gathering in online platforms as complex and time consuming particularly if they do not know how to navigate the ICTs equipments at their disposal.

Similar sentiments were echoed by BethAnn (O.I., 2016) who described that:

Information gathering has drastically changed since there is so much information available in online platforms. In the 1990s we used to go to the library and read through the thick Europa books just to sift background information of a country of interest to our relations. For one to produce a draft or brief about the target country there was no alternative but to spend endless hours in the library or at the national archives. However, the case today is different as diplomats are dealing with information overload and hence the challenge now is to sieve and critically analyze the information.

Diplomats serving during the traditional times were dealing with issues of lack of information for their issue of interest. The contrast is true in the current digitized world, diplomats have so much information at their disposal and hence have to critically analyze it in a bid to effectively advise their native governments on what to act on and what to ignore.

Khaemba¹³ an officer in the Economic Affairs department indicated that:

Information gathering in the digitalized world is much more convenient. Today, one can keep tabs on a country of interest through its online platforms. In addition, countries are able to easily learn what other countries are doing just by a click of a button and use of search engines. In addition, there is no need to arrange for expensive trips in the name of information gathering as one is likely to get almost all the information required through online platforms. And in the event of the information being technical the World Wide Web allows for video sharing and online watching of videos available in platforms such as YouTube.

¹³ Khaemba-not the real name

Given that information on what is currently happening across the globe is uploaded online in real time, it then means that diplomats have to actively keep tabs on the predominant narratives online that can be of help to the state that they represent. Failure to do this will lead to states learning about what is going on in the host state from news cables and newspapers as opposed to the diplomat charged with that mandate. The convenience of accessing information at a click of a button then means that diplomats have to analyze information and relay the same inclusive of all the probable dimensions to the headquarters back home for decisive action to be taken. Besides convenience, online gathering of information is also inexpensive as the need for foreign trips are minimized and thus such trips planned only when there is utmost need to do so.

When asked whether there was a prescribed guideline for diplomats when it comes to online gathering of information. All the respondents were in agreement that there was no written stipulation on how and where they should source online information. However, there was also a general agreement that some online sources of information are not authenticated and hence diplomats should use them with a lot of caution. Julius¹⁴ an officer in Diaspora and Consular services department stated that

There are no recommended sources per se but of course websites such as Wikipedia may not be the best. It is good to get authoritative information from sources such as official websites of countries and organizations such as the United States of America Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) fact files as well as the UN data repository that is rich in international information that can enhance relations.

¹⁴ Julius- not the real name

Given that online information gathering is a continuing aspect with nations increasingly having open data repositories, in Kenya for example there is the Kenya National Bureau of Statics that provides essential information such as trade volumes between countries, there is need for diplomats to be trained on effective information gathering in the virtual world.

The change in information gathering has precisely been described by Hocking and Melissen (2015) as moving beyond the Siloed approach in capital cities of countries to a cyber-approach where information is sourced in networks in the World Wide Web. This allows like-minded regimes to easily share and corroborate information.

4.1.2 Knowledge Management (aspects of km include creation, retention / sharing)

According to Hanson (2012) knowledge management in foreign policy should be viewed as the ability to harness all departmental and government knowledge such that it can be safely secured, retained, shared as well as optimally used in the quest to advance national interests abroad. For a long time, the pursuit of foreign policy objectives have been placed on individual diplomats in host countries which makes it difficult to pursue after their exit or replacement. The era of paper files did allow foreign ministries to store information however the process of retrieval, sharing or pooling it in the quest for new innovation was rather tedious and complex (Hanson, 2012). Nevertheless, with the integration of ICTs in MFAs and diplomatic missions abroad the three significant processes of knowledge management in foreign policy that are storage (ability to conveniently file and archive online communications), retention (ability to determine policy related communications and how they can

easily be made available) as well as sharing and pooling (ability to share information with other stakeholders to allow collaboration and development of new innovations) are made easy and efficient.

Similarly, Nalwanga (2011) asserted that technology advancement has not only led to efficiency in diplomatic communication but has further improved on storage of gathered information. The processing and duplicating of information to the varied foreign policy actors has also been made easier and cheaper due to the invention of the photocopier or access of documents in soft copy format. Generally, ICTs have reduced the laborious processes of diplomatic communication exemplified in traditional diplomacy (Nalwanga, 2011).

In Kenya's MFA&IT the respondents were in agreement that the ministry lacked a knowledge management system. They were also quick to point out that there were plans to have one in the near future. Jonathan (O.I., 2016) from the ICT department indicated that there are plans to have a knowledge management system that will help in the storage of information within the ministry and missions abroad.

Rehema (O.I., 2016) indicated that:

Our servers have everything that goes on in the ministry presently. What is happening now is automatically being digitized as it goes to a central repository. The remaining bit is to have prior institutional knowledge being digitized and hence the installation of an ideal knowledge management system.

Bilha¹⁵ an administration assistant stated that:

Currently, we rely on each directorate having a soft copy filing system that is complemented by hard copy files stored in the registry. However, we are in the process of integrating a knowledge management system as well as a central repository that will allow members of staff to access information if at all they have the credentials to do so. The files are categorized according to their level of security hence there are open files as well as top secret files that necessitate right to access.”

The above responses evidence that the ministry does not have a knowledge management system but appreciates that it is important to have one installed for purposes of enhancing the storage, sharing and retrieval of institutional knowledge of the ministry. There is thus need for progression from having a strategic plan to actualizing it.

The researcher observed that the Ministry was very much reliant on hard copy files. This is because at every instance in the Ministry, there was circulation of thick files to different offices as well as subsequent calls to the registry office requesting for certain files.

Musau (O.I.,2016) explained that:

The process of having a knowledge management system is ongoing but we have had some successful initiatives towards this end such as the integration of intranet as well as building of a central portal for the ministry and the missions abroad. This process needs to be beefed up through budget allocation for aspects of Research and Design, development of ministerial work templates for identified functions and role as well as increased documentation of the staff’s tacit knowledge. In addition, we need to ensure that once the global web portal for the ministry and its missions is operational then it should be inclusive of significant features such as a search engine, e-groups that can allow for e-participation and exchange of ideas as well as a component for e-learning particularly for the diplomats that have a

¹⁵ Bilha-not the real name

challenge tapping into the knowledge management system. These efforts will enhance the transfer of knowledge among the staff at the ministry and missions abroad. Several countries across the world such as America, Turkey and European countries are already enjoying the benefits of such a smart knowledge management system. It is my view that these efforts will have such a huge benefit for us as a third world country particularly because we will have a competitive advantage. It will also cut off on aspects of duplication of work and instead allow for innovation that will enhance digital diplomacy”.

This denotes existence of tacit knowledge among the staff members on what is needed in the ministry to enhance its digital capability. Further, it pinpoints that actualization of strategic plans should be accompanied by allocation of sufficient resources for implementation purposes.

Best practice in knowledge management across the globe indicate that knowledge management in organizations helps in location of institutional knowledge resources, identification of aspects of excellence, reduction in wastage of knowledge, reduction of knowledge duplication as well as enhancing knowledge transfer across departments (Hanson, 2012). In the case of digital diplomacy, knowledge management is very essential especially when working involves utilization of a wide range of information sources, different personnel situated in varied locations across the globe, dissimilar interests and platforms.

4.1.3 Policy Planning and Coordination

Upon managing the information gathered into significant systems of Knowledge, the next ideal step in a foreign policy process as per this study is policy planning. Policy planning allows for valuable oversight, coordination as well as planning of foreign policy across the international system . Coordination is significant as now more than ever more ministries other than MFAs are engaging with foreign republics such as

trade, transport, environment and tourism to mention but a few. Policy planning for different nations in the international system necessitates framing the foreign policy discourse to align with the target audience. As such, policy planning in a digital world requires understanding the digital tools needed to coordinate with all the relevant stakeholders at the national level besides reach the target audience in the international context. For example, in an international conference whose theme was titled *Digital diplomacy: Prospects and Challenges* Canada's ambassador to Myanmar noted that the digital tools consistently used by varied nations are different. The digital tool prevalent in China for instance is Weibo compared to Facebook that dominates in Myanmar (Hanson, 2012).

In view of the valuable oversight, digital tools such as search engines allow nations to monitor and evaluate the favorable digital tools to reach a wide audience in a given country. This allows diplomats to easily spread narratives aligned to foreign policy objectives and later assess the impact of utilizing the chosen digital tools. The process not only helps in knowledge addition to the States but further strengthens their strategies when it comes to the subjective/one-sided policy planning decisions. Coordination in a digital policy planning context becomes prerequisite when the State utilizes different digital platforms to sell their foreign policy objectives and goals hence ensure harmonization of narratives used to attain the goals.

Mundia (O.I., 2016) observed that:

The ubiquitous use of information communication technologies has to a certain extent increased the number of stakeholders involved in foreign policy articulation and implementation. Many of the new stakeholders are in Non- Governmental organizations with interests across all regions of the globe. Currently, such organizations have mastered the power of the internet and hence lobby for their interests

through online engagements by disseminating their dossiers and proposals. In view of this, the ministry is increasingly having several contacts to email in regard to its position on certain matters of interest such as environment and protection of wild animals from poachers. Within the ministry, coordination of sending of documents written by working groups of foreign policy is made easier by the centralized mailing system. By and large, the Ministry is working towards enhancing its ICT infrastructure to allow for sophisticated use of technology in foreign policy planning and coordination.

In today's interconnected world, the interests articulated in a nation's foreign policy document are scrutinized by many interested stakeholders. ICT integration enhances the aspect of coordination among such stakeholders. In conventional diplomacy, the ministry of foreign affairs would require to organize physical meetings and seminars to deliberate on matters of interest. However, ICT integration facilitates similar deliberations in online platforms. This not only saves on cost but also ensures that all the stakeholders are informed on progress made through sending them progress reports via email or engaging them in discussions through online chat groups.

In reference to devolution in Kenya, Wangeci (O.I., 2016) acknowledged that indeed technology was significant in ensuring that there is enhanced coordination between the national stakeholders with international interests:

Policy planning and coordination is now more than ever relevant in the Kenyan political context due to devolution which essentially means that there are 47 County governments who at one time or another may make contact and deal with international stakeholders. Ideally, international relations and diplomacy is not a devolved function however, agriculture is a devolved function and we have to assume that some counties may be involved in the negotiation for better pay for their farmers produce or sign investment deals with international bodies. Essentially, such kind of deals should align to Kenya's foreign policy objectives and hence there is heightened coordination between the Ministry of devolution and MFA&IT. The back and forth communication among all the stakeholders is made easier by the use of emails and where clarification is needed phone calls. This is not only convenient but saves on time as well as hastens

development initiatives that spans from the local level to the international level.

As earlier stated, ICT integration has profoundly enhanced the process of planning and coordination. Further, it allows stakeholders to communicate in real time when a matter is urgent without necessary spending vast resources.

The ICT component was also noted to be significant in reference to framing of policy statements in international events or event organized by Kenya's missions abroad. Julius (O.I., 2016) articulated that:

Policy planning has been enhanced by the integration of ICTs given that when mapping social events with a view to cultivate diplomatic initiatives in foreign nations have been made easier as the missions staff can easily coordinate with the ministry back at home thus ensuring consistency in framing of objectives that are aligned to the national foreign policy. The process is speeded up given that there is the option of real time feedback in the event of a crisis management that could otherwise spur a diplomatic spat.

This denotes that ease in communication leads to enhanced communication between and among diplomats irrespective of their geographical locations.

Moreover, the cost implication of using ICT in policy planning and coordination was also noted as evidenced. Khaemba (O.I., 2016) explained that

The kind of data involved in foreign policy is quite large and as such, using the internet to circulate to the relevant stakeholders is quite cheap compared to printing copies and sending them via the post offices. In light of this, the ministry saves a significant portion of money that could otherwise been used for printing. We also have to remember that policy planning involves changes being made now and then before a final draft is reached. Essentially, the potential of the internet is so big such that it allows for virtual working groups that do not have to physically meet to have a well-researched and discussed document. Areas of concern in the documents are highlighted by the discussants and comments made through tracking of changes which makes it easier to trace the changes made. This saves on transport costs, venues and meals that would have been used in physical meetings. However, that does mean that the physical meeting of the

discussions does not happen at all rather what is reduced is the frequency of their meetings.

The technicalities involved in facilitating policy planning and coordination in a virtual context necessitates diplomats to have the prerequisite knowledge of operating or handling ICT tools. There is a likelihood of technology laggards being left out if they do not for example regularly check their emails or lack the technical skills of participating in an online discussion.

4.1.4 Implementation

Implementation serves as the corner stone of achieving a nation's foreign policy objectives. The implementation of a foreign policy process necessitates dissemination of the policy, promotion and protection of interests in the policy as well as constant involvement of all foreign policy stakeholders. The study sought to understand the role of ICT in the implementation process. Successful implementation of a foreign policy in digitized world requires a digital strategy. To this end, Hocking and Melissen (2015) described that digital tools can be used to amplify messages/narratives that are significant to a State's foreign policy. The social media platforms for instance can be utilized to spread the foreign policy document objectives besides be replicated and amplified through publishing diplomats speeches in the quest for the same. In addition, the foreign policy objectives can be published in different languages depending on the target audience thus allowing a state to intensively brand its image in a host country. Ultimately, digital tools offer new and cost-effective ways of communicating /disseminating a State's foreign policy position in different national as well as international issues.

When asked about the application of ICT in Foreign Policy implementation the following observations were made. Majority of the respondents were quick to point out that Kenya's Foreign policy is now available online in the Ministry's website as well as in most Kenyan Missions websites.

Rosemary (O.I., 2016) indicated

I think the first application has to be with regard to its dissemination and its availability in online platforms. This is significant as majority of our partners are now able to study our principles and ideologies when it comes to relating with foreign nations. Ideally, having the foreign policy online makes the ministry a bit more open as opposed to earlier days when our principles of international relations and diplomacy were somehow covert. This has not only improved our relations with other countries but also increased interest from the general public about the roles and functions of the Ministry.

This elucidates on the aspect of heightened public participation in the foreign policy process. Through the ministry's website, more citizens are able to explore the ministry's functions and how it affects them. Further, it is now common practice for interested parties to engage diplomatically through online platforms. Therefore, it is important for MFAs to have an online presence and subsequently utilize it in selling the state's ideologies.

Beth Ann (O.I., 2016) was of the view that:

ICT platforms cannot be underestimated when it comes to Foreign Policy implementation. As a ministry, we have recognized that in our strategic plan. My concern is we may have it in writing but we are still very far from having its impact felt in our diplomatic circles. Personally, I think that more needs to be done to ensure that foreign policy implementation adapts to technology I mean we could learn a lot from Countries such as America that are increasingly finding new ways of engaging their partners and stakeholders.

The sentiments echoed in the foreign policy in regard to implementation of policy in a networked world were echoed by Musau (O.I., 2016) who provided that:

If you go through our current foreign policy you will find that it articulately states that Kenya will adopt an implementation approach that embraces the available information communication technologies and platforms particularly the social media in amplifying our objectives to our partners and stakeholders. This is a clear indication that the internet as a communication tool cannot be ignored. If you look at the western world they are taking advantage of the internet to spread their narratives and values that align to their foreign policies. As such, our ministry needs to allocate more staff and necessary resources in unlocking the power of ICTs in foreign policy implementation.

4.2 Digital Diplomacy as Perceived by the Staff at Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

The first instinct by most of the respondents when approached by the researcher to have an interview about the study topic was to refer her to the Information Communication Technology department, quickly Google the concept of digital diplomacy or seek for samples of the questions before consenting to the interview. In some instances, the researcher had to give an overview of the information that was being sought to convince the respondents that indeed the concept of digital diplomacy relates to their mandate and responsibilities. This notwithstanding, a few of the respondents quickly identified the concept and consented to the interview. This was a clear indication that the concept of digital diplomacy had not been defined in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The absence of an official conception of digital diplomacy could explain the difference in opinion among the respondents.

According to Hocking and Melissen (2015) digital technologies like the former changes in diplomacy will go through phases of skepticism, hype, gradual acceptance and the subsequent integration in diplomatic practices. When asked the question does the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade recognize digital diplomacy? Majority of the respondents signaled towards its embrace

Sunkuli (O.I., 2016) indicated:

Digital diplomacy is important for all government functions. In fact modern digital capabilities are an integral part of all systems of governance and administration. No government can be competitive these days without embracing digital capabilities. Kenya has a long way to go before it becomes fully digitally capable. However, the Ministry of foreign affairs from its leadership to its staff cohorts relies on digital capabilities including digital diplomacy to make itself effective. And a number of ambassadors as well as the cabinet secretary and the permanent secretary have Twitter accounts and other social media handles. Moreover, the Ministry of foreign affairs and international trade perceive digital diplomacy as an integral part of its work, particularly in sourcing and verifying information as well as in deploying communication and information for strategic foreign affairs and international trade reasons.

This was an acknowledgment of the digital diplomacy concept within Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The respondent notes that digital capabilities enhances efficiency in administrative roles within the ministry. The recognition of the concept is also based on the aspect of the high ranked personnel in the ministry utilizing social media handles in the conduct of their mandate. The concept is also denoted as a feature of competitiveness in the international context.

Gabriel (O.I., 2016) narrated thus:

Indeed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade recognizes digital diplomacy because when I look at the work we do it cuts across issues that are identified in different parts of the globe and the only way we can be able to reach and have effective service delivery is through integration of ICTs. We have not formally defined the concept in the Ministry however; the international political arena is such that states are always in competition. The concept has heavily been embraced by the Americans, Chinese and Russians to mention but a few. This forces us as a country to appreciate its existence and hence there are plans to have a custom definition of the concept in the Ministry so that we can effectively use it to our advantage as a competitive nation in the global arena.

Besides acknowledging recognition of the concept, the respondent also points that its utilization by global powers creates an interest among other states given that states are competing for superiority in the global platform. Ultimately, the respondent implies that adequately harnessing the potential of ICTs gives a state some form of soft power.

Julius (O.I., 2016) state that

At a personal level, the kind of diplomacy am involved in is largely digital in nature given that am visually impaired. Moreover, I dare say that digital diplomacy is the future. However, here at the Ministry, the concept of digital diplomacy has not been effectively explored and we really need to embrace it in the efforts to strategically position ourselves in the international platform.

This is an illustration that digital diplomacy provides a space for inclusion in regards to people with visual impairment given that there are technology pieces that enable them to fulfill their responsibility as diplomats or foreign policy officers.

Consequently, Jonathan (O.I., 2016) stated that

The ministry does not have an elaborate framework in terms of how the concept should be defined and how it should work however there are increased efforts to digitise all functions in the Ministry. These are baby steps in the right direction.

This demonstrates that the concept is still at its infancy with efforts of digitization at the ministry being viewed as a stepping stone towards its realization and effective utilization.

Nonetheless, Laban (O.I., 2016) was adamant that:

Digital diplomacy is not official and neither should it be considered why? Diplomacy cannot be skyped or teleconferenced. Diplomacy is shaking hands, looking straight in the eye, checking the body language and sharing a cup of coffee. In the same vein, we cannot expect diplomacy to be conducted in websites or social media platforms.

There were a section of staff at the Ministry who did not recognize digital diplomacy, in fact, it would be more accurate to say that they disregarded the concept and viewed it as a passing wind that will no way change the conduct of diplomacy.

From the above perceptions it is evident that the Ministry has both ICT enthusiasts as well as ICT laggards who might need some convincing to consider the benefits of digital diplomacy in enhancing their efficiency as well as for the country in general. To this end, Kenya's MFA&IT needs to formulate a digital diplomacy strategy for purposes of guiding the staff as well as ensuring that it is fully utilized in the quest to enhance the national interests of the country in the International platform.

4.3 Application and Impact of ICT in the Conduct of Diplomatic processes

As earlier mentioned, bilateral relations remain essential to the propagation of Kenya's foreign policy abroad. However, classical diplomacy is now operating in a new environment characterised by pervasive use of information communication technologies as well as heightened use of digitised content. To this end, the impact of ICTs on bilateral relations is going to be described along the lines of the functions of diplomatic missions given that they are the major institutions charged with the mandate of fostering bilateral diplomacy.

The primary function of diplomatic missions is representation of the home country. To this end, Kurbalija and Badi (2000) argued that in the digital era diplomatic missions are able to move the home country's representation to the cyber space. This is especially significant as the internet has widely been accepted as a rapid and effective way of communication among the citizens. This has also penetrated in MFAs as noted by Kurbalija who stated that the internet is increasingly being accepted as an official way of communicating between states. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the information published on MFAs websites as well as diplomatic missions websites is identical to statements issued by the ministry as well as diplomats (Kurbalija & Badi, 2000).

By the time data was being collected the number of Kenyan missions that had websites are as detailed in the following table.

Table 4.1: Cyber Space Representation of Kenya’s Missions Abroad

Region	No of diplomatic missions	Percentage with Websites	Missions with websites
Africa	17	52.9%	Gaborone, Dar-es-Salam, Bujumbura, Cairo, Windhoek, Kigali, Pretoria, Lusaka and United Nations Offices in Nairobi
Americas	4	100%	Brasilia, Ottawa, Washington, Los Angels and New York
Asia/Australasia	8	100%	Canberra, Beijing, New Delhi, Tokyo, Kula Lumpur, Islamabad, Bangkok and Seoul.
Europe	14	100%	Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Dublin, Moscow, Madrid, Hague, Stockholm, Ankara, Geneva, London, UNESCO Paris.
Middle East	7	71.5%	Tel Aviv, Muscat, Doha, Riyadh and Abu Dhabi

Research data (2014). *Digital Diplomacy: The Integration of Information Communication Technologies in Kenya’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 1963-2014*. Unpublished Thesis. Kenyatta University.

As shown in the table 4.1 above, the region with the least mission websites is Africa at 52.7% as well as the Middle East Region at 71.5%. The statistics in Africa could be explained by the low internet penetration levels that stood at 27% by the time data was being collected whereas the internet penetration in the Middle East stood at 49.0% (See annex1). Given that Kenya is currently seeking to strengthen its bilateral relations with African countries as opposed to other world regions it is worrying that its virtual presence is slightly above half. In addition, the virtual representation of Kenyan Missions in Africa should not be downplayed particularly because Africa has the highest growth in utilisation of the internet at 6,838.1% (See Annex 1). Poor infrastructure, low literacy rates as well as failing political regimes in some African countries could also be linked to the low virtual representation of Kenyan missions. Nevertheless, the virtual representation in the America's, Asia/Australasia as well as Europe regions stood at an impressive 100%. This was an indication of high internet penetration as well as low cost of accessing internet thus the high demand for online services.

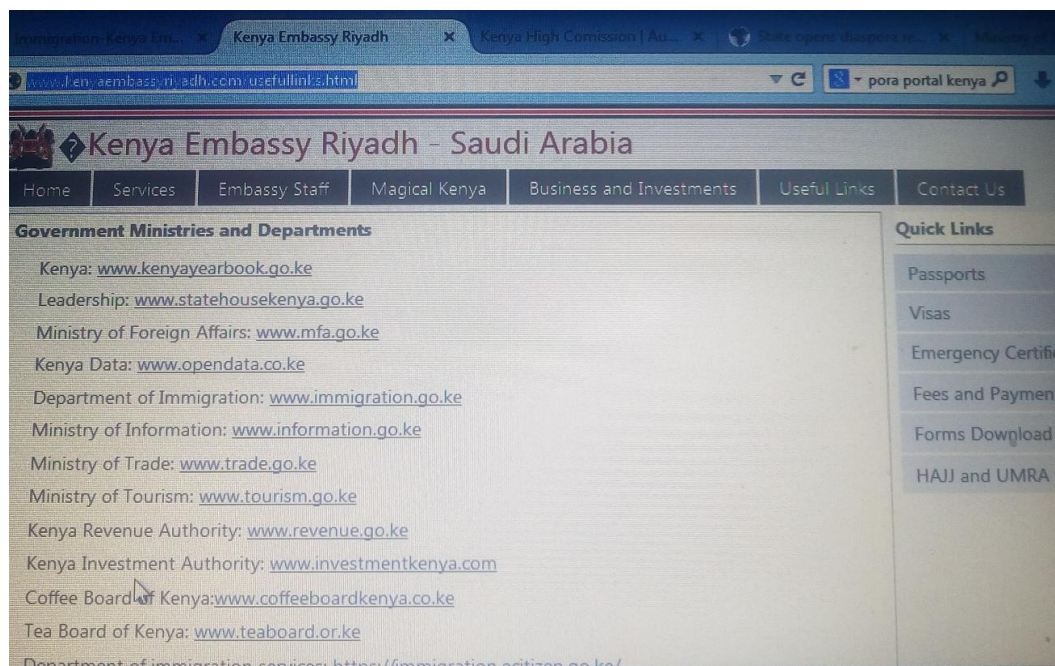
In reference to the study's conceptual framework Center for Democracy and Technology the Three phases of e-Government, the level ICT integration can be evaluated through three major phases that include publishing, interaction and transaction. In reference to **publishing** an analysis of the websites revealed that indeed the websites acted as online/virtual brochures providing the mission, vision and mandate of the diplomatic missions. Essentially, some of the disseminated information found in missions' websites included a brief history of Kenya as well as the history of the varied missions detailing when they were started. The websites further published important news, events and activities relevant to the

home and host countries, consular services information as well as contact information to the missions as well as the varied Kenyan Ministries. Indeed the missions' websites also published the diplomats' speeches as well information compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international trade such as registration forms as well as visa application forms. A key identical feature in all the missions websites were the colours of Kenya National Flag.

The phase of **interaction** necessitates a two-way kind of communication. To this end, the missions' websites provided varied contacts such as email, fax and telephone. However, the contact details to specific to high ranking government officials were not present. This was an indication that there was still vertical kind of communication at the ministry. The existent contact sections only seemed to imply that readers could enquire about certain things that were of interest to them but not engage a senior MFA official. Moreover, most of the websites lacked a feedback form where users could indicate their experience of using the website and how efficiency could be improved in the future.. For purposes of adequate interaction, websites require to have a feedback form as well as a chat session with the ministry's staff. As such, the websites lacked on the interactivity aspect as there lacked a provision for engaging the users on the varied policies relevant to them. For example, some missions' websites had links showing the Foreign Service Bill 2015 but lacked a section on comments from the readers. Majority of the websites just provided a link that could facilitate the downloading of the pdf document.

The **transaction** aspect of missions' websites was evident owing to the varied services offered online such as application of visas, birth certificates, registration

forms among others. Consequently, the missions' websites had useful links that could lead users to online services as well as to all government ministries' websites and other essential government institutions where they could get more information on areas of interests. Below is a screen shot of useful links provided at the website of Kenya Embassy at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia available at <http://www.kenyaembassyriyadh.com/usefullinks.html>

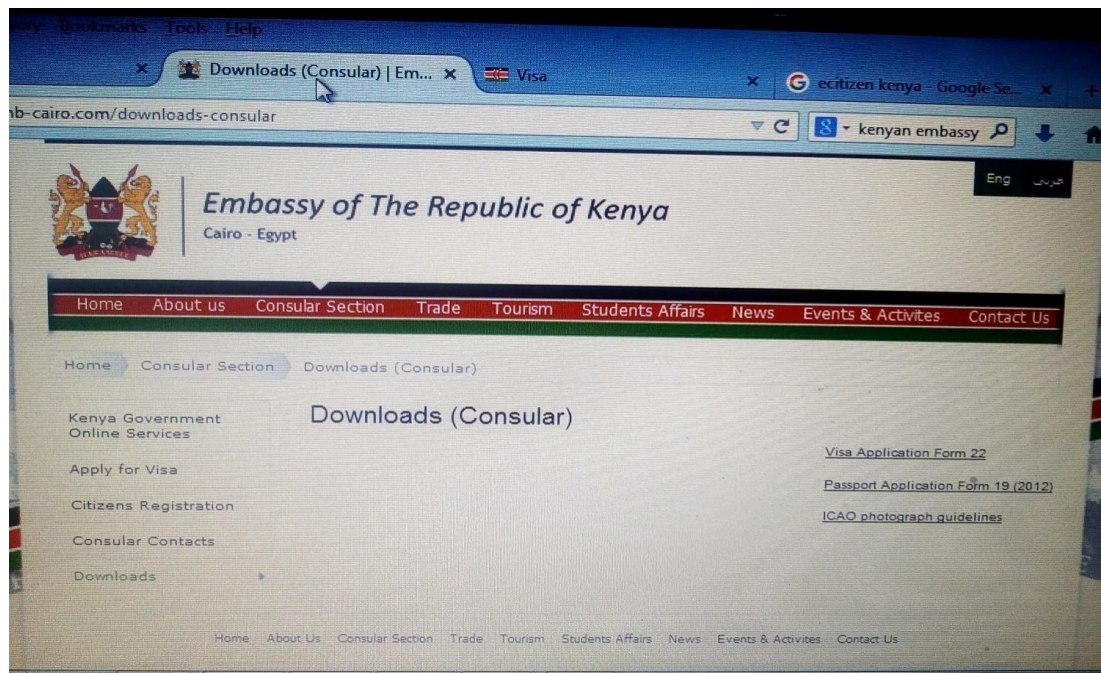


4.3.1 Service to Citizens

As earlier mentioned in this chapter, missions websites had consular information services thus providing their users with online services. The consular services sections had information on visa/immigration requirements, visa and passport application forms as well as the visa charges and the mode of payment. During data collection, it was notable that the online and manual visa applications were running concurrently. Those wishing to apply online were directed to the portal www.evisa.go.ke with the alternative being creating an online account at

www.ecitizen.go.ke. In addition, the missions were leveraging the physical presence with a virtual presence given that one could directly contact the mission through email, fax, telephone and in some cases using the missions social media platforms such as facebook and twitter. The websites also provided users with the procedure of applying the visa and the tentative waiting period before it is fully processed.

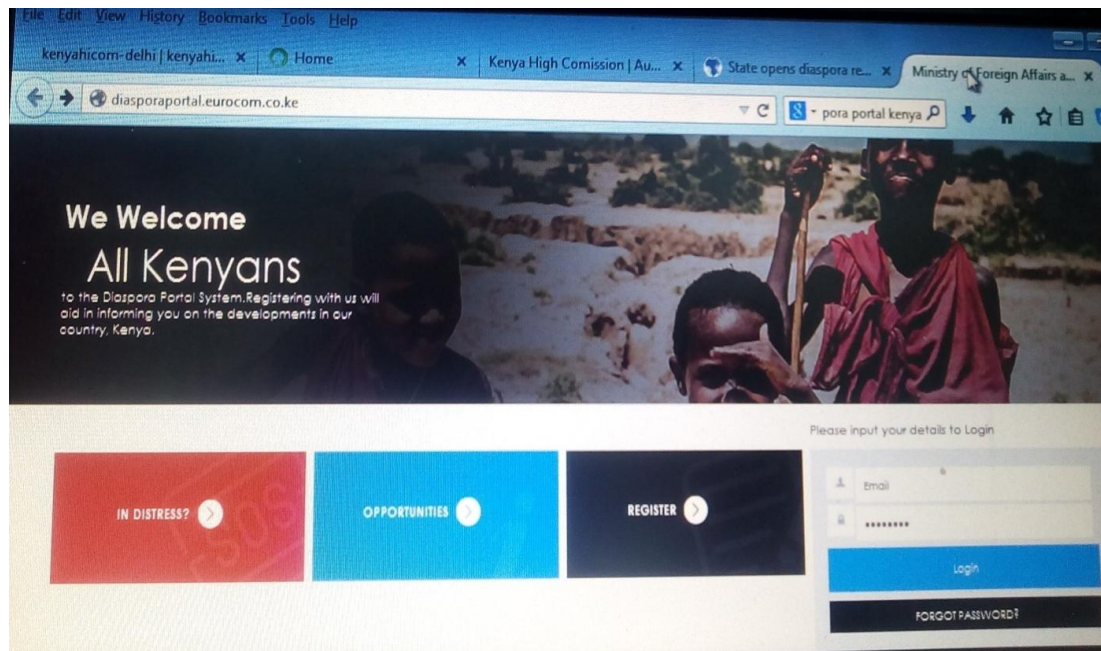
Other services that could be accessed online by citizens living in the host country included registration forms, certificate of good conduct, birth certificates, Driving licence as well as certificates of impediment to marriage. Below is a screen shot of the website of Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Cairo Egypt, Consular section at <http://www.kenemb-cairo.com/downloads-consular>



Consequently, there was the diaspora portal <http://diasporaportal.eurocom.co.ke> that serves as a notice board to Kenyans living abroad. It reports on the development projects being undertaken by the government. Additionally, it allows Kenyans living abroad to send any distressful situations they were facing in the host country as well

as provide investment opportunities available to them back at home. Julius (O.I., 2016) attached to the Diaspora and Consular Services department provided that:

The diaspora web portal helps us to reach out to Kenyans living abroad. It allows them to easily access services such as registration of their whereabouts as well as of their spouses and children. In addition, it also helps in preparation of events such as the bi-annual diaspora conference. We hope to enhance our engagement with Kenyans living abroad by having an online skills inventory on Kenyans living abroad. The database will help the Kenyan government when it comes to recruiting of specialists as well as multinational organizations who are increasingly setting base in Kenya and willing to work with skilled Kenyans.



Indeed, it is the opinion of the researcher that the diaspora portal promotes patriotism and further evidences the government's willingness to serve and protect the welfare of citizens living abroad. Further, the diaspora portal is an innovation that reflects the potential of digital diplomacy in reference to protecting the interests of their citizenry by having access to them through online platforms. This is not only

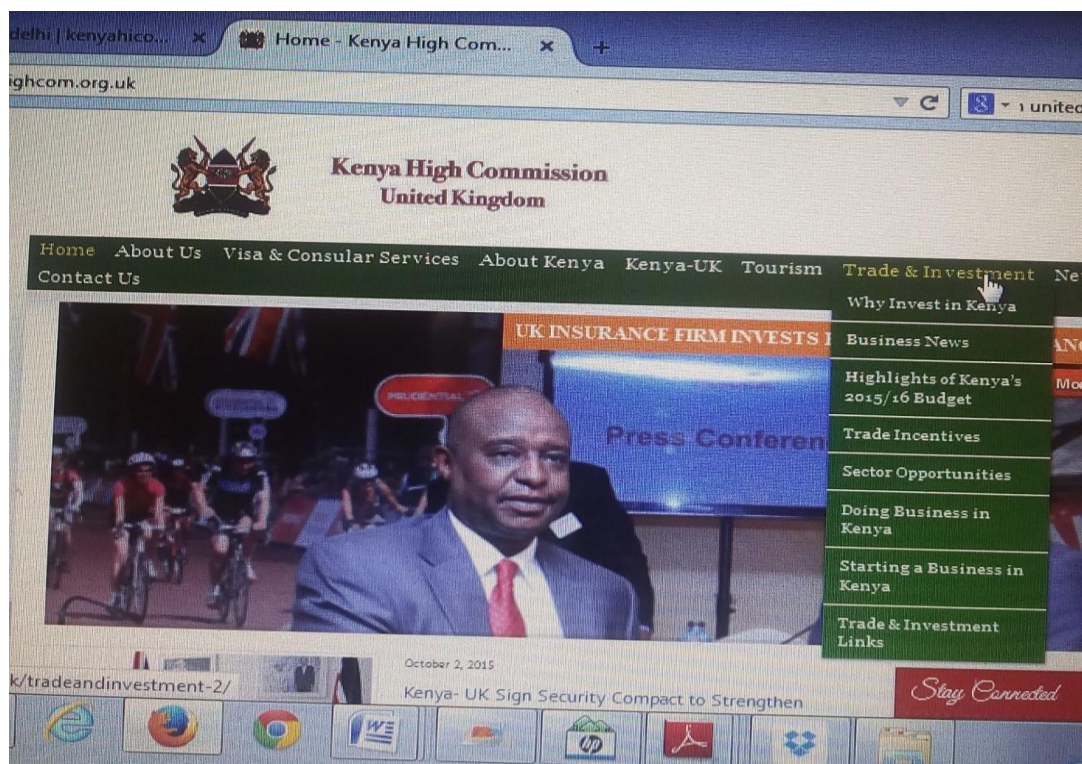
convenient but also efficient and saves on costs that would otherwise be used on paperwork.

4.3.2 Protection and promotion of national interests

According to Nalwanga (2011) ICTs have enhanced the role of diplomatic missions in the quest to improve and promote the interests of the Sending Country. Mobile phones are used for consultations and follow up on meetings and issues discussed. Diplomatic missions websites can be used to provide online content relating to significant foreign policy objectives that can be achieved with the host country. This serves as the basis of bilateral relations development with the host country on matters such as commerce, tourism, education, environment, culture as well as politics. In the digital era, bilateral relations development in these aspects is made easier as MFAs and diplomatic missions' website provide online content relating to them. For instance, the availability of a nation's foreign policy online provides potential investors with a general understanding of the business environment in the country.

The most important and emphasized aspect of bilateral relations in Kenya is in reference to trading, investment and business opportunities that can be exploited by citizens as well as governments of the host countries. An analysis of the missions' websites revealed that some of the information provided online included an overview on the Kenyan Economy, economic indicators in the country as well as the economic policies that support foreign investment. The websites further expounded on the trade relations between the host country and Kenya by indicating some of the key exports and imports between the countries. In an effort to attract investment, the

websites highlighted the trade incentives offered by the Kenyan government besides provided trade and investment links such as <http://www.investmentkenya.com>. Taxation policies, business news in Kenya, the highlights on the Kenyan budget, as well as business registration requirements and forms were other types of information that could be sourced from the missions' websites. Below is an image of the Kenyan High Commission in the UK showing the section on Trade and investment. It was retrieved from <http://kenyahighcom.org.uk/tradeandinvestment-2/>.



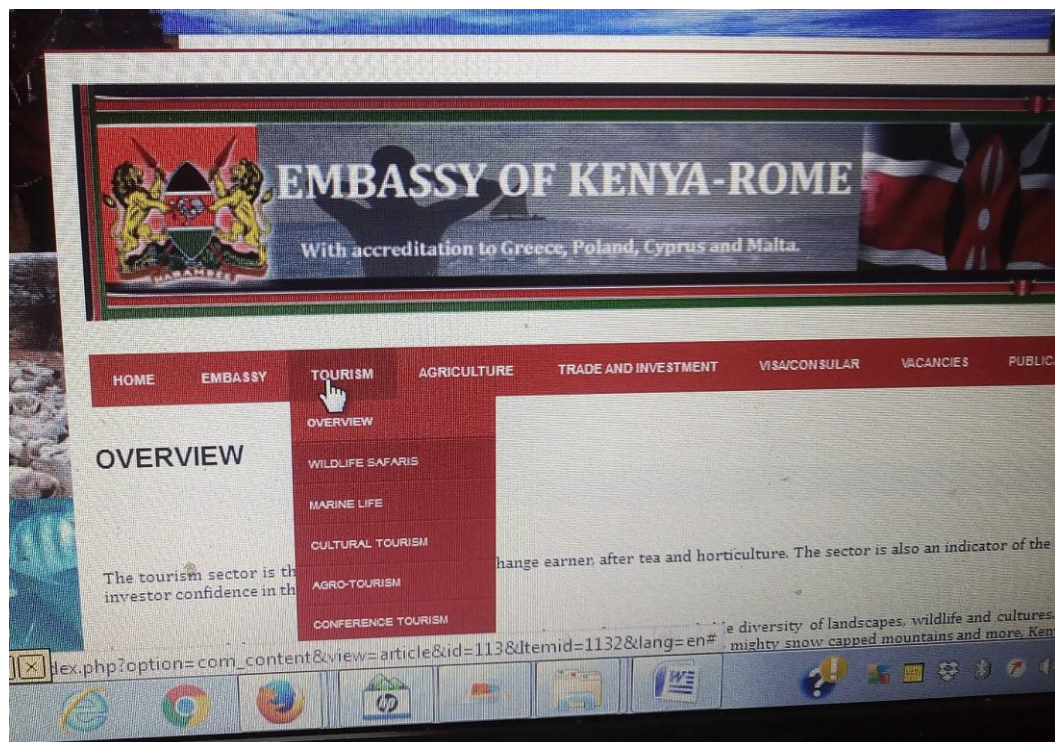
In reference to educational relations, there were several mission websites that had sections on education which was an indication of intensified bilateral diplomacy in the sector. These included India, Russia, United States, United Kingdom to mention but few. An analysis of the said websites revealed that the online information provided in view of education included the number of Kenyan students registered in the host country, the education systems of both the host country and Kenya, a list of institutions in both the host country and Kenya, admission requirements to the host

country universities, available scholarships and sponsorships in the host country. They also had information detailing how Kenyan students could acquire employment status while studying in the host country as well as a link showing the guideline for online application of a research permit in Kenya. There was information cautioning aspiring students to consult widely with the prospective universities about accommodation in the campus to avoid distress and frustration in a foreign country where rent could be quite expensive. In addition, the missions' websites had online student registration forms for Kenyan Students studying in the host country which could also be submitted online upon filling.

The websites also had online information on tourism and cultural exchanges between the host countries and Kenya. Nevertheless, some of the information included an overview of tourist destinations in Kenya in view of wildlife, beach resorts, sports, marine life, agro-tourism as well as conference tourism. Additionally, the websites with these sections provide links to partners in the tourism sector in Kenya such as the Kenya Association of Tour Operators and Kenya Association of Hotel Keepers and Caterers that provide information on travel bookings and logistics in Kenya. Consequently, the websites had links to www.magicakkenya.com and www.brandkenya.co.ke that have been essential to the promotion of tourism in Kenya especially when the terrorism scourge had led to several countries such as United States and United Kingdom issuing travel advisories to Kenya. There were also links showing some of the travel operators in Kenya with the Kenya Airways Logo being more dominant in most of the missions' websites. In regard to cultural exchanges, the missions' websites provided information on the cultural tribes present in Kenya, world heritage sites in Kenya such as Koobi Fora as well as some

of cultural events held in Kenya such as bullfighting in Kakamega and Mombasa Cultural Festival. Additionally, the websites had striking images of some of the exceptional tourist and cultural sites in Kenya. To this end, the websites missions were tailored according to the nature of bilateral relations between the host country and Kenya. The following page has a snap shot of the Kenyan Embassy in Italy with an emphasis on the tourism section that was retrieved at

http://www.embassyofkenya.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=113&Itemid=1132&lang=en



The access of tourism information online helps tourists in planning for their safari destination besides entice citizens of the host country to purpose to visit Kenya.

4.3.3 Negotiation

Grech (2006) concisely stated that the negotiation process is increasingly being facilitated by ICTs. Diplomatic negotiations that are mediated through ICT tools

have come to be widely referred to as e-negotiations. To this end, certain groundwork in the negotiation process is now facilitated through online forums, chat sessions and whiteboards to mention but a few. Additionally, mobile technology is especially essential during the process of exchanging information on negotiation venues, dates as well as the most ideal time for both parties involved in the process (Nalwanga, 2011). It is implicit to acknowledge that multiple consultations are sought from the involved parties and as such texting and calling via the mobile telephones is not only convenient but also caters for constraints on time.

Shehadey (2013) argued that digital diplomacy is beneficial as the aspect of problem solving during international crisis or bilateral deadlocks need not to be confined to government officials. This is because nations can adopt diplomacy gaming and simulations to heighten their understanding of their opponents. Mundia (O.I., 2016) described that:

ICT in negotiations has complemented the face to face negotiations as follow up clarifications can be conducted through phones as well as video-conferencing. The situation is quite different from yester years where a deal would only be arrived after multiple face to face meetings. Today, when the deal is almost at its final stages due to time and cost constraints the follow ups are pursued through online communication platforms.

The implication made here is that ICT integration in the negotiation process has only enhanced diplomatic negotiation but otherwise face to face negotiation is still given great impetus. Thus concurring with those respondents who were emphatic that diplomacy is about shaking hands, sharing a cup of coffee and reading the body language.

Similarly, Wangeci (O.I., 2016) argued that:

To a certain extent e-negotiations is taking root in our diplomacy. This is because negotiations entail multiple meetings until a time when both or all parties have a favourable resolution to a given matter of interest. When the process is almost in its final stages the process is assisted by the ICT forms of communication that allow for faster sharing of documents as well as relaying any changes or developments in arriving at a favourable resolution. Thus, there is a lot of emailing, phone-calls as well as teleconferencing that ideally culminates to what you are calling e-negotiations.

E-negotiations is a fairly new concept at Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is considered convenient and efficient given that clarifications can be sought in real time irrespective of geo-spatial differences.

Laban (O.I., 2016) noted that:

I have never heard of e-negotiations at the Ministry level but we have recently installed a teleconferencing facility and so in due time this will be fully integrated in our diplomatic quests.

This confirms the newness of e-negotiations at the Ministry and thus its potential has been underutilized owing to inadequate ICT infrastructure. However, as documented in chapter three the ministry's strategic plan 2013/14-2017/18 seeks to strengthen the ICT capacity and infrastructure through acquisition of video conferencing facilities, VSAT technology, cloud computing and high speed network printers and copiers.

When asked how ICT has changed the conduct of multilateral diplomacy Khaemba (O.I., 2016) the respondents articulated the following changes.

ICT has changed the conduct of multilateral diplomacy for all countries who have foreign relations. The Internet and its capabilities have completely changed the manner and speed in which countries are able to communicate across time and space. And the efficiency of this communication has greatly been enhanced by the ICT capabilities that now exist.

The impact of ICT integration in this case is enhanced communication that leads to convenience and swiftness in the conduct of relations in a multilateral context. This is as opposed to traditional times where communication to all stakeholders took a relatively long time and thus reaching a conclusion that was acceptable to all states that are members of a multilateral body took months and sometimes years.

In another instance a BethAnn (O.I., 2016) observed that:

Of course there have been changes in the conduct of multilateral relations for example, most multilateral organization have high tech facilities such as websites, teleconferencing gadgets, video-conferencing facilities as well as emails that enhance the organization of communication among member states on certain matters of interests to them. You will also realise that organizations such as the United Nations and African Union have very robust electronic data bases. This ensures that all documents issued by the organizations can easily be downloaded from the organizations' websites.

Multilateral bodies have taken the lead in integration of ICTs in their functioning probably given the vast information that they hold; it is almost impossible to physically file it. In addition, sharing and dissemination of information to member states is made easier as it can be sent via email and published in the body's website. Further, member states benefit from electronic data bases provided by multilateral bodies and are further encouraged to integrate ICTs in their ministries of foreign affairs.

Among other significant views expressed include the following by Musau (O.I., 2016)

The convenience in communication channels cannot be over emphasized. You find that multilateral bodies have not only invested in their virtual presence but have also become the major stakeholders in addressing cross-border issues such as environmental degradation, cyber-crime, human trafficking, international money laundering and terrorism. These conversations begin in online platforms particularly on twitter where the stakeholders engage global citizens through

hashtags that detail on the varied issues of concern in the global context. I can give you the example of shifting from the Millennium development goals that otherwise trended through #MDGS to the Sustainable Development Goals that trended through #SDGS. This is a demonstration of how social media is transforming the scope and nature of multilateral discussions. In addition, this also gives a chance to ordinary global citizens who would otherwise not have been involved in roundtable multilateral meetings to contribute to issues that are of interest to them and their communities.

ICT integration at the multilateral level has increased the number of stakeholders contributing to international issues. In addition, online platforms enable ordinary individuals to voice their perspective through social media platforms thus engaging in the policy making in global issues. This is in contrast to traditional times where international issues were discussed in round tables by representatives of states without the input of ordinary citizens. The multilateral bodies are also able to enhance their visibility besides heighten awareness on their mandate by having a virtual presence.

Mundia (O.I., 2016) indicated that

Probably, I can cite the increased incidences of virtual participation otherwise referred to as e-participation in multilateral meetings by representatives of member nation-states as well as other stakeholders. As such, you will find that modern day conference rooms are installed with cameras and screens that allow diplomats in different locations to watch the proceedings among the physically present. This is particularly beneficial to us as we can attend different multilateral meetings without having to travel to the physical locations. Moreover, diplomats can also engage in different meetings with rapid succession for as long as one has access to reliable internet connection.

Convening of multilateral meeting has benefitted from ICT integration due to less paper work on documents that are scheduled for deliberations. This is because there are made available for online for participants to download on their ipads, laptops or mobile phones. In addition, diplomats are able to participate in negotiations without

necessarily travelling to specific locations which saves on cost besides enables diplomats to actively fulfil their mandates at the convenience of their offices or houses.

Another striking observation made by Sunkuli (O.I., 2016)

Definitely, there is a huge change in the conduct of multilateral relations. Today if you walk in to a multilateral meeting or conference you will realise that the participants come armed with their digital gadgets that contain their files and other documents of interest. Prior to this, diplomats used to come with physical files that were quite bulky and difficult to move around with. Subsequently, the hosts of meetings and conferences circulate documents such as the schedules online through emails as well as websites. For example, as Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade we shall be hosting the 10th World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference in Nairobi. To this end, we have already created a website to facilitate in the planning as well as in circulation of documents to stakeholders <http://mc10nairobi.org/en/>. We are also procuring other ICTs that will be essential in effectively facilitating the conference. We are also working towards ensuring that we have a strong WI-FI installed to ensure that all participants have access to the internet such that they can easily engage with other stakeholders online through the #MC10. Essentially, ICTs have greatly enhanced the efficiency in multilateral relations meetings and conferences.

The facilitation of multilateral meetings is greatly enhanced by ICT integration in terms of planning, sharing discussion documents as well as catering for dissemination of information in multiple languages. As such, countries hosting multilateral meeting have to invest in ICT infrastructure and internet connectivity which is a plus when it comes to propagating the concept of digital diplomacy.

4.4 Summary and Conclusions

It was the objective of this chapter to explore ICT integration in foreign policy and diplomatic processes. The chapter acknowledges that there has been limited research

detailing on the impact of information communication technologies on the foreign policy and diplomatic processes. The objective of the chapter was anchored within the Actor Network Theory that details on the link between non-human actors and human actors in an institution. To this end, ICT integration in the foreign policy process was investigated within the prism of four identified aspects including information gathering, knowledge management, policy planning and coordination as well as implementation.

The study results indicated that classical diplomacy was slowly but gradually shifting to the cyber realm on a complementary basis. In reference to bilateral diplomacy the study revealed that the relay of official ministerial and diplomatic statements regarding treaties signed between countries or otherwise was relayed on the Ministry of foreign affairs and international trade website as well as with the missions' websites abroad. Upon evaluating the virtual presence of missions abroad it was noted that it is only in Africa and the Middle East regions that have less than 100% online representation with 52.9% and 71.5% respectively.

In reference to multilateral diplomacy, the findings indicated that the multilateral bodies such as the UN AND AU have taken a leading role in the integration of ICT in the conduct of their mandate. This was particularly necessary given that they have huge data bases whose storage, retrieval and sharing is enhanced by ICT capabilities. ICT integration at the multilateral level was noted to have expanded the number of actors involved in deliberating of international issues. The stakeholders converge in social media platforms as they engage in deliberation on international issues that are of interest to them including, environment, terrorism, drug and human

trafficking. Last but not least, ICT integration has improved the facilitation of multilateral meetings through reduction of paper work as well as engagement of stakeholders in their different languages.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study sought to examine the concept of digital diplomacy in Kenya by focusing on integration of information communication technologies in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade from 1963-2014. The concept of digital diplomacy is based on the idea that the world is going through a face of ICT revolution that has subsequently revolutionized the way individuals, institutions and governments communicate. The study focuses on the transformation of diplomacy in light of integration of information communication technologies. The specific objectives of the study were to survey Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic trends, to explore ICT infrastructure in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and to explore ICT integration in foreign policy and diplomatic processes.

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

The literature examined in this study revealed that there are several studies that have explored the concept of digital diplomacy at various levels of analysis especially in the developed countries. Nonetheless, there were several gaps identified when it came to examining the concept of digital diplomacy in developing countries particularly those in the African continent. Diplomatic communication was noted to have transitioned as communication did. Some of the notable communication technologies that have influenced diplomatic communication included the telegraph, air mail, radio, television, telephone and modern day information communication technologies.

This study was justified as it deviates from the conventional analysis of diplomacy in light of the changes evidenced in the 21st century. The integration of information communication technologies in the sphere of diplomacy has the potential to alter the practice of diplomacy in general. Thus far, only a few studies particularly based in the developed world such as the United States, Sweden, United Kingdom and Netherlands have attempted to investigate the manner in which digital diplomacy is being practised in ministries of foreign affairs. Using the Actor Network Theory and the three phases of e-government as articulated by Centre for Democracy and Technology this study explored the extent to which Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has integrated ICTs in conduct of diplomacy.

Essentially, Kenya is treated as a developing country that has the potential of benefitting from digital diplomacy given its strategic position in the global map as well as its recognition in acceptance of innovation in the ICT sector. This is evidenced by the globally recognized M-pesa innovation that utilises mobile technology.

Diplomacy draws its objectives from the foreign policy of a state. Therefore, the first objective to the study was to survey Kenya's foreign policy. The results indicated that Kenya's foreign policy since independence has been directed by the President and the minister appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An evaluation of the four regimes indicated that the Jomo Kenyatta regime began by setting up the requisite foreign policy infrastructure and entrusted foreign policy management to the ministers in the MFA. President Moi on the other hand was actively involved in foreign policy management otherwise referred to as Presidential

diplomacy. The regime was also noted for peace diplomacy. Subsequently, the Kibaki regime exhibited Economic diplomacy while the Uhuru Kenyatta regime has thus far exhibited Presidential diplomacy.

The ICT infrastructure was noted to have gone through various phases with the utmost advancements being traced to Kibaki's presidency while the other preceding regimes were suspicious of the computers and hence banned their importation and integration in government departments. The integration of ICTs in Kenya's MFA & IT was nonetheless noted to have accrued several benefits such as enhanced efficiency, improved delivery of services to partners and clients, increased visibility of the Ministry in the global context, heightened competitiveness as well as diminished transaction costs given that the size of the diplomatic bag has greatly reduced. Some of the precise benefits stated at the Ministry include online dissemination of information where the website was synonymous to a brochure that is regularly updated. There was also online sharing of documents through zimbra as well as enhanced direct communication that enhances teamwork as ministry officials can easily deliberate through mobile phones, video chats and emails.

Giving reference to the three levels of integration as articulated by the Centre for Democracy and Technology the ministry had achieved in the level of publishing through the website and other missions websites. In regard to interaction, the results determined that it was very low given that most websites aligned to the ministry lacked a feedback form while those who sought audience through the official ministry social media handles often went unanswered. The final level of transaction

had been achieved as the study results revealed that citizens could easily access consular services online.

Consequently, in reference to application of ICTs in the foreign policy processes ICTs were noted to be significant in aspects of enhanced information gathering, improved knowledge management, facilitation of policy planning and coordination as well as enriched implementation of foreign policy goals and objectives. The results denoted that the cost factors involved in information management in the traditional conduct of diplomacy is significantly reduced by collecting and disseminating of information via the internet. Cost compressions are not the only benefit but so are space and time compressions that are all significant aspects of diplomacy. The diplomatic bag was also noted to have substantially decreased due to the ease of sending documents online.

The utilization of ICTs in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy was also discussed at length. ICT integration was noted to have heightened bilateral and multilateral diplomacy given that in the current world it is not necessary to set up a physical embassy in all countries in the world. However, through integration of ICT the country's visibility across the globe is felt thus saving on cost of setting up missions abroad. Bilateral relations aspects of delivery of consular services, protection and promotion of national interests, negotiations and relay of official diplomatic statements have also improved with integration of ICTs. The impacts of ICT integration at the multilateral level include improved facilitation of multilateral meetings, enhanced free flow of accurate multilateral information as well as

improved storage, retrieval and sharing of information deliberated through multilateral bodies such as the UN and AU.

Nonetheless, there were some emerging issues that were associated with the integration of ICT in diplomatic processes. To begin with, ICTs crowds out the aspect of secrecy that was traditionally embedded in diplomacy. This is because more and more people are being involved in the foreign policy processes as well as in conduct of multilateral diplomacy. In addition, an increase in access to and availability of information as well as its subsequent delivery in large quantities at an instant complicates the management of information in ministries of foreign affairs as well as in diplomatic missions. To this end, it emerged that modern day diplomats are dealing with a unique problem of information overload as opposed to conventional diplomats whose challenge was accessing information due to the laborious processes that were involved. Further, the integration of ICT in diplomacy is marred by concerns of information security given the risk of cyber-attacks. Cyber threats necessitates a highly sensitive security system that can be attained by investing in digital natives individuals who are conversant with the technical aspects of ICTs. Thus, they can develop robust information security mechanisms besides launch cyber-attacks to other nations when deemed necessary.

5.2 Recommendations

The researcher makes the following recommendations to Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in reference to digital diplomacy. There is need for the Ministry to design and develop a digital diplomacy strategy that will

promote its utilization and official recognition among the staff members particularly those attached to departments that are tasked with diplomatic duties.

In addition to the efforts of further equipping the ministry with high tech digital equipments, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade needs to consider that digital resources toolkits should be matched with the needs of digital diplomacy. This is because certain pieces of technology are best suited in pursuant of identified foreign policy objectives. Moreover, procuring of digital resources should be matched with extensive training of the staff on how they can utilize them to achieve maximum benefits.

The ministry further needs to exploit its social media handles as opposed to using them to publish ministerial activities and respond to questions posed by individuals. This should further be complemented by having feedback forms on the website where citizens can evaluate the efficiency of services offered online. The ministry can also schedule for online sessions where they invite citizens to contribute to certain forums that are of interest to them such as foreign policy matters. In view of this, the ministry should hire full time staff charged with the responsibility of manning and handling social media platforms.

There is also need for the ministry to enhance interdepartmental coordination and sharing of information. This is especially significant as digital diplomacy deviates from the conventional vertical leadership to horizontal leadership that requires staff to work together and maximise benefits.

Consequently, diplomatic structures and processes are undergoing change in light of heightened dependence of information communication technologies. As such, there is need for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to align offline and online diplomatic networks so as ensure seamless flow of information as well as better delivery of services to clients and partners.

A legal framework is also needed in an effort to legitimise digital diplomacy as a national affair. This will ensure that there are stipulated rules and regulations guiding the practice and operations of digital diplomats as well as all other stakeholders involved.

For purposes of enhancing the concept of digital diplomacy in Kenya, there is need for the ministry to commission further research studies in reference to the theoretical framework as well as effective practice of digital diplomacy.

Last but not least, the Ministry should put in place monitoring and evaluation measures with a view to assess the cost implications versus benefits of digital diplomacy so as to justify its integration.

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APPENDICES

A1: Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1: Introduction

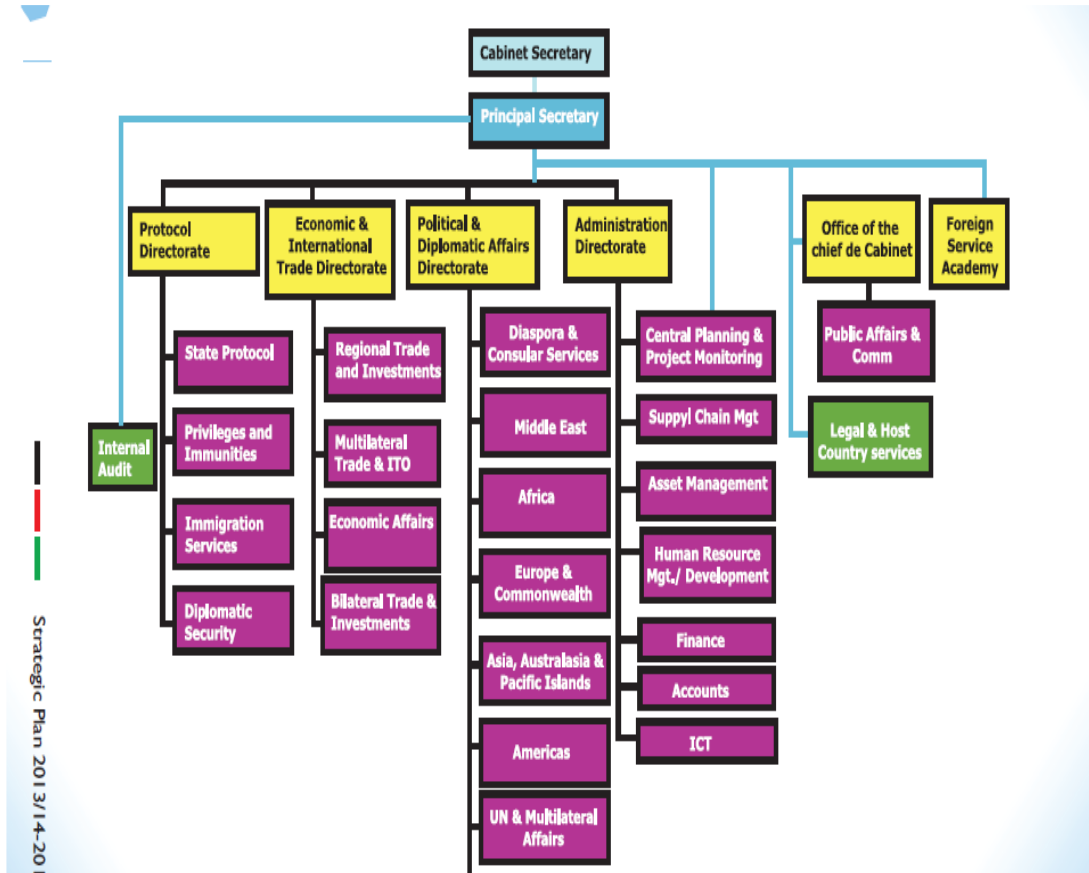
Chapter2: ICT use in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 1990-2014.

Chapter3: Role of ICT in Kenya's foreign policy process 1990-2014

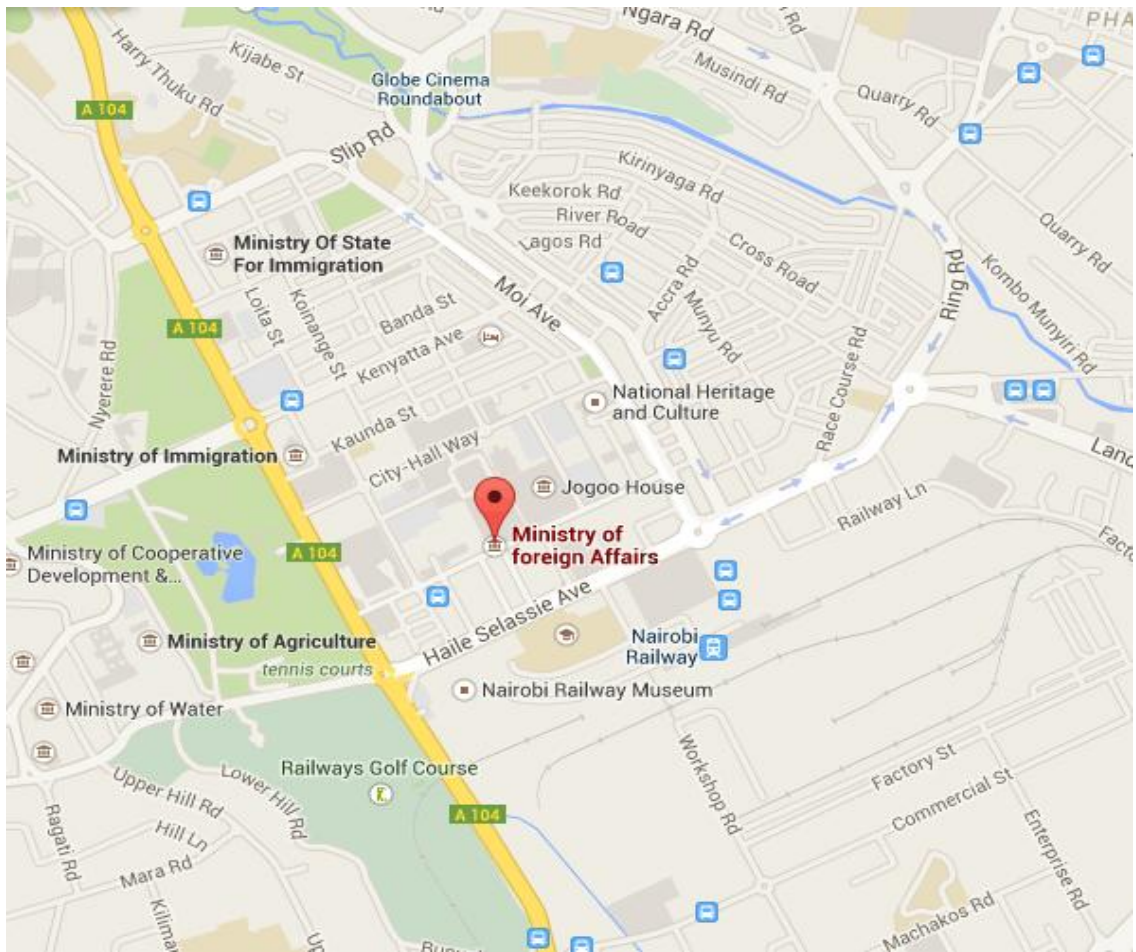
Chapter 4: impact of digital diplomacy on Kenya's bilateral and multilateral relations from 1990-2014.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations.

A2: Organizational structure of the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade



A3: Map Showing The Location of The Minsitry of Foreign Affairs



A4: Research Instrument

Interview Guide

Sample Questions

Digital Diplomacy: The Integration of Information Communication Technologies in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 1990-2014.

Chief Questions of the Study

1. How has ICT been used in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade from 1990 to 2014?
2. What has been the role of ICT in Kenya's Foreign Policy Process from 1990-2014?
3. How has digital diplomacy impacted on Kenya's bilateral and multilateral relations from 1990-2014?

Interview Guide Questions

1. Digital Diplomacy has become a buzz word in the last few years. Does the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade recognize it?
2. How does Kenya's MFA and International Trade perceive digital diplomacy?
3. Given the pervasive use of ICTs has Kenya's diplomatic channels of communication adapted to the new environment? Or is the diplomatic bag still in existence.
4. How do you see digital diplomacy communication being of benefit to Kenya?
5. Is there a strategic plan in regard to implementation of digital diplomacy at the Ministry level?

The Use of ICTs in Kenya's MFA

1. What are some of the hardware and software that has been integrated in the conduct of diplomacy in Kenya
2. How is diplomatic correspondence through ICTs directed?
3. What role is pursued through the Ministry's website as well as its social media handles?
4. How often is the information in the website updated?

5. Are diplomats involved in the online dissemination of information through websites and social media platforms or are this role entirely designated to the ICT staff?
6. Are the ICT personnel trained on diplomatic language of communication?
7. What is the relevance of the phone/mobile phones in diplomatic communication?
8. Are employees trained on the use of integrated ICT tools and how to fully harness their potential in conduct of diplomacy? If yes how is it done? What are some of the objectives for such trainings?
9. Are emails considered as official communication?
10. Who reads emails directed to the Ministry?
11. Does the Ministry respond to queries/questions asked on social media platforms? Is there any form of interaction between the citizens and the ministry in the social media platforms and website

Objective 2: The Role of ICT in Foreign Policy Process

1. How has information gathering changed in light of the increased use of ICTs?
2. Is there a prescribed/regulated guideline about how diplomats can gather information in light of the increased online sources of information?
3. Upon gathering information relevant to the pursuit of foreign policy how do diplomats report back to the ministry?
4. Does the ministry have a computerized data base on foreign policy? If yes expound its features
5. How is the information on Foreign policy
 - a. Stored
 - b. Retained
 - c. Shared /pooled
6. Given that there are increasingly more stakeholders who have interests in the foreign policy how does the Ministry communicate and coordinate with them in a digitised context?
7. Is ICT integration relevant in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy? If yes how?

Objective 3: Impact of Bilateral/ Multilateral Relations in Kenya

1. Has ICT changed the Conduct of Bilateral relations in Kenya? If yes please explain.
2. Does the Ministry have modern conference rooms that allow for e-negotiations?

3. Does the Ministry engage with diplomats based abroad in online-chat forums or online consultation meetings?
4. An audit of the Kenya's missions abroad revealed excellent virtual presence in all regions except in Africa and Asia. What can be attributed to the low virtual presence precisely in Africa?
5. Has ICT changed the Conduct of Multilateral Relations in Kenya? If yes please explain?
6. Are there any case studies that you can share that where Kenyan Diplomats have participated in bilateral/multilateral relations electronically.

A5: List of Key Informants

No.	Name	Office Attached
1.	Rehema	ICT
2.	Sunkuli	Economic and International Trade
3.	Musau	Political and Diplomatic Affairs
4.	Laban	Public Affairs and Communication
5.	Jonathan	ICT
6.	Mundia	Ambassador
7.	Beth Ann	AU and African Affairs
8.	Austin	Bilateral and investments
9.	Rosemary	Political and Diplomatic Directorate
10.	Gabriel	Human Resource
11.	Angelicah	Communications Unit
12.	Wangeci	UN& Multilateral Affair
13.	Khaemba	Economic Affairs Assistant
14.	Julius	Diaspora and Consular services
15	Bilha	Administrative Assistant

A6: Graduate School Research Approval



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 4150

Our Ref: C50/CE/24715/2012

DATE: 1st August, 2015

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology
and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

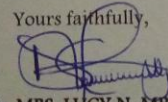
**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION IRENE NYAMBURA WAIHAKA - REG.
NO.C50/CE/24715/2012**

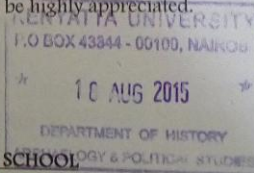
I write to introduce **Ms. Irene Nyambura Waithaka** who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. She is registered for M.A degree programme in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies.

Ms. Waithaka intends to conduct research for a M.A proposal entitled, "Digital Diplomacy: The Integration of Information Communication Technologies in Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 1990-2014."

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

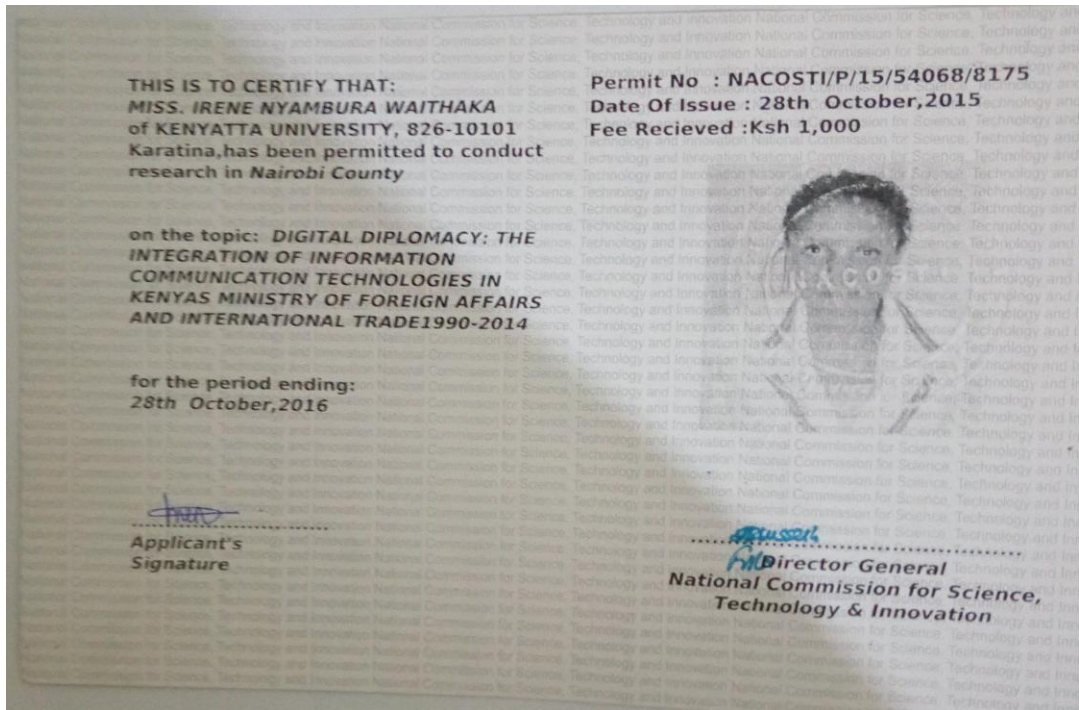

for **MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU**
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL



LNM/rwm

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A7: Research Permit



A8: Annex 1

INTERNET USAGE STATISTICS
The Internet Big Picture
World Internet Users and 2015 Population Stats

WORLD INTERNET USAGE AND POPULATION STATISTICS						
JUNE 30, 2015 - Mid-Year Update						
World Regions	Population (2015 Est.)	Internet Users Dec. 31, 2000	Internet Users Latest Data	Penetration (% Population)	Users % of Table	Growth 2000-2015
Africa	1,158,355,663	4,514,400	313,257,074	27.0 %	9.6 %	6,839.1%
Asia	4,032,466,882	114,304,000	1,563,208,143	38.8 %	47.8 %	1,267.6%
Europe	821,555,904	105,096,093	604,122,380	73.5 %	18.5 %	474.8%
Middle East	236,137,235	3,284,800	115,823,882	49.0 %	3.5 %	3,426.1%
North America	357,172,209	108,096,800	313,862,863	87.9 %	9.6 %	190.4%
Latin America / Caribbean	617,776,105	18,068,919	333,115,908	53.9 %	10.2 %	1,743.6%
Oceania Australia	37,157,120	7,620,480	27,100,334	72.9 %	0.8 %	255.6%
WORLD TOTAL	7,260,621,118	360,985,492	3,270,490,584	45.0 %	100.0 %	806.0%