INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA ON FOREIGN POLICY OF A STATE:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF KENYA AND BRITAIN

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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University - Africa for academic credit.

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This thesis has been presented with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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Signed: ……………………………………… Date: ………………………
PROF. RUTHIE RONO
Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Affairs
DEDICATION

To my loving wife, Anab Hassan Maalim, my mum, Kiman Shangoi Hussien and my dad, Adan Maalim Issa.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Almighty God for seeing me through this academic programme and for guiding me throughout the process of my education.

Special thanks go to my parents who have been a pillar to lean on during difficult times. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Weldon Ngeno for guiding me during the tedious process of fine tuning my academic work. I would also wish to express my deepest gratitude to my classmates whose ideas and contributions have played a big role in shaping my scholarly thoughts. This thesis will be incomplete without the invaluable role of my lecturers at the United States International University. With their help I have been able to horn my skills as a future diplomat.
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>East Africa Community</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
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<td>Ofcom</td>
<td>Office of Communications</td>
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ABSTRACT

The media has in recent history especially towards the end of the cold war been a key factor in the formation and exercise of foreign policy by states. The media has the ability to influence decision making as well as set the conditions that states as actors consider in foreign policy processes. However, this ability have been thought of to change from developed to developing countries. It is this perplexing issue that this study sought to examine as it set out to find out the influence of the media on a state’s foreign policy through a comparative analysis of Kenya and Britain. Theoretically the study capitalized on several theories that include the structuralist perspective, Liberal-pluralism and the Hypodermic needle perspective which were triangulated in order to bring a broader and conclusive view of the subject matter. Methodologically, this study was a comparative study which employed the few-country comparisons of the comparative approach in order to bring out the cases of the two countries. It depended on qualitative secondary data in the process of understanding the subject matter. Secondary data was analyzed through content analysis where relevant information was sifted through noting patterns of issues that relate to the subject matter. These recurring issues were used for making inferences. The study found out that the media alone has little power to shape foreign policy but this is highly dependent on the level of development of a country. It may have the ability to influence minor issues and small aspects of foreign policy. The study concluded that the success of the media to influence foreign policy is dependent on the policies it attempts to pressure; its role and influence though differs from time to time and it remains in close relation to other factors that influence foreign policy; in developed countries where the media is generally private owned influence is wider and deeper that in developing countries where most of the media suffers manipulation in the hands of government; the governments in these states also have stakes in private media which it uses to manipulate outcomes; and lastly, the degree of mass media impact is dependent on the stage the policy is in and mainly varies from insignificance to substantial. This study recommends that a body governing the accuracy of the information the media is projecting should be put in place. The media should be keen to influence foreign policy through availing the right quality and quantity of information to inform policy especially in developing states where the media is backward and media personnel remain inadequately trained and equipped to handle high level issues. It thereby recommends for the empowering of public and media institutions on information sharing especially on issues of conflict management as this will improve public confidence in information channeled by the media. Further to this the study recommends that the media which is a multidisciplinary field should borrow a leaf from a range of fields in the academic disciplines. Developed states have a strong background on the applied and practice based research which is key in the media for purposes of credible and exact data. This should also be applied by the developing states.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The media has in recent history especially towards the end of the cold war been a key factor in the formation and exercise of foreign policy by states. The media can influence decision making as well as set the environmental conditions that states as actors consider while making foreign policies. The complex interdependence in modern day international system and the rise of non-state actors in international politics has brought forth powerful actors such as the media which influence primary interests of states in one way or another (Robinson, 1999). The media has provided an arena for contestations of political, economic and social cultural issues by states. Its coverage has surpassed the territorial limits of states and specific aspects such as the internet have revolutionized how information is collected, framed and distributed in regions and internationally (Srivastava, 2009).

The role of the media especially in influencing state action in recent global history has been witnessed in the humanitarian interventions in Somalia (1992), Bosnia (1995) and Ethiopia (1984) and to a large extent the American wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Interventions for instance during the Libyan civil war one again put the media on the spot as it raised questions regarding the media’s role. Also the coverage of the Syrian conflict and the possible armed intervention by US and French brought back the power of images and media to condition policies of states. Currently, the issue of the role of media in terms of driving political responses and foreign policy remains a considerable academic endeavor especially having in mind the developing and developed states dichotomy (Robinson, 2002).
In the U.S the pressure from the people has been cemented by not only democracy but the presence of the media. A foreign policy issue external to the populace generates a constituency within the country and this mounting pressure has in most cases generated favorable results to the public. Through the old media and the new media, the American citizenry have influenced foreign policy as constituencies turn universal and the whole country influences concrete policy change. Notable cases include the humanitarian cases where starvation in Africa have become domestic problems in the U.S due to media coverage. Such cases have influenced relief aid. Other cases include the South African case of the Apartheid regime, the Intifada in Palestine among others. Further to this the effectiveness of the media to stimulate and sustain domestic pressure is highly related to the coverage time and the nature of the issues. The main issues with high propensity to generate domestic pressure include the environment and human rights (O’Heffernan, 1991).

Britain’s media has been able to influence foreign policy on several occasions. For instance the coverage on the Arab nations such as Libya swung the government which became preoccupied fully by these events. The British government reactions to events such as the 1988 bombing of a Pan American aircraft over Lockerbie, Scotland shifted Britain’s foreign policy. Another media attention was the Afghanistan war where over 10,000 Britons were involved and the central focus by the Media made this war a serious national affair (Harris, 2011).

In Africa, the media has also been critical influencing the foreign policies of states. In Tanzania the media had an important role in influencing the external relations of the country as executed by the government. The Tanzanian government had entrusted the media and the overwhelming support for foreign policy actions carried out by the government had been publicized and influenced by the role of the media. Decision
making by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had to put the media into perspective while making the decisions as its approval or disapproval could decide on the fate of the policies being made. However, the situation has deteriorated and the local media no longer plays its previous dynamic role (Kamuhanda, 1989). He further opines that Tanzania’s media can no longer play its influential role as it cannot pin point any signs of detraction from the states interests. The country’s media is now characterized by some timidity. For instance the focus on one of the key principles guiding the republic on self-reliance cannot be addressed by the media but the same media has been at the forefront to cover on issues of signing agreements to receive donor aid. This shows how the media has lost its place in foreign policy making and is unconsciously promoting the policies of other actors (Kamuhanda, 1989).

Anne-Katrin (2011) argues that the Darfur conflicts were barely known in the global level till the media mobilized the consciences of millions around the world who then propelled action from policy makers regarding the crisis in Darfur. This signals the failure of Africa’s media and this can also be seen in how the continents media have failed to elicit government action on foreign policy issues. For instance the coverage on important issues by the media has failed to influence government action or change of strategy.

According to O’Heffernan (1991) the globalization of the media has come with domestic pressure for foreign policy action. He further opines that once the camera is present then the pressure is there. The media globalizes issues and minority issues become heavy majority or plurality matters. Through the media more people can exert pressure which will influence foreign policy officials to swing into action to not only execute favorable but rational measures.
In Kenya, the Media has also been keen in addressing the policies made by the government. The recent interaction with the ICC saw the international and local media focus on the country’s politics and to a large extent these events have somehow shaped the country’s foreign policy (Aluanga, 2013). Further to this, a recent events of media and foreign policy shift in Kenya is well espoused a public outcry on human abuse by a popular African musician who publicly hit a woman. This sparked outrage in the media especially the new media which led to the government executing a deportation order of the musician and cancellation of a music concert (Digital reporter, 2016).

Britain and Kenya represent two categories of states where Britain is a developed state while Kenya is a developing state. This very fact means the media in these two countries have different abilities to influencing foreign policy decisions. Developed states Media have higher capabilities in production and transmission and also have a higher ability to affect the conduct of the state’s foreign policy. Robinson dubbed this the ‘CNN effect’ (Robinson, 1999). The direct influence upon governments or indirect influence though affecting public opinion which in turn effects governmental decisions regarding foreign policy represents an informational revolution (Hulme, 2001).

1.2 Statement of the Problem
The media, often referred to as the fourth estate, has become an important tool in the public sphere due to its impacts upon government and especially on foreign policy. This owes to in part to the fact that it tailor-makes its stories in such a way that it can present and analyze an event thus in effect mobilizing the general population by creating a political clamor to respond to such an event. Such attention and the broad effects the media brought forces policy makers to respond to such attention. To this
end therefore, it has been argued out to be a potent force for shaping public policy (O’Heffernan, 1999).

However it is important to note that the impact of the media in developed and developing states has not been gainsaid in regard to whipping public opinion in one way or another. The role of the media in regard to influencing public policy has been a subject of scholarly debates with scholars such as Cohen (1994) argues that the media is of immense influence in foreign policy while other scholars such as Mermin (1997) arguing to the contrary (Cohen, 1994; Mermin, 1997).

Developed states foreign policies have been influenced by the media but the same has not been recorded in developing states. Varied literatures reviewed also indicates that Developing states Media have had little or no influence on the foreign policy of states and according to existing literature, their impacts on the states foreign policy remains remote. Media as input tool in foreign policy decision making and a campaign tool for foreign policy validation has largely been unexamined. It is this gap that this study seeks to fill through comparing developed and developing states. More importantly, the study seeks to examine whether the media’s role in foreign policy formulation across the developing-developed spectrum is either pro-active or reactionary.

It is against this background that this study sought to examine the influence of the media on a state’s foreign policy through a comparative analysis of Kenya (developing country) and Britain (developed country).
1.3 Research Objectives
The general objective of the study is to examine the influence of the media on a state’s foreign policy through a comparative analysis of Britain and Kenya.

1. To examine the influence of the media on public opinions in developed and developing states.
2. To evaluate role of the media in foreign policy formulation in developed and developing states.
3. To evaluate the role of the media in foreign policy analysis in developed and developing states.

1.4 Research Questions
1. What is the influence of the media on public opinion in developed and developing states?
2. What is the role of the media in foreign policy formulation in developed and developing states?
3. What is the role of the media in foreign policy analysis in developed and developing states?

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study
Scholars have argued that a state’s level of development is critical in dictating its institutional capabilities and by that fact their influence on the states foreign policy. The developed states foreign policies have been influenced by the media but the same has not been recorded in developing states. It has been pointed out that developing states Media have had little or no influence on the foreign policy of states and according to existing literature, their impacts on the states foreign policy remains remote.
This study therefore, sought to explore the relations between the Media and a state’s foreign policy using the case of a developed and a developing state. It tried to establish the connection and further show how the two relate through comparing the case of a developed and developing world. Lastly, it prescribed recommendations to the developing states whose foreign policies remain ineffective and are formulated and employed without input of other important actors such as the media.

Academically it sought to add knowledge to the existing literature in the area of the role of the media in foreign policy making. It however, concentrated on showing the role of the media in foreign policy making of weak and powerful states. The findings of the study sought to shed light on the different ways the media impacts the foreign policy of these two types of states. Also it envisages to fill in the gaps that exist on the subject matter which can be useful for weak states especially those in Africa.

On a policy aspect the findings are critical for policy makers especially in the comprehension of the dynamics of foreign policy and the media. This will aid in making informed and rational decisions and to a large extent show what needs to be done differently by developing states in order to benefit from the media in terms of achieving state interests. Furthermore, it will help arm diplomats as well as policy makers with an engagement tool aimed at engaging the media pro-actively as well as reactively with a view to successfully prosecuting desired foreign policy objectives.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study covered the period beginning 2000 to 2015. This is informed by the fact that this period marked some land mark events in the relation between the media and foreign policy especially for Britain. The turn of the century was followed by events such as terrorism and the build up towards the Iraq war. Such events were key in
showing the relationship between the media and foreign policy. The study covered the period until 2015 in order to have a more recent picture of the subject matter.

This study suffered several short falls. First, there was limitations due to the scantiness of information regarding the influence of the media on foreign policy of Britain and Kenya. The research and publications on the topic are few especially on Kenya. However, the researcher applied deep and intensive mechanisms in order to obtain information.

1.7 Definitions of Terms

**Non-state actors** are individuals or organizations with significant political influence but have no alliance to any state.

**Media** is the means of communication whether radio and television, newspapers, magazines, internet among others that convey information and influence people to act or not act.

**New media** refers to the content available on-demand through the internet and is accessible on digital devices that have interactive user feedback and creative participation. Instances include websites such as online newspapers, blogs, wikis, video games and social media.

**Developed state** is a state that is economically advanced with large industrial and service sectors, politically sovereign, has advanced technological infrastructure and a sizably large GDP.

**Developing state** are states that are characterized by a high degree of industrialization, infrastructure, and other capital investment, sophisticated technology, widespread literacy, and advanced living standards among their populations as a whole.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This section contains the empirical and theoretical review. The theoretical review contains the theories relevant to this study, their utility and critique of the theories. The empirical review of existing literature of studies and research conducted in this subject matter. It will give a chronological perspective and will be organized from the global, continental and national perspectives.

2.2 Empirical Review
The empirical review section will contain literature related to the subject matter. It will over the literature in relation to the basic objectives of this study.

2.2.1 Influence of the Media on Foreign Policy
Seib (2008) in his work *The Al Jazeera Effect: How the New Global Media Are Reshaping World Politics*, discusses “new” media, in particular satellite television and the Internet. Seib shows how the media’s ability to shape public opinion not in support of current foreign policy, but rather as a force that may change international politics. His Al Jazeera effect expands the idea of the CNN effect, coined in the 1990s, which posits that since the second Gulf War, the international ubiquity of CNN has shaped international public opinion and thereby, in directly, foreign policy. In his work Seib describes the unprecedented possibilities provided by communication technologies that connect and link communities. Seib’s main idea is the “virtual state:” disperse communities, such as the Muslim Ummah or the Kurdish people.
The media began to report the true awfulness of war and the politics behind it to the American public. Because of the effort to reveal the truth from correspondents, many Americans began to doubt the government and the war. The media and the American people alike began losing hope in the government and war. The credibility of the American government suffered its biggest loss when the Pentagon Papers information was leaked to the public. The Pentagon Papers were published in the New York Times and later the Washington Post as well as other newspapers. The Pentagon Papers, revealed by journalists, contained numbers from the war that included far higher rates of American casualties and far less successful battles than the officially released government statistics had indicated. These documents were top-secret historical studies, contracted by the Pentagon, about the war, that showed how the government was misleading the US public in all stages of the war (LaborLawTalk, 2005).

The influence of the media, also known as "The CNN Effect," or "The Al Jazeera Effect," as introduced by Seib, discusses “new” media, in particular satellite television and the Internet. Unlike Simpson, Seib posits that the media are indeed able to change the status quo of foreign policy by shaping international and domestic public opinion. Seib’s main idea is the “virtual state:” disperse communities achieve an unprecedented cohesion that puts them on the political map internationally. Satellite media and the Internet foster “virtual sovereignty” by cultivating a shared identity among disperse members of ethnic or religious communities. This is relevant for foreign policy because virtual states can affect the stability of traditional states and regions. Media can also alleviate tensions and conflict by providing new perspectives to an unprecedentedly large audience. Seib recommends that, if policymakers want to take advantage of the media’s power to create communities, cooperation is a better
approach than competition, and international media, such as Voice of America and Deutsche Welle, become relevant tools of foreign politics (Seib, 2008).

This role can also be seen being exemplified in a number of areas. According to Simpson’s chronicle of British journalism regarding War especially Britain’s involvement in Iraq. He presents a wealth of information and historical analysis showing that throughout the last century the British media, well capable of shaping public opinion, mostly shaped it in favor of the government’s foreign policy. The press did have substantial influence not only on public opinion but on policymakers themselves. Propaganda is the big keyword for the role of the British press during conflict and Simpson vividly shows how censorship and government propaganda turned the media into a government puppet during the worst times of conflict, keeping the British public at heel (Simpson, 2010). The other likely effect of the media on foreign policy making mentioned by Livingston, is that of the media as an agenda setting agent. It is presumed that the coverage of humanitarian crises puts the issue in the foreign policy agenda and drives intervention (Livingston, 1997).

2.2.2 Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Formulation

According to Soroka Mass media can, and often do, play a critical role in policymaking. The typical view of media is that they matter in the early stages of the policy process that media can help to set an agenda, which is then adopted and dealt with by politicians, policymakers, and other actors. The impact of media is rarely so constrained, however. Our argument here, in short, is that media matter, not just at the beginning but throughout the policy process. Many of the standard accounts of policymaking have a much too narrow view of the timing of media effects. Existing work tells us that media can draw and sustain public attention to particular issues. They can change the discourse around a policy debate by framing
or defining an issue using dialogue or rhetoric to persuade or dissuade the public. Media can establish the nature, sources, and consequences of policy issues in ways that fundamentally change not just the attention paid to those issues, but the different types of policy solutions sought. Media can draw attention to the players involved in the policy process. Further to this it can aid, abet or hinder their cause by highlighting their role in policymaking. Media can also act as a conduit between governments and publics, informing publics about government actions and policies, and helping to convey public attitudes to government officials (Soroka, 2002).

This paper opines that these arguments as propounded by these scholars potentially portray the influence of the media by potentially arguing that it is unlikely to lead to a substantive change in the prosecution of domestic and international politics. Even though they play a pivotal role in shaping the policy externally as with regard to the quest for international allies, they miss a point in that they are unable to account for the very fact that the media may be an influential player stemming from the fact that due to the vastness of the populace, it acts as the populace’s lens while at the same time crediting or discrediting a given foreign policy objective.

Perhaps this gap is better addressed by Bella Mody who presents a systematic analysis of the coverage of the genocide in Darfur by ten news organizations in Africa, China, Europe, and the United States. Mody represents a strongly normative perspective, arguing that an informed citizenry is necessary, although not sufficient, for preventing conflict and humanitarian crises. In her argument, media influence foreign policy by putting issues on the public agenda and by framing them in a way that catches the attention - and sympathy - of a large audience, which then demands action from their elected representatives. She argues, for instance, that both the Somalia humanitarian
crisis and the conflict in Darfur were not on the agenda of international politics until the media started paying attention. Mody understands media as “mobilizing conscience,” shaming policymakers into reacting to a crisis; creating incentives to act while at the same time raising the risk of not acting (Mody, 2010). It is however important to note that the media are constrained by their own environment. For instance, the geopolitical history, national interest, state ownership of the media, and audience explain almost all of the variation in reporting on Darfur between 2003 and 2004 in the analyzed news outlets.

The impact of media on policy also appears to be contingent on the source of the news: reliable and respected news outlets have more impact than marginal and questionable news sources. Additionally, the possibility that media have a marked impact on the political agenda increases when there is heightened coverage of the same issue, at the same time, by different media outlets. Even with these caveats, the accumulated literature suggests an important (and often independent) role for media in determining which issues are important, when for the public, and for policymakers as well. Setting the agenda is just one way in which media may matter to policy (Eilders 2000, 2001).

The media can also affect foreign policy through framing of public opinion and policy making. In framing, effect is said to occur when, in the describing an issue or event, a speaker’s emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. Framing theory is based on the belief that how an issue is characterized to an audience will influence how it is understood (Scheufele and David 2007). Put differently, issue framing refers to the selective exposure of information to an audience with the intent of shaping their understanding of an issue; it is the “selection of and emphasis upon
particular attributes for the news media agenda when talking about an object” (McCombs, 2004). To frame a story is to withhold some information or prioritize some facts over others. In fact, most frames are defined by what they omit or obscure as what they include. Frames often influence the direction of policy by pulling values or emotion into the discussion. Stone argues that problem identification often focuses on framing a story in a way that attributes cause and assigns blame (Stone, 1989).

2.2.3 Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Analysis

The relationship between policy makers and the media is not a "one-way", rather it is one of reciprocal influence. Despite the influence of media over policy makers, the media reports "shape the policy agenda, but do not dictate responses. They highlight policy dilemmas, but do not resolve them." In other words, the prerogatives on policy making belong to policy makers, media does not decide for them (Gowing, 1994). He concludes that in the future real-time television coverage will make no difference to policy making, the most likely situation is that a minor action would be taken just to show that "something" is being done; ultimately, events are what are important to policy makers, not the coverage of them. The likely changes on policy strategy product of television coverage would be tactical, but not on the overall strategy (Gowin, 1994).

In addition, the media is also an actor in the throughout the policy process. It’s an inevitable thing, surely it is nearly impossible to imagine modern politics and policymaking without some kind of media involvement, after all. Some scholars have concentrated on the ability of news content to contribute to informed public debate, particularly with respect to television news. However, media as actors in foreign policy have been criticized for dismissing complexities in favor of a more compelling and definitive and less accurate narrative. Part of the problem may be the
relatively limited policy expertise possessed by many reporters (Lichter and Rothman 1999).

Hoge (1994) describes the quality of media as accelerants as a pressure for politicians to respond promptly to news accounts. However, Hoge foresees a negative effect of media as accelerants, due to the fact that news accounts by their very immediacy are incomplete, without context and sometimes wrong. In the case of Somalia, Mermin (1997) believes that media stories may have accelerated the movement in Washington towards intervention, yet those stories were clearly a product of that movement. In this regard therefore, the ability of the media to function as an agenda setter is the most questioned by Livingston (1997) since the so-called CNN effect has been overestimated. The majority of humanitarian operations are conducted without media attention furthermore; the eventual media coverage itself was the consequence of official actions. In the case of Somalia, Livingston and Eachus (1995) and Mermin (1997) conclude that the media were used by powerful elites to put pressure over other officials, and that coverage followed policy makers' actions.

With regard to the influence of the media in formulating and prosecuting foreign policies at the African setup, the media also plays a pivotal role. According to Anne-Katrin (2011) recent events in North Africa have intensified speculations about the role of the media especially traditional mass media as well as communication technologies the in shaping political events and cultures across the world. She further opines that the lack of systematic research and acknowledgement of media influence on foreign policymaking may be due to the indirect nature of this effect. Further to this she opines that the media do not necessarily influence policymakers directly, but may work through public opinion by shaping what people know and believe about foreign politics. Public opinion, embodied, for instance, in predominant
political views or in election results, can have considerable influence on policymakers that need approval from the electorate. While Anne-Katrin’s thesis on the media and the foreign policy aptly portrays the macro-influence of the mass media in prosecuting foreign policy, it is important to note that the thesis is largely built around the Arab Maghreb case study. To this end therefore, there is a need to examine whether the same applies in other case study areas.

In the Kenyan case, the media has also been argued to play a pivotal role in foreign policy formulation and implementation. As aptly postulated by Bwire (2015), the Kenyan media echoes the media in the international arena in that if well and strategically used, it can help to influence world policy debates and, more importantly, influence positions on major issues. This is largely supported by the fact that in Kenya, the government as well as a number of institutions have made media relations part of their most invested in departments. It is however important to note that while powerful and influential nations use the media to set the global agenda, and thus influence global thinking, the media in Kenya and our foreign policy managers are very often at loggerheads.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This study will employ three theories in studying its subject matter. First is the structuralist perspective, secondly, the Liberal-pluralism and the Hypodermic needle perspective. These three theories have relevance to this study as the theories complement each other and triangulate in the quest to fully bring out the complex dynamics of the subject matter. The insufficiencies of each theory are addressed by the other in the process of meeting the objectives of the study. Further to this, each of the theories has a different perspective that addresses matters of foreign policy behavior.
2.3.1. Structuralism

Structuralisms perspective considers the media as an important factor in the formation of foreign policy. The role of the media is critical in shaping opinions and formulating policies. Proponents of this school of thought such as Bernard Cohen posit that the media plays a highly active role in influencing decisions made in foreign policy. It is a watchdog, independent observer and an active participant (Cohen, 1963). This theory further opines that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but is successful in telling readers what to think about. It assumes that readers are uninformed and have no apriori knowledge about a foreign policy issue. The importance of this theory in the study is the fact that it offers explanations and helps in analyzing the role of the media in foreign policy formulation. It shapes opinions of the citizenry as well as policy makers. This theory will apply to this study as it tries to bring out the linkages between the media and opinion shaping. It will therefore aid in bringing out the differences between the state of the developed and developing countries.

2.3.2. Liberal Pluralism

Another theory with an explanatory potency of explaining the role of the media in foreign policy is the liberal-pluralism which deals with `the media as course` (Gitlin 1980). According to this approach no single frame predominates foreign policy and excludes the others. Society according to proponents such as Gitling, is open to various competitions. Mass media and more specifically journalists role is dealt as that of an objective observer. As a result of the virtue of ownership in a market economy a range of opinions will emerge. In this model, the consuming public is not a passive body which absorbs media content, but is a heterogeneous group of consumers who use the media in the way that suits their needs (Watts 1997).
Further to these two theories, literature presents other predominant theoretical paradigms in regard to the importance of the mass media in foreign policy decision making. The hypodermic needle theory comes out strongly and it proposes that mass media has a direct, immediate and powerful effect on its audiences. To this end therefore, the mass media is perceived to be a powerful influence on behavior change. The theory holds that the mass media could influence a very large group of people directly and uniformly by acting in the same manner with a hypodermic needle which means ‘shooting’ or ‘injecting’ the populace with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response (University of Twente, 2015). This study is of import to the examination of the influence of the media on foreign policy processes in that it helps explain what shapes foreign policy behaviours among policy makers as well as the general public.

2.3.3. Hypodermic Needle

The allegory of a hypodermic needle suggests a powerful and direct flow of information from the sender to the receiver. With similarly emotive imagery the hypodermic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message. The theory expresses the view that the media is a dangerous means of communicating an idea because the receiver or audience is powerless to resist the impact of the message. In light of this assertion, the theory is of the opinion that there is no escape from the effect of the message in these models. The population is seen as a sitting duck. People are seen as passive and are seen as having a lot of media material shot at them. To this end therefore, people end up thinking what they are told because there is no other source of information (University of Twente, 2015). This makes the theory potent in
explain what media actions and interactions induces certain responses from foreign policy makers.

The challenge with this theory however, is that it doesn’t espouse the role of the media as a vector instrument used by politicians across the political divide or by the government in propagating a campaign on the need to pursue a given foreign policy objective or prosecuting a foreign policy campaign not of its own choosing. What the theory thus fails to contextualize is the instrumentalist nature of the media in furthering a course of a third party.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section contains the systematic framework that was used to conduct the study. It mentions and elaborates the research design, discusses the data collection methods, data analysis and presentation. This study capitalized on secondary data. Secondary data is any data that was collected for the purposes of another study but is relevant to the current study. This data was collected from published sources that include public records, books, conference papers, reports, government documents, journals, periodicals among other published documents. Also, newspaper articles and websites with information related to the study as well as previous researches done regarding the topic provided the much needed lucrative information.

3.2 Research Design

The study was a comparative study. It employed the few-country comparisons of the comparative approach in order to bring out the cases of the two countries. This study sought to show how the developed and developing states Media influence the states foreign policies. It compared the two Media and how they have been able over time, to shape the foreign policies of the respective states. Kenya and Britain were the cases for comparison. This approach was most suited because analysis of two countries in scientific methodology applies a comparative method. This helped bring out the realities taking place in the specific countries.

3.3 Data Collection

This study depended on qualitative secondary data in the process of understanding its subject matter. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) qualitative data helps explain phenomena more deeply and exhaustively. Data will be collected from
published and unpublished sources of information that include books, journals, periodicals, public records, government reports, bilateral agreements, historical documents, articles, magazines, newspapers articles, embassy reports among other literary sources. Secondary data was dominantly used due to the logistical aspect involved in collection of primary data. Collection of primary data presents a logistical nightmare in terms of resources i.e. time and finance. Furthermore, the study was analytical and comparative in nature. To ensure that the data collected was sufficient for the study, the study diversified the sources of secondary data in order to best be able to get a grasp of the situation underpinning the media in foreign policy processes.

3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

The qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis. Through this process, relevant information was sifted through noting patterns of issues that relate to the subject matter. This information was checked for recurrences which inform the inferences that the study would make. Content analysis serves as the best method of detecting and citing crucial trends in the qualitative literature regarding the subject matter. Through content analysis the patterns emerging from the literature were noted for making generalizations.
4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks into foreign policy, the foreign policies of Britain and Kenya, and also the influence of the media on the foreign policies of Kenya and Britain. Further to this the chapter gives an overview of the media landscape in both countries. Therefore, it shows how the media has influenced the formulation and implementation of the foreign policies of these two states. Lastly, it brings out the differences as portrayed by the two states through a comparison of how the media has influenced foreign policy.

4.2 Foreign policy

According to Omolo (2009) foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends, and they both aim at preserving national security, which is a vital national interest. A state’s citizens are its most fundamental national interest. Their protection is central to national security and the state should do all within its powers to assure them of security. Kenya foreign policy comprises the contacts, interactions, pro-actions, actions, and inaction that governments decides to take discretely, or not to take, in order to promote, project, protect, preserve, propagate, or promulgate and defend the national interests of the country concerned, as well as the image and prestige of the nation on the international stage.

A state’s foreign policy takes account of the relevant attitudes, actions and reactions of other actors whereas its domestic policy is not, in general, burdened with such considerations. It should be clear that the more the resources and instruments at the
disposal of a state, the greater it’s potential to influence the development of the international system in a direction favorable to itself. In common parlance, the more powerful a state is, the greater is its capacity to influence other states, and by extension this means it has the greater is its ability to meet the objectives of its foreign policy. Foreign policy is a combination of aims and interests pursued and defended by a given state and its rulers in the relations with other states, and the methods and means used by it for the achievement and defence purposes and interests. The aim and interests of a state in international relations are realized by various methods and means (Gelb, 2001).

It has become a truism that in an increasingly globalized, interconnected world, the lines have become blurred between domestic policy and foreign policy. Decisions taken by the Government which are intended for the British people will often have an impact internationally.

4.2.1 History of Britain’s foreign policy

Britain’s post-war foreign policy as a concept has typically been used alongside decline, and that of continuity. The prevalence of tradition in foreign affairs has been of particular significance in Britain. This combined with the predominantly pragmatic outlook in an image described as “floating easily downstream” evoke a mixture of historical precedence. Britain’s pragmatism has been accompanied by the absence of explicitly stated aims and principles in foreign policy (Smith, 1998).

Some scholars claim that towards the 1990s no reformulation of national priorities targeting the external environment had been stated. This is especially in light of W. Churchill’s vision represented by ‘the three circles’. This were Britain’s strategic position at the convergence point of three circles including Europe, Commonwealth
and the Atlantic. Britain after the WW II was physically debilitated but was on the winning alliance. In the new international order the British policy-makers were keen check American economic, cultural and strategic interests in Europe. Britain failed to make hard choices in the developing post-war world which left her interests undefined and poorly conducted (Sharp, 1997).

In the historical accounts of British foreign policy three elements have been given constant priority. They include the privileged American relations with NATO on the background, reserve towards Europe as a continent, and a global presence with preference for former colonies. Hill (1988) argues that British foreign policy can hardly be explained without mentioning the dual impact of its past. The history has an influence on politics through a notion of enduring and timeless interests which is summed up by the global extension of Britain based on commerce. The mix of material interests and ideas goes to illustrate how norms often acquire their position from usefulness, which is visible in many areas of British political culture.

In the era of Margaret Thatcher foreign policy was not immensely affected by Thatcherism. The primary aims was re-establishment of Britain’s prestige abroad through military strength. Thatcher’s approach was on a national-patriotic footing which saw her lead several wars (Porter, 1987). She fought for European integration which was to further develop a common market but she remained staunchly nationalist when matters outside the economic realm. Britain supported a Europe that would spread free trade and not deepen integration of the social or military policy. Thatcher’s international approach is labeled conservative with emphasis put on liberating international capitalism while maintaining military balance in Europe (Rees, 1991).
In John Major’s period as Prime Minister Scholars argue that the administration did little more than moderating controversial Thatcherite stances regarding Europe. The coming of the New Labour to government in 1997 which was perceived as a turning point. Also the end of Cold War and the bipolar international system needed a renewal of British foreign policy doctrine to address the new times. The New Labour brought a new language to the British foreign policy domain but little was done substantially (Toynbee and Walker, 2001).

Tony Blair’s period marked the ascension of human rights and multilateralism. The policy of debt relief towards the Third World privileged relations the relations with this countries. Further to this there were constructive peace efforts directed to several African nations. Blair’s government was also keen on acquiring multilateral relations especially in the UN and EU in terms of foreign policy (Toynbee and Walker, 2001).

However, some cases are ambiguous such as in the Kosovo crisis in 1999. On moral claims the Britain which was engaged in diplomacy resorted to arms and this became NATO’s coordinated campaign against Serbia. Tony Blair’s showed internationalism and American preference which were also highlighted after the 11 September 2001 terror attack. It is through this that Blair’s government confirmed foreign relations which enforced and valued special relationships. The Blair era is characterized by advancement of new foreign policy agendas which are based on the idea that through multilateral means, the international community has capabilities of defending human rights and uphold the rule of the law. In the war in Afghanistan (2001) this idea was reinforced and Britain’s approach was known as uncompromising as affirmative action preceded appeasement. Some scholars concur that inasmuch as international activism remains important in British foreign policy, enforcement and efficiency still prevails in modern times (Kennedy-Pipe & Vickers 2003).
Under Gordon Brown Britain’s foreign policy changed in certain dimensions. Hard power remained a critical tool and there was renewed emphasis regarding ‘nonmilitary’ intervention. This was the norm since the days of Afghanistan which remains by far one of Britain’s largest military deployment in another country. The recent controversies brought about by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan did not delegate ‘hard power’ as it was still used by the administration to achieve state interests. Other different elements used included targeted sanctions, security guarantees, international criminal proceedings and also military interventions which were applied heavily by the foreign secretary. These were however, all explicitly linked to the continued importance of promoting democratic values and security guarantees globally (Dutton & Dorey, 1997).

Gordon Brown in his prime minister post had stated that the future foreign policy of Britain would focus more on economic dimensions of conflict prevention and resolution. This would have particular reference to occupied Palestinian Territories. Brown called for an economic road map that would help in the reconstruction of the area. This would later bring some results with regard to economic assistance in the occupied Palestinian Territories. Blair to whom the FCO and DFID seconded their staff, went on to provide support for the same agenda. Critics have however argued that initiatives such as this one had limited value in the absence of credible peace processes between Israel and Palestine. Further to this it is based on the recognition of the Palestinian Islamist movement - Hamas that has been controlling Gaza and remains an important player to ignore (Lunn, 2008).

Brown’s government’s policy or the lack of it with issues on humanitarian and security crisis have received fewer media coverage compared to Burma and Somalia. The Government was charged with passively accompanying the US in a mission to
Somalia. The US policy was at that time, it is argued, shaped majorly by anti-terrorism agendas instead of the humanitarian or conflict-resolution imperatives that were being advocated for. Brown’s Government however, disputed this view but as time has proven, the experience of the UN and US in Somalia in early 1990s was regrettable and Somalia remains a leading ‘cautionary tales’ of ‘military humanitarianism’. Finally, Brown’s administration has continued to its predecessor’s efforts in the quest to promote development in Africa. Gordon Brown was personally heavily involved in the ‘softer’ aspect of Britain’s agenda towards Africa through aid, debt relief and trade. The administration’s continued good faith on the agenda for Africa was readily accepted by many observers who approved it. However, the dark cloud remains a world trade deal of the Doha development round which remains elusive (Lunn, 2008).

Scholars argue that a host of other factors which include the environment and energy have possibilities of triggering transformations in Britain’s foreign policy. Further to this, there is the ‘Europeanisation’ of this policy which some states and leaders hope for while another huge chunk fear. Despite the recent emergence in the past decade of an increasing array of technologies used for strategizing, planning and risk assessment especially in foreign policy, it may be prudent to heed that expecting the unexpected is part of the foreign policy environment (Lunn, 2008).

Britain’s foreign policy issues can be summed up by alluding that the country has a potentially wide range of options it can use to deliver and in turn impact its national interest. As a wealthy and militarily powerful state which has a global foreign policy and a history of influencing world affairs, Britain has a complex network of partners and alliances through which it can achieve its national interests. Through the EU, the UN and groupings within for instance the group of five permanent members of the
Security Council named the “P5”; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the Commonwealth; the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; G8; the G20 and the groups of leading industrialized nations; Britain can exert its influence in the world (Lock, 2014).

4.2.2 History of Kenya’s Foreign Policy

Kenya’s foreign policy can only be discussed in the context of its post-independence period when the country was free from colonial rule. The country’s foreign policy at the time was guided by principles that include vigilant safeguarding of national interest, maintenance of independence, collaboration to foster and promote African unity, work for international peace and peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and good neighborliness (Maumo, 2009).

After independence, the need for political and economic development as well as national security drove her foreign policy especially in the early years following the path she took. Owing to the control of capital in foreign hands, Kenya could not pursue a radical foreign policy say as that of Tanzania, during the period. This was because in the assessment of the government then, Kenya could not sustain such an ‘irresponsible’ foreign policy if she was to maintain and attract foreign capital (Krishna, 2010). It is said that this made Kenya to hold relatively moderate views on international events. Professor Howell in his 1969 analysis of Kenya’s foreign policy, points out sub-regional, regional and international political concerns which were domestic concerns but heavily influenced the way Kenya behaved internationally (Elias, 2012).
The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nations present a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world (Bernard, 2002). It is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya’s image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels. Kenya’s foreign policy continues to lay stress on non-alignment, Pan-Africanism, and on the African political doctrines and ideologies as well as on the principles of public international law and diplomacy. The foundations of Kenya’s foreign policy also include: Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security, the charters of the UN and of the African Union as well as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the principles of good neighborliness, African solidarity, socialism, and peaceful co-existence, peaceful settlement of disputes and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states (Merton, 2008).

The first administrations since independence in 1963 led by President Kenyatta, pursued a foreign policy that emphasized cooperation with neighboring countries, support of continental liberation movements and a mixed economy that strongly encouraged foreign investment and hence close ties with western countries. After his death in 1978, there was a smooth transition despite precarious political environment, allowing vice president Moi to become president. There were attempts to topple Moi in a coup d’etat in August 1982, and later the wind of change of multiparty, democracy that blew through Kenya, but Moi was able to hold a fierce challenge and win another term of office in 1992 and again in December 1997 (Olsen, 2012).

African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya describe the lack of institutions in Africa and hence the emergence of personal rules. In the context of
foreign policy, the most important policy formulation institutions are the presidency, often supported by the respective ministries of foreign affairs. Kenyatta’s style of leadership was reflected in his foreign policy. Kenyatta assumed the presidency at a time when he had achieved heroic status among Kenyans and condemnation as a leader unto darkness and death by the colonial government. At independence, Kenyatta apparently had already made up his mind about Kenya’s path in foreign affairs. Subsequent policy documents such as KANU manifesto and the sessional paper no. 10 of 1965 clearly spelled out Kenyatta’s wishes that Kenya would be built along the lines of free enterprise, tied to the west, and that the accumulation of foreign capital would be necessary for economic growth, which led to the Foreign Investment Protection Act 1964 (Haas, 2014).

Kenya’s foreign policy under former President Moi was highly centralised and reflected his self-interest in defending his government against international and domestic criticism. Moi became especially interested in neutralising the people he perceived to be opposed to his rule. He centralised and personalised power in the image of the ‘Nyayo’ (Swahili for footsteps) philosophy that mirrored Kenyatta’s style of leadership. It also covered the aspirations of peace, love and unity in an attempt to stand out as a nationalist in his own right. To ensure he had grip on power, Moi systematically assumed the functions mandated for other institutions of government to the extent that the principle of separation of powers was rendered ineffectual. This was because Moi associated insecurity and instability with the open and clear criticisms and challenges levelled against his policies and style of leadership. Patronage and loyalty were the characteristic of Moi’s leadership style and governance. The era was simply an authoritarian system where the president rarely
delegated responsibilities and became involved in almost everything in the country including the individual rights of people (Adar, 2011).

Corruption, nepotism and tribalism became systematically rampant in government. The economy began to decline and human rights abuses became widespread. Some Kenyans went through assassination, repression, arbitrary arrests, political trials, torture and detention with no trial of political dissidents. The tactics used in the colonial era became common place as Moi viewed human rights to be alien and Eurocentric which was inconsistent with the African value and cultural system. He also perceived activists as unpatriotic, disloyal and ungrateful individuals influenced by ‘foreign masters’.

Internationally, Moi concentrated efforts on boosting the country’s image through several partnerships in military peace keeping missions. Also he tried to involve the country in negotiations of peace agreements under the auspices of the Commonwealth, Organization of African Unity (OAU) and United Nations (UN). The country remained traditionalist in approach but intensified working for its interests through international organizations which it was party to. Participation in international conferences was also increased and Kenya also became a signatory to several international charters such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights adopted in Nairobi in 1986, yet it did not care for its implementation. This enhanced the nation’s prestige both continentally and internationally but it could not stem the wave of criticism over governance especially in an international environment that emerged at the end of the cold war. Also, the constant domestic pressure with the decline of the economy, increasing corruption and human rights violations lingered in the political scene (Adar, 2011).
Under president Kibaki, Kenya's foreign policy underwent a significant shift both in themes and fora. According to the draft foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign policy is now based on three interlinked pillars that include economic diplomacy, peace diplomacy and environmental diplomacy. Kenya's foreign policy is now informed by the necessity to secure the regional and wider economic objectives. The county currently focuses on strengthening regional organization blocs particularly the EAC. Kenya has already put in place a Look East strategy as a means of reducing their dependence on traditional Western markets (Njagi, 2008).

The forum used to pursue foreign policy has significantly changed in order to reflect changes in the international system. One of the factors that have influenced the change in fora of implementing the country's foreign policy is growth of multilateralism. Adding on to the traditional organizations for instance the United Nations, Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and African Union (AU), Kenya now has been actively involved in engaging other countries at a multilateral forum such as China under Forum on Africa China Corporation (FOCAC), Japan under Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) and other Asia countries under New Asia - Africa Strategic Partnership (NAASP). The rise of dynamic economies of Asia especially China and India provides new opportunities for Kenya and other African states to develop new ties on Asia - Africa. The new regional initiatives from the countries in Asia avails opportunities for increased cooperation at the multilateral fora for Kenya and also other African countries. Further to this, they provide an opportunity to negotiate for broader market access, trade facilitation and promotion of foreign direct investment (Njagi, 2008).
4.3 Comparative Analysis of Kenya’s and Britain’s Media Landscape

The media landscape simply gives a broad and in-depth perspective of the media industry in both Britain and Kenya. In this section, the media arena of both these countries will be brought out with major emphasis on the ownership, control and how they operate. Further to this, the interaction between the media and the public will clearly be brought out in order to get a panoramic view of how it influences foreign policy.

The media landscape in Kenya is relatively large and is characterized by the print, broadcast, new media among others which are affordable and accessible to the citizenry. The print media is estimated by both the publishers and the Audit Bureau of Circulation to be the most popular. The most circulating dailies in the country are the Sunday Nation, the Standard, the Daily Nation, the Star and the People. However, diverse numbers of print material are circulated for specific audiences, geographical areas and topical issues all over the country (Paasch, 2009).

On the other hand Britain, a member of the UK, has one of the largest and most complex media landscape in the world. The industry consists of 815 radio stations, 521 TV channels, 1,594 newspapers and 1,969 magazines. The regulatory body for the British media named Ofcom (Office of Communications) asserts that over half a million people work in the UK media companies alone. The media industry has since the 1990s been categorized in the “creative industries” where individual creativity, skills and talent drive are key. Ofcom is a governmental agency tasked with regulating broadcasters, fixed-line telecoms, mobiles and postal services in the country. Corporations such as the BBC is subject to the BBC Charter and other independent governors. Newspapers have historically been monitored by the Press Complaints
Commission (PCC) which is a self-regulatory body financed by the newspaper houses (Hujanen et al., 2008).

The British media industry is one of the oldest media industries globally and has traditionally enjoyed independence and self-regulating. It enjoys freedom which is envied by media industries of other countries around the globe. It is by this fact that the media has over time been acting as a ‘regulating’ force in the British national and local scene. The government, politicians, powerful individuals of the corporate world, and opinion shapers depend on it to further their agendas (Theaker, 2011).

Kenya boasts many television stations though few of these are considered serious. The television is popular and attracts large numbers of audiences because of free and popular entertainment. The TV offers critical current and historical information to the public but the latest news especially on politics attracts huge viewership. The TV remains popular as a medium of relaying audio-visual information and signals are widely spread even to the most remote parts of the country due to satellite dishes and decoders which capture free-to-air broadcasts (Paasch, 2009).

The television network has at times not been limited to Britain and reaches the greater UK where there are over 500 free and subscription TV channels for consumers. There exist five main channel owners that include BSkyB, BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5 which remain responsible for wide viewership. The structure of national channels is organized in a way that there are regional programmes that cover local and regional news. These programmes generally align to the national news but there are BBC regions ranging from Scotland, Wales, London and South West which maintain their news team for purposes of local content (Hujanen et al., 2008).
The independent television (ITV) is made up of a network of 15 regional commercial television franchises which were established in 1955 to compete with BBC. ITV plc owns twelve of the franchises. ITV1 is available for the Welsh, English, Southern Scotland and Channel Islands franchises. The ITV regions maintain both news and local programme structures following the national news. The national and international news are provided by ITN (Independent National News) that is also in charge of Channel 4 (Hujanen et al., 2008).

The media landscape has in recent times experienced a shock through the emergence of the citizen journalists. The rise of blogging, social networks, mobile telephones, tablets and digital cameras have brought a different way of news. New can now be broken, confirmed and reported by citizen journalists just like the traditional media. This has helped in the mainstream outlets for instance the BBC, Sky and CNN now appeal for eyewitness reports which are documented by citizen journalists when news is unfolding. Further to this such outlets use footage from citizen journalists to bring out news stories. However, the citizen journalists are most times subjective and emotional. They are limited by lack of secondary sources and news editor therefore, they often file news before it is cross-referenced (Nel et al., 2007).

The British radio, television and newspapers were some time back very separate branches of the media but the coming of the digital age, the internet and the social media have significantly changed the media world. The coming of broadband and the political impetus behind making availing it countrywide and making 3G and 4G networks locally present in order to allow mobile internet access. All this developments have changed how Britons access and consume media (Theaker, 2011).
The media landscape in modern day Britain can be divided into five broad categories. The print media; the radio which covers national, regional, local and communal; the television which covers national and regional; internet websites for instance news portals; and lastly citizen journalism which consists of blogs and social media. The internet has increasingly become an important component of traditional media’s business. This can be observed by comparing the circulation figures of popular daily newspapers and the number of new visitors to the newspapers website. For instance the Audit Bureau of Circulation’s figure, the Guardian newspaper, in 2012 approximated that 581,000 newspapers were issued. In the same period, the guardian.co.uk received an estimated average of 2,600,000 unique browsers per day. There exists an essential divergence that differentiates Britain’s newspapers from those of other parts of the world which is the heavy application of images and political bias. This aspect is critical in how the media and politics influence and affect each other (Theaker, 2011).

In Kenya the radio remains the most widely available and accessible medium of information throughout the country with a majority of Kenyans owning radio transmission devices. The estimate number of radio stations has continued to increase and current estimates stand at over 100 stations spread across the country. However, an estimated 300 frequencies and licenses have been issued by the broadcasting agency but most of these remain unexploited. The radio has penetrated the areas which remain without electricity especially rural areas and this has boosted the spread of radio which use portable batteries for power (Moggy and Tessier, 2001).

The radio in Britain is cited as the oldest media with the most comprehensive structure and a wide reach more than any media platform based in Britain. Radio
remains one of the most popular media and stations are played in most Briton homes, cars and workplaces.

In Kenya the internet has in recent times gained a massive following and is regularly exploited in place such as cybercafés, work place, at home and anywhere through handheld devices and portable electronic devices such as laptops and tablets. The speed and volume of information available online is cheap to obtain at peoples convenience. The internet’s prominence as a medium of accessing information is in the urban areas where internet is accessed through wireless devices. The internet remains weak in some rural areas due to network and high prices. However, cutthroat competition between internet providers has in recent times been pushing the prices down. The recent entry of the fibre optic network in the country has brought the growth of the electronic media. A major drawback in the use of internet remains lack of policies that promote strong and independent (Moggy & Tessier, 2001).

Contrary to this, Britain’s general online presence is rather large. The use of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter proves that the media has grown and taken new dynamics. Facebook pages are used for interaction with audience while Twitter is commonly used for alerting and enticing audiences to the media’s website. This clearly shows how the media landscape has evolved to become a more connected and intricate web of various platforms used to distribute news content to audiences by media owners (Dutton, 2007).

Kenya’s general public are mainly absent in decision making positions of most media and the content channeled out tends to lopsided in order to influence opinions. The airtime and print pages most times focus on politics and economics which remain popular themes. Reports also note that politicians are a major group of players in the
media industry as some are owners which leads to unfair representation of public voices and in turn favor opinions of a limited number. The media is considered a tool for promoting the agendas of political elite (Moggy & Tessier, 2001).

The Kenya Communications Act was enacted to liberalised the sector and this ACT spells out the conditions for starting and running a public, private or community broadcasting service. The ACT gives powers to the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) to set programming codes for any licensed operators. The Communications Commission of Kenya is the chief regulator of broadcasting and its board is dominated by individuals with vested interests such as politicians and the business community. Financing comes from the government which also does the appointments of its members unilaterally without involving the civil society or any other stakeholders in the industry. The Media Act of 2009 establishes the Media Council of Kenya and allows the MCK to set up the Complaints Commission (CC) (Mbeke, 2010).

Generally the media is interested in a range of events, cultures and issues which it seeks to not only bring out but influence how it is perceived. It may be on economics, culture, politics or societal. The Kenyan media is at times biased and is influenced by stereotypes and interests that seek to portray things in a way they are not. However, the media has tried to show it promotes equal opportunities in displaying information regardless of race, ethnicity, social group, gender, religion, disabilities or age but discrimination exists in the Kenyan media on issues ranging from employment to the stories aired (Mbeke, 2010).
4.4 The Media and Foreign Policy

Naveh (2002) constructed a theoretical framework for describing the role of media in foreign policy decision making. He however, noted the media affects policy by fact that is a part of the environment in which foreign policy is made. His description of the complex process suggests that when an international event occurs, leaders become aware through the media (input process), information is then processed via various image components, which sets the formulating process in motion, media personnel and other professionals are involved in the process as officials consult for advice. When policy is being formulated (output phase), leaders consider the media environment (both national and international) in the decision itself.

Hulme (1996) took a more pragmatic position and argued that on the surface there seemed to be some possibility of media influence on either the population or the government. He also asserted that influence or pressure on the government could be achieved either directly by affecting policy makers to act as has been advocated in the press or by affecting public opinion which would pressure government to take action.

The 20th century experienced an information communication revolution that fundamentally changed the conduct of diplomacy especially in formulation of foreign policy. The media can now be able to influence and achieve desired results in international affairs. This is conceptualized as soft power which uses attraction rather than coercion. This attraction is currently effective in using communication to shift belief and effect changes acceptable to the general public. The diplomatic world has also experienced a revolution driven by persistent media which has changed diplomacy significantly. The inventions in communication and technology has enabled media outlets and especially global news channels such as CNN, BBC and Sky to shape events and determine foreign policy of states in response (Eban, 1998).
Policy makers recognize the place of media in foreign policy formulation. The global television network has immensely effected foreign policy both in general and particular humanitarian interventions. James Baker III, former U.S secretary of state, acknowledged that this new phenomenon was being experienced where the global communications revolution was able to drive foreign policies of states. Baker further acknowledged that in Iraq, Somalia, Chechnya and Rwanda live coverage by electronic media created an imperative that influenced actions of several states. Madeleine Albright, also a former Secretary of State argues that televisions have the ability to bring graphic images into the living room which heightens the pressure for engagement in international crises with possibilities of instant disengagement when plans failed (Neuman, 1996).

The Pentagon Papers which were published in the New York Times, the Washington Post and other papers revealed numbers that were far higher than the American casualties reported by the government. Also far less successful battles were exposed than the officially released figures indicated. These documents were top-secret historical studies, and their exposure were expected to have future policy implications (LaborLawTalk, 2005).

End of the Cold war marked the globalization of communication which changed the way mass media influenced foreign policy processes of states. These improvements displaced the old diplomatic methods due to the increase in influence of non-traditional actors or instance the media (Ammon 2001). The debate over which mass media serves the elite’s interests or on the other hand, shapes political outcomes has been avoided. Some scholars attribute enormous power to news media while another group claims the media ‘manufactures consent’ for elite policy preferences. Chanan argues that the media is involved in the stages of foreign policy formulation and
political leaders consider the media’s national and international aspects in policy formulation (Chanan 2001).

Advent of the new media altered virtually every facet of society and foreign policy was not been left behind. News and commentary is received from new sources in the virtual space form of tweets, Facebook updates, and blogs among others. The new media unlike the traditional mass media experiences less control in the flow and source of information (Hulme, 2001).

The mass media effects foreign policy in that it achieves when it keeps the pressure on policy officials (Cohen, 1994). These argument assumes that the more the media consistently pursues a policy idea, the more likely it would influences policy makers. In the same theory examining the quantity of editorial comments in national daily papers is useful in measuring mass media policy demands (Kelly, 1994).

4.4.1 A Comparison of Britain and Kenya

On the one hand, Britain’s media plays a proactive role in shaping the UK’s foreign policy. This is of pivotal import bearing in mind that the United Kingdom is generally perceived as a global player based on the claim on permanent membership in the Security Council, on the status as a nuclear-weapon state, on the regional influence left behind by the colonial empires, on the diminishing but still relevant military intervention capacity, and on the first-rate diplomatic machines. The military expenditure of the UK stood at 21.4 percent and in terms of foreign policy assets, 14 percent of the EU’s diplomats work for the UK and its diplomatic networks are the most extensive with a large number of bilateral and multilateral diplomatic missions (Akor, 2011).
The influence of the British media on British foreign policy is largely hinged upon the changing culture of politics whereby the means of international thinking and action are changing as they become progressively shaped by digitization and the Internet especially in Western Europe and North America. Furthermore, in the age of globalization and contemporary media, “top-down” communications have changed and become more lateral between people around the world.

A good example is in the case of April 1993 when Martin Bell, a British news reporter working for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), filed a report from a small Muslim village just north of Vitez. What made the report so remarkable was not its content, showing scenes from the massacre in the village, but simply the effect that the story had. This short report brought a war into the living rooms of millions of television viewers. This coverage did not move the problem up on the political agenda, at least not publicly.

Another key example is that of the British intervention in Bosnia which was arguably triggered by the television scenes of the mortaring of the bread queue in Sarajevo in May 1992, which were followed soon after by film of the Omarska mine concentration camp. This led to considerable pressure from the media to send troops to Bosnia. The continuing television coverage kept goading ministers into action; whether or not to send troops to Bosnia became the constant subject of debate in Britain and elsewhere. It was noted: It is hard to believe that, without the television picture on the screens in the United Kingdom, British Troops would ever have been dispatched to a part of Europe that could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be held to be a vital national interest. The media impact on policy seems also to depend on several variables least of which is the amount of media coverage given to a particular issue (Hulme, 2001).
In the lead-up to the June 23 European Union referendum, British mainstream media failed spectacularly. Led, inevitably, by the viscerally anti-EU Daily Mail, Sun, Daily Express, and Telegraph papers, most of Britain’s national press indulged in little more than a catalog of distortions, half-truths, and outright lies. It was a ferocious propaganda campaign in which facts and sober analysis were sacrificed to the ideologically driven objectives of editors and their proprietors.

But a second, equally powerful reason is unique to the United Kingdom the passionate right-wing ideology that drives many of those newspapers. The country has a long history of explicit partisanship in its journalism. While there has always been a predominance of right-wing papers (at times, very right wing: the Daily Mail famously supported pro-Fascist groups during the 1930s), in the past, this was partly balanced by the mass circulation of the Mirror newspapers. But the Mirror’s decline has been precipitate; the Mail’s online dominance, on the other hand, driven by its embrace of celebrity news and pictures (mostly of young women in various states of undress), has enhanced its popular and political influence. Led by the Murdoch-owned Sun, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express, and the Telegraph, with the Times (also Murdoch-owned) in a supporting role, the partisan right now overwhelms the comparatively insignificant presence of the Daily Mirror and Guardian on the left, especially with the left-leaning Independent now relegated to an online-only presence.

During the referendum campaign, this toxic combination of uncompromising devotion to a political cause and contempt for the truth played a major role in leading Britain down the Brexit road.

The policy implementation stage witnessed a tremendous upsurge in the number of editorial comments written in the sample British newspapers. While at the policy initiation stage (September 2002) 25 editorials were recorded, there were 101 editorial
comments recorded at the policy implementation stage. That marked a 75.2 percent increase in editorial comments at the policy implementation stage. The frequency of the publications is also significant. In September 2002, editorials on British Iraqi policy appeared in eleven out of a possible 25 weekday editions. In comparison, at the policy implementation stage, editorials on British Iraq policy appeared on 24 out of a possible 25 editions of each of the newspapers. No editorial on the Iraq policy appeared in any of the four sample newspapers on March 1, 2003 (Akor, 2011).

In Kenya’s case, the Media plays a reactive role to the country’s foreign policy. This can be deciphered through its actions regarding some issues that have made domestic issues in the country to transcend into the international arena. This has majorly been through its ability to link such events to trends, events and values in the international arena which is at the regional, continental and global spheres. These actions have triggered state response through foreign policies addressing these issues.

Another case that shows the media’s role in foreign policy in Kenya is the media coverage of Sudan’s President, Bashir attendance of the promulgation ceremony of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The media’s reaction in regard to the attendance led to a subsequent exposure of an attempt to visit a second time. This resulted in the cancellation of the Nairobi IGAD summit and Kenya was put under renewed pressure from the international community especially the ICC and international partners over international commitments. Such media exposures have led to Kenya changing its initial plans through policies in order to accommodate internationally acceptable stands.

The Kenyan media also provides a platform where government and other stakeholders are presented with opportunities to publicize their agendas. For instance,
following several border incidents which were highly focused on by the media, the
government responded through an operation and AMISOM. It also raised the scale of
Kenyan military interventions in Somalia.

Likewise the media has focused on certain operations especially through the Kenya
National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) which have brought highlights on
abuses taking place. This has opened up space to question policies and raise criticism
on the same though little has been done to change the stand of the government. The
media presents an avenue for debating issues and also explores and exposes the
intricacies and contradictions in Kenya’s policies. However, these are camouflaged in
the name of security and little or no shift can be noticed policy wise.

According to McKenzie (2011) the KDF incursion into Somalia presented the media
with new dimensions as KDF crossed into Somalia in October, 2011 This marked a
new way of reporting as the country had never been involved in a war of this
magnitude. There were changes in terms of how news gathering, processing and
reporting took place. Further to this, the country received unfamiliar reports which
showed death and destruction. However, the media reports have done little to
influence the stand of the government regarding the KDF operations in Somalia.

By the fact that research had established that media plays a critical role in the starting,
continuation and termination of wars, the influence of the media has to be continually
assessed on matters foreign policy (UNESCO, 1978). Kenya’s incursion into Somalia
through “Operation Linda Nchi” was highly focused on by the media in 2011.
However, the constant focus and subsequent terror attacks on Kenyan soil dominated
the media both old and new. The incursion and also Kenya’s contribution to the
AMISOM made the country a target and several attacks both big and small have been
levelled against Kenya ever since. The media has for years focused on this
developments and subsequently increased public awareness regarding Kenya’s
dilemma with Somalia. While Kenya’s soldiers fight *Al Shabaab* in Somalia, the
terrorist group continues to attack Kenyans in their homeland. This has however not
deterred the government or made it change its foreign policy position regarding
Kenya’s involvement in Somalia.

According to Mbugua (2013) the media (fourth estate) in the global power dynamics,
has high influence on peace and security operations. He argues that the media is a
double edged sword that may promote the course of peace or fuel conflict through
putting pressure on governments. Further to this, the media influences policy makers
and shapes their perception of the world. Mbugua appreciates the fact that the study of
mass media activities in conflict situations is of great importance given that the
success of any mission is highly dependent on media support and consequently public
acceptance and support of such missions.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction
This chapter contains the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The conclusion sums the findings of the study and gives an overview of the same. On the other hand the study recommends critical ideas that can be taken into consideration in order for the media in the developing states to generally apply what has been working out in the developed states.

5.2 Conclusion
This study found out that the level of effect of the media is dependent on several factors of which the media is probably not the only force pushing for change in foreign policy. The media may act as either a complementing or opposing force to the other influences that affect decision-making. Therefore, the media alone has little power to shape foreign policy but this is highly dependent on the level of development of a country. It may have the ability to influence minor issues and small aspects of foreign policy. However, in essence, the media influence depends highly on the effect it is trying to achieve.

The policy on which change is being attempted to be affected, has a level of inertia and each foreign policy issue carries its own importance and weight. This study concluded that the success of the media influence is dependent on the policies it attempts to pressure. Success is limited to the level of development of a state as developed states media record higher rates of policy change where many issues of concern are able to be influenced. On the other hand, developing states media have recorded little success and in most cases there are no substantial reports showing policy shifts.
Today’s trends show that there is probably be little impact on the “media effect” on foreign policy. The changes occurring regarding where most people get their news from are changing slowly and are based on technology. This fact implies that today’s information generation will become decision makers who use the media with utmost impact in future. The developing world will slowly catch up as most are composed of high numbers of young populations who may be able to influence foreign policy through the new media.

Mass media is an important variable of the foreign policy system. Its role and influence though differ from time to time and it remains in close relation to other factors that influence foreign policy. It is also dependent on the context the media operates in. Use of political symbols in certain contexts offers potential to affecting responses to foreign policy issues which could have serious policy impacts.

It is also noted that commercial necessities have a huge effect where they transcend others interests. In most cases the press operates in terms of attracting attention achieved through dramatizing and sensationalizing of events. This has mostly taken root in developed countries where the media is generally private owned. In developing countries, most of the media remains in the hands of government and even in private sector, the government has stakes which it uses to manipulate outcomes.

The intensity of mass media pressure is not primarily responsible for the responsiveness to foreign policies which stand supported. The responsiveness depends on the stage of policy development and the environment in which policies are made. Therefore, the intensity of mass media pressure does not have much effect especially in developing countries.
The study found out that the stage of policy development determines the degree of responsiveness of a government to foreign policy issues. Public officials make the most positive responses to public demands at the policy initiation stage. The policy implementation stage has in recent times witnessed an upsurge of official responses meaning public officials are more inclined to defend their policies despite the upsurge in demands for shift in policy by the media. Further to this the highest number of adjustment changes in the process were recorded at the initiation stage. Adjustment changes to policies occur at the level of effort directed towards a cause and targets of a policy. At the implementation stage very few changes are ever recorded. And lastly, at the policy review stage very few changes are ever recorded. This is however, very clear in developed states s the developing states have recorded changes in any stage of policy development. It is also key to note that the idea that the media has always been able to force an 'external' set of priorities on foreign policy makers, is disapproved. The degrees of mass media impact is dependent on the stage the policy is in and mainly varies from insignificance to substantial.

This study also notes that the impact of mass media pressure were different at different stages of policy. For instance at the policy initiation stage, there were adjustments on how officials processed policies that are in line with public demands. The responses were more far-reaching on some demands. The developed states media here record a higher success rate while the developing states have little or no influence.
5.3 Recommendation

Evidence has pointed out that foreign policy interventions occur where there has been massive media coverage of an issue and coverage only occurs due to interests. This study recommends that there should be a body governing the accuracy of the information the media is projecting either on television, radio or the internet. It is until an independent regulatory body is tasked with the almost daunting challenge of monitoring and censoring information especially in the net that pressure will be applied to genuine issues. Therefore, it remains critical to double check the source of information for both the developed and developing states especially the developed where there are numerous outlets channeling information.

As the CNN effect is now old and passed, governments are now aware and can manage to harness the power of news media. However, the new era of information proliferation with no boundary to the quantity of information the public can access and whether the content is true or false is a challenge. The media should be keen to influence the foreign policy through availing the right quality and quantity of information to inform policy especially in developing states where the media is backward and media personnel remain inadequately trained and equipped to handle high level issues.

The media has some influence on foreign policy, it affects the general public and decision-maker to be precise. However, the difficulty remains quantifying the amount of influence of the media. It is safer and more accurate to argue that news may serve as an impediment than an accelerant. For instance in Somalia where the media influence on foreign policy was negative. The impact of the media especially for the military operation was immense.
The media relies on information from government, police and military in times of conflict. This at times ignores the directly affected victims. This study thus recommends the empowering of the public and media institutions on information sharing especially on issues of conflict management as this will improve public confidence in information channeled by the media.

Further to this especially in times of war such as the Kenya - Al-Shabaab war where the media devoted a lot of attention on influencing the public that the war is favoring KDF then later changed the narrative should be checked. Media devoted a lot of space and time in news to make the public believe that KDF troops were on top of the situation. It neither showed the huddles and resistance encountered by troops nor the casualties suffered. This situation later emerged as media started bringing the realities of war. Issues of credibility also emerge as the study noted that most news was gathered and reported from Kenya. Such instances where live coverage exist allows propaganda to thrive.

This study also recommends that media which is a multidisciplinary field should borrow a leaf from a range of fields in the academic disciplines. The academic community should foster a multidisciplinary curriculum for the media studies in order to better equip the media personnel especially in the developed world where most are limited to media without exposure to other disciplines which inform foreign policy matters. The issues and topics studied in media cannot be separated from the rest of society and this should be factored in in order to improve the critical mass of the media personnel.

The developed countries such as British have a strong background on the applied and practice based research which is key in the media for purposes of credible and exact
data. This should be adopted by the developing states as the applied and practice based research is accompanied by knowledge transfer where media and communication industry co-operates with the media and communication policy-makers. This could be a key ingredient in the influence of foreign policy as the information obtained is reliable and very valid for public consumption and foreign policy formulation.

Another recommendation is the co-operation between the media industry and academic research. This practically takes place in some developed states but is very weak or non-existent in developing states. This has an effect on the general output of the media especially on content which lacks informative and critical information. This can be enhanced not by government policy alone but by changes in the media landscape which should integrate the academia. This presents a challenge for both the academic and commercial driven research used by the media as both have different interests. However, the collaboration remains practical.
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