



SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

**ROLE OF MEDIA IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN
AFRICA: THE POST COLD WAR PERSPECTIVE**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, 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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ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is a central to a state's approach towards its dealings with other states and lately non-state actors within the international organization. In such set up, states behave in a manner that addresses their own national interests and overall common good as liberals would put it.

The core aim of the post-cold war foreign policy of African states is to harmonize domestic interests with the external environment based on the available means and resources. Despite the limited capability of post-cold war Africa, the elites endeavored to formulate foreign policies that would bring out African states as capable participants within the international sphere. Studies have been conducted on African foreign policy bringing out various actors involved as well as the context in which African foreign policies are formulated.

Most studies have paid emphasis on actors of foreign policy formulation as institutional based determined by the leadership of the day and resources available. This means that African states have formulated their foreign policies based on deliberations and thought processes of the states elites.

In post-independence Africa, the elites sought to trade off sovereignty with supranationalism and regional integration out of the urge to unite the geographical units created by colonial administrators to increase their global bargaining power. The unity was based on quest to achieve economic development, free market for African goods, Security allocation of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and all relevant adjustments to conform to the world order established after the end of the cold war.

This paper brings out the role of media as an actor in the post-cold war foreign policy formulation process based on the changes witnessed since the end of the war linking the domestic to the international interests. The primary focus was to illustrate the historical role played by the media during the post-cold war foreign policy formulation process In Africa.

Key Words: Foreign policy, Media theories, International System, cold war

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my Family and friends for their limitless support accorded during the process of writing and for believing in me.

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Definition of Terms

A non-state actor refers to organizations or individual personalities that exert impact, either positive or negative to the global order.

Media refers to all channels may both print and visual that are used to pass information to consumers.

New media refers to communication medium that embraces use of digital technology such as social media and internet.

Developing state refer to a state with an undersized industrial capacity, and low Human Development Index (HDI) comparative to other states.

Global Media refers communication technologies like internet and transnational media systems and news amenities such as CNN that have led to or contributed to the reterritorialization and digitally abolishment of geographical boundaries.

List of Abbreviations

AU	-	African Union
CNN	-	Cable News Network
CPC	-	Communist Party of China
EAC	-	East African Community
EU	-	European Union
EPA	-	Economic Partnership Agreement
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
IFIs	-	International Financial Institutions
IGO	-	Intergovernmental Organisations
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
MNC	-	Multinational Corporations
NASA	-	National Super Alliance
NGO	-	Non - Governmental Organisations
NPT	-	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UN	-	United Nations
USA	-	United States of America
WB	-	World Bank
WWI	-	World War One
WWII	-	World War One

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Foreign policy is a central to a state's approach towards its dealings with other states and lately non-state actors within the international organization. In such set up, states behave in a manner that addresses their own national interests and overall common good as liberals would put it. The fundamental objective of foreign policy is thus intensification of needs that are key to a state's survival within the international system (Woolcock & Bayne, 2017).

The international environment is anarchical in nature and states must ensure their survival and security within it hence foreign policy must aim at gaining benefits that are in line with its interests. With the end of the cold war came end of military supremacy in international relations with the African states focusing on foreign policies that would ensure both development and economic growth. Emphasis was also put on growing states interdependence as a way of surviving within the increasingly competitive international system by advancing use of media to express their intentions (Okoth, 1997).

Technological developments during 1980s allowed international live media coverage, whose effect was greatly felt towards the end of the Cold War (Robinson D. A., 2000). During this period, the news aimed to evoke an emotional reaction and to demand a rapid response from political elites by producing media antagonism. Historical events such as the collapse of the Berlin wall, the fall of communism and the rallies of Tiananmen Square in 1989 were witnessed through the media channels. Some of the current policy makers have acknowledged that they first hear of troubled regions through international news coverage.

Philip Seib, confers "new" media, in particular satellite television and the Internet as a tool toward change the status quo of foreign policy by shaping international and domestic public

opinion. He approaches the whole idea whereby a states are no longer concentrating on territorially based production but maximum use of media to determine the stability of traditional states and regions disperse communities achieve an unprecedented cohesion that puts them on the political map internationally (Arnold, 2011).

According to Stephen Livingston (1997), the media can be viewed as a non- state actor that has three basic effects on foreign policy formulation; first it acts as an accelerant or as an impediment and or as an agenda setting agency. He collectively describes this as the “Conceptual Variations of the CNN Effect” which advocates that the television depictions have a definite power on both the general public watching them and the elites that forces the leadership to make key decisions on military or political field, without cautious consideration based on media sentiments enforced via those pictures. This therefore means that mainstream media is depicted as involved participant and no longer serve as detached observer when it comes to pressing for influence in policy making process.

As an accelerant, the media force shortens the time duration of the decision- making process and also greatly assists in sending signals between national leaders such as genocide or war. In 1965 during Vietnam War, the media was used to reference potential national security risk factors that would require an immediate response from the government. Some government officials such as Marlin Fitzwater, a former presidential press secretary in America in 1993 and Nicholas Burns former state departmental spokesman between 2005 to 2008 believes that during times when rapid action is needed, they often focus on media coverage to formulate policies and make decisions, and overlook state department briefings (Burns, 2018).

Media also serves as an impediment in two ways; either by serving as an emotional pressure or by posing a threat to operational or national security (Livingston, 1997). When the media broadcasts events in a graphic manner, this may elicit abrupt reaction from the public, causing the public opinion to change rapidly. Secondly, it can act as an impediment by posing a threat to national/operational security especially when it advertises tactical operations such as anti-terrorism operations thus thwarting the operation. This illustrates how revealing too much detail to the media can pose a threat to the national security and lead to many unnecessary deaths. As it was recently witnessed, the decision of Edward Snowden a former Central Intelligence Agency employee, to leak classified information all over the world inhibited the National Security Agency of United States of America from carrying their program and also hindered the relationship between America and many other countries in the year 2013.

Lastly, media serves as an agenda setting agency whereby it tends to intervene in an issue where the policy is not certain (Robinson, 2000).The media may broadcast compelling footages to cover humanitarian crises internationally, demanding reprioritization of certain issues. For a long time, the media has focused on post- cold war humanitarian issues in countries such as Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti, thus making them a priority of the United States to intervene (Livingston, 1997).

There is very little doubt that media has a huge impact on the formulation of foreign policies. The media may cause policy makers to focus on the issues they raise but eventually have little effect on how the policy makers then decide to react to those issues. The media may occasionally have a tactical effect but not a strategic effect and therefore is mainly effective on humanitarian issues as opposed to real security matters. CNN effects applies when the

media broadcasts make the policy makers to feel pressured to react or risk having a tainted national image, or when the broadcast is exposing enough to give negotiating powers to those who desire the policy changes (Robinson, 1999).

A country's foreign policy framework seeks to promote its national interests on the global platform by establishing relationships for mutual benefits. Proper international relations are mainly critical in advancing the trade, security, infrastructural developments among other national interests of a country on the global platform (Barro, 1996). Fundamentally, growing beneficial relationships with other global counterparts in an attempt to build a reliable market with them and attain a viable bargain for the country's needs (Menyah, Nazlioglu, & Wolde-Rufael, 2014). Foreign policy development is enhanced through international forums, mutual talks among leaders, and media exposition of the current standing of the nation at any given point. The media bears the responsibility and mandate to investigate and analyze the process of establishing agreements on the pertinent issues of a country with respect to its trading partners. On the other hand, the country should make decisions based on the recommendations provided in these reports. The reports generated from these based on such analytical overviews, the national leaders acquire a viable approach towards addressing the core issues that are likely to promote beneficial international relations.

The United States for example has capitalized in development of its foreign policy to create a viable advancement framework while impacting the affairs of the world as the super power (Burns, 2018). Proper relations between the U.S and the world can be attributed to the current sociopolitical advancement. The international media has keenly focused on the constant foreign policy development through extensive analysis of the international talks between the U.S. and major controversial powers across the world. Recently, the global frenzy on the

talks between President Donald Trump and North Korean. During the meeting, Trump told the photographers, “make us thin and nice”. Clearly, it is evident that the development process of the meeting was purposely done in the full glare of the media. Arguably, the U.S. foreign policy development seeks to appease the media following a constant reporting on potential policy development approaches involving the country.

China Media censorship on the other hand has been in effect following the intense desire by the leading party to control the people. Based on the fears by the Communist Party of China (CPC) regarding the use of media, it is apparent that the media directly influences the people’s way of thinking. If allowed, media could possibly cause people to question the mode of governance. Despite the strict media censorship in China, local and international investigative journalists have made significant progress in uncovering the social rot in the country. Consequently, China has improved on its respect for human rights and has gradually conformed to the global standards on human rights and various aspects of social advancement. Primarily, China has gradually conformed to the global standards, especially in terms of human rights development following its keen interest for advancing foreign policies.

According to the University of Nairobi research archive, African countries have constantly been struggling in its foreign policy development (Martitim, 2013). The prevalence of non-state actors such as multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations thwarted foreign policy development by interfering with the government operations while pursuing specific and informal interests within African states. However, over the years, the flow of information has been gradually transformed by the advancement of technology. In this case, it has significantly difficult to hide information

about current events from common citizen. Social media offers a suitable platform where individuals can exchange content freely in real-time and to the appropriate audiences. According to Moon & Hadley (2014), it is worrying that social media is already controlling the mainstream media by virtue of its flexibility and credibility of information. In most cases, mainstream media must censor the amount of content that can be released to the audience especially if it creates the wrong impression about the political elite. Social media participants can capture events and post them for all subscribers to see. Such eventualities keep an adequate pressure in the mainstream media reporting. While it appears that most African countries have a long way to go to achieve beneficial policies with other nations, the people are more informed, curious, and proactive on matters pertaining to accountability by their government principals.

The Arab spring is a viable example of the ideal utilization of social media in spreading revolutionary messages and events as they occurred within the countries associated within the Arab belt of Africa. Prior to the recent revolutions, social media had been described as a marginal, alternative, and an elitist media even though at the time most people within these countries had not penetrated the internet (Taki & Coretti, 2013). Many people across the world credited Facebook, Twitter, web blogs and vlogs for the role they played in reporting the events of 2011. Based on these events it is clear that social media provides a platform where people are not only informed but engage in social media activism in attempts to impact desirable changes.

Further, Media has played a significant role in the development of the East African Community framework. Currently, it focuses on the trade progress among the three EAC states to spark insights on whether the existing and guiding policies are synonymous with

the existing trade relations. For instance, the current apprehension and detention of Kenyan citizens in the Tanzanian border has caused many people to question the role of the EAC in growing the interests of the three nations. Additionally, the media has also questioned the efficiency by the Kenyan government in advancing its foreign relations in the region. Additionally, the country has been on the spotlight for failing to resolve its row over Migingo Island (Muchege, 2017).

Lack of vigilance and proper strategies in the development of foreign policy encouraged the developed nations to take advantage of most African policies (Pigato & Tang, 2015). In their poor decision-making processes, they exercised dictatorship to ensure that concerned citizens did not question their way of government. Additionally, they suppressed the media to ensure their subjects lacked sufficient information on the manner in which the countries were being governed. Consequently, crucial information was concealed decades after independence. Media has been evolving gradually and the advancement in technology has facilitated the flow of information such that crucial information always finds its way to the people.

In African countries such as Kenya, media freedom remains a huge challenge. On January 30th 2018, the government shut down three major media houses to prevent the live coverage of self-inauguration ceremony by the NASA leader and presidential candidate Raila Odinga at Uhuru Park since they were deemed illegal. In Uganda, the media is overly suppressed and the authorities normally assault brave journalists in attempts to restrain coverage of incriminating content (2018). Development in Africa has stalled majorly due to the failure of the governments. Lack of integrity by many senior government officials in most African

countries has led them to make policies based on the direct benefits they gain as individuals rather than how the countries benefit.

The current transformation in select African states is obviously attributed to the role the media has played in reporting the facts and real-time events within the country. On the other hand, media compromise over the years has derailed the development of viable policies with foreign nations. A case study of media in Benin demonstrates the small growth of mass media. Even as electronic media was established in the twenty first century and independent media houses established, extensive censorship of news reporting has constantly interfered with free journalism. Direct interventions against the publication of stories, indirect strategies such as unwarranted legal restraining orders, intimidation, and bribery are still a norm in most journalism activities (Grätz, 2015). Since the election of Yayi Boni in 2006, the situation is gradually improving, and journalists are free to report most stories while upholding the principle of democracy.

1.1.1 Political systems and foreign policy formulation

At the height of globalization in the present day world, interdependence between states has become inevitable equally advancing the implications of foreign policy of each state. As earlier discussed in this study, foreign policy of any state intends to attain national interests where domestic politics are involved in determining what is best for the state. Further, for a state to come up with a viable foreign policy, it must involve both domestic and international actors concerned in the area of interest.

In Africa, depending on the states constitution and powers vested in the national leader, the head can make foreign policy decisions on behalf of the state. However to ensure that they

are not compromised by the political waves prevailing at the time, the media plays a key role of watchdog to ensure the best practices are upheld (Hill, 2003).

The media ensures that the political environment does not limit nor exaggerate the scope of the head of states throughout the policy making process. This means that the policy formulation process must endeavor to balance domestic politics with international as international goals are meant to attain the domestic objectives (Selbin & Vicki, 2008).

In Most African states today however calls for proposed policies to be discussed and accepted by the public and the government as a whole and not only the leader's whim though the level of acceptability needed is entirely dependent on the political system used by the ruling regime. In a democratic system for example, foreign policy that doesn't get a public hearing is likely to fail unlike in a Feudalistic system whereby tolerability may not be as imperative.

For example, in the year 2005, the US and India developed a foreign policy on a nuclear treaty. However, India had not agreed to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty (NPT) since it insisted that it needed nuclear capability in order to be able to defend itself against its neighbours (Selbin & Vicki, 2008).

A state formulates its foreign policy in a manner that addresses its self-interest and achieves specific goals within the international relations environment while maintaining healthy and positive relationship with other states. It involves a wide range scope of interests that range from language, culture to technology. Depending on how a state develops its foreign policy, positive economic stimulation can be attained hence benefiting the state. Economic growth helps in poverty reduction at the same time elevating the people's living standard. This is attained as a combo between the government and the public sector interests that attract an

inward flow Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for the growth to occur. Notwithstanding the datum that post-cold war foreign policy formulation requires an all-round methodology, implementation of the same remains the cornerstone of how much a state yields from it.

A state's economic growth remains to be one of the early indicators of how a state is doing and equally the first to be affected by the nature of international foreign policy the state formulates. In this case, a state's foreign policy refers to the governmental choices a regime makes towards its intergovernmental relations. This means that for the domestic social and political system to survive, a state's economic development must thrive. This is measured by looking at its per capita income, the level of literacy of the population, level of joblessness, life expectancy amongst others (Agharebparast, 2017).

Unlike the traditional economic growth indicators, the contemporary world, economic development is pegged on scientific and technological advancements. A significant advancement in science and technology is usually a combined effort from people in different parts of the world and in different sectors (Homeira, 2018).

When African states remain open to transnational trade, rapid economic growth is witnessed. When a state formulates open trade policies, the growth is significantly rapid without having to increase its exports and imports. African states have been closely associated with China and India especially in the post-cold war era as they are termed the best in adopting open economic approach that has seen close embracement of technologies and dissolution of post-World War II trade barriers. States with aligning foreign policy stands a better chance in conducting business leading to a significant poverty reduction. Economies like South Africa and Kenya that are fast industrializing have been closely associated to open trade.

Owing to the fact that most African states economies are agricultural based, formulation of foreign policies focusing on reaping from countries who offer good prices for agricultural products imports is essential. In the year 2001 for example, Senegal spent more than ten percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on imports bringing out the need of more elaborate foreign policies.

A good foreign policy aims at decreasing taxes imposed on goods and services originating from the country of interest. A tax incentive is an attempt by a government to remove part or entire liability of tax for all players from a specified field of transaction hence reducing the excess burden. This ensures an increase in job opportunities, sizeable capital transfer, technological advancements and overall economic growth. On the other Hand, developing states stand to benefit greatly from tax incentives based on how inclusive their foreign policies are formulated.

Foreign policy is also vital in ensuring a significant resource transfer amongst states hence instituting healthy functioning affiliation on the shared resources and human capital.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Most African countries have failed to develop a feasible configuration of interests alongside their foreign policy since most of their policies have become subject to global political surges (Oloo, 2016). Media has continued to be reluctant and reserved in their commentary on the political crisis. This study focuses on how media is tangled in all phases of foreign policy formulation practices and how leaders especially politically inclined governmental front-runners bring it into their attention in both local and global arenas, with the overall objective of the study being to examine the role of media in post-cold war foreign policy formulation in Africa. While studies indicate that media has contributed significantly they have not yet

answered whether indeed media has a role on in influencing the issues experienced Foreign Policy formulation processes in post-cold war Africa.

1.3 General objective of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to give a post- cold war perspective on the role of media in foreign policy formulation in Africa.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To establish the post-cold war place of media in influencing foreign policy formulation in Africa.
2. To compare media in foreign policy formulation in Africa with the rest of the world.
3. To find out the significant roles of media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war African states.
4. To establish effects of media during the process of foreign policy formulation to post-cold war African states.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What role has the media played to influence in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war Africa?
2. What are the similarities between media influence in foreign policy formulation in Africa compared to the rest of the world?
3. What are the significant roles of media in foreign policy formulation within post-cold war African states?
4. What are the media effects during the foreign policy formulation process on post cold war African states?

1.6 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 formulation. The developed states foreign policies have been influenced by the media but the same has not significantly 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, explored the effects of Media in post-cold war African states foreign policy formulation. Academically it has sought to add knowledge to the existing literature on the role of the media in foreign policy making at the same time aid policy makers in engaging media pro-actively as well as reactively with a view to successfully prosecuting desired foreign policy objectives.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Every research has its limitations. Conventionally, these limitations must be properly documented to serve as a guide to the future researchers on the manner in which they can improve or correct these limitations. Primarily, this study focuses on existing studies; therefore, the study is only limited to the content of these studies. Additionally, the study did not explore the latest facts about the subject matter since most of the studies used in this research were published in the past years. Nonetheless, the limitations of this study have no significant impact on the credibility and integrity of the study since the available information is sufficient to provide answers to the underlying research questions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter categorizes the previous studies according to the challenges facing African countries as far as foreign policy formulation is concerned, role of the media in reporting facts that can be used to influence these policies, and the manner in which the media is lagging in its role to present these findings. Further, the study provides a clear framework within which a critical overview can be established in reviewing the current policies and the manner in which they influence social, economic, and political development across African countries.

2.2 Empirical Review

Various studies have already been completed regarding foreign policy formulation and the problems facing the post-cold war Africa in her quest to establish viable policies on the global platform. Consolidating these studies provides a viable framework upon which the researcher can decipher the current position of the continent with respect to foreign policy development. According to the University of Nairobi research archive 2015, Most African countries have been constantly struggling in its foreign policy development. The prevalence of non-state actors such as multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations thwarted foreign policy formulation by interfering with the government operations while pursuing specific and informal interests. Most independent African countries failed to transition smoothly from colonialism into independence since the leaders who took over from the colonial masters lacked agenda on foreign policy formulation. While the media has not particularly focused on the capacity of these leaders to

adopt reports while advancing foreign policies, it is clear that the media rarely influences foreign policy formulation in Africa.

Media in the post-colonial Africa has turned out to be a major medium through which the public and decision makers interact to develop foreign policy agenda for the state. The ability of media to classify a matter of concern as “news worthy” leads to determining and influencing foreign policy formulation. Studies conducted by McCombs and Shaw in 1970s in the US shows that the more attention an item was given by media the more it was regarded valuable and vice versa. This drew a conclusion that media plays a key role in setting agenda hence setting the public attitudes towards each of the issue under discussion. Although the regime of the day tend to censor public opinion and contain it within the states interests, it should be noted that the relations between the media and decision makers is not unidirectional (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

2.2.1 Foreign policy approaches

Foreign policy of a state refers to the attitude, strides and plans it develops in pursuit of its national interests in the global sphere. It seeks to link the domestic objectives with international system hence a means to an end. Some Scholars term foreign policy as an arrangement of conduct that a state chooses relative to other states while other scholars term it as a strategic and tactical approach of state relations with other international players. Thus definition alludes with Henry Kissinger’s statement that defines foreign policy of a state as its actions beyond the end of domestic policy. The Ultimate goal of a foreign policy of a state is to gain greater advantage for the state within the specific objectives (Farewell, 2016).

Foreign policy formulation is a lengthy process that is affected by a number of factors. The laid down structures guide the government on the approach to be taken towards attainment

of the overall objective. In the eighteenth century isolationism approach whereby a state could by all means avoid foreign entanglements was the most ideal way to approach foreign policy. It was presumed if a state remained noninvolved; it bared a better chance to freedom. (Farewell, 2016).

The second approach is the liberal internationalism which advocates for a proactive involvement of a state into the international affairs on the basis that liberal democracies should be at the forefront ensuring a peaceful globe by ensuring corporation and reliable world frameworks such as the African Union. A classic example a liberal internationalist is Pan Africanist Doctor Kwame Nkrumah who sought the Organization of African Unity in 1963 to save Africa from further external oppression. The approach advocates for soft power whenever foreign policy is being developed (Walters Carlsnaes, 2002).

Contemporary African states have previously drawn their identity from standards set by foreign powers especially those introduced during the colonial era. The post-colonial Africa has subsequently fallen for neocolonialism hence further advancing these norms. However, since the end of cold war, Africa is redefining itself from the fear of abandonment inculcated through threats of marginalization drawn from its position of non-alignment by embracing regionalization to boost its bargaining power within the international sphere. Africa is gradually adjusting its political landscape incorporating a decisive normative foreign policy approach. With absence of definite unipolar world order and rise of African agency, African approach to the liberal internationalism is undoubtedly growing (Porter, 2018).

Contrary to Patrick Porters works, Malcomson (2016) argues that with the continued rise of African liberal internationalism; the black states end up being dependent relationship to each other with minimal relations with world third parties. He insists that present day Africa just

like the rest of the world is experiencing diminishing world order which few decades ago dictated the approach to foreign policy. The modern foreign policy has states redefining their relations with allied states as well as the global system.

The third approach to foreign policy is the grand strategy approach which utilizes both military force as well as diplomatic options to attain national interests. With clear guidelines laid on expected end state the grand strategy considers use of violence as an option. A good example is the US foreign policy developed after end of the Second World War which aimed at stabilizing the world while controlling it by building military bases across the globe such as Naval Expeditionary Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti (Dotson, 2007).

Formulation of states foreign policy involves a series of stages. First, the political leadership of a state together with foreign policy think tanks comes up with ideas that are in line with the states national interests, preferences and capabilities. A draft is formulated and if it's in a democratic government system, the proposal is forwarded to the parliament for debate and adoption after which it gets back to the executive for ratification (Rowan & Littlefield, 2015).

The posture of a state's foreign policy is determined by both domestic and international variables. Domestic variables include consideration of elementary features such as the cultural set up of a state. Most African states have multinational population hence culturally diverse with varied ethnic groups to be represented. This explains the attitude of Afrocentrism and good neighborliness that is upheld by a state like Papua New Guinea, the most linguistically diverse state in the world when making its foreign policy, maintaining a 'cosmopolitan' approach.

Further, the geographical placement of a state largely explains a states conduct towards the neighbors and members of that particular location. The neighbors make the immediate

friends and/ or enemies notwithstanding the geostrategic politics. The presence or absence of natural resources also determines the powers that play towards it, its partners and its ambitions in the international sphere.

The population of a state is also a key determiner of a state's foreign policy as it translates to both political influence and economic value. For example, Nigeria the largest African population is now commercially significant in the world. Demography gives a state military advantage during war as it can intimidate the enemy at the same time provide replenishment to cover up war rate of wastage. Military which is also a determiner of states foreign policy does not only protects a state's sovereignty but also elevates its bargaining power within the international arena (Rowan & Littlefield, 2015).

Thirdly, the leadership of the day and the state's political system plays an important role in determining its foreign policy approach. Scholars find democratic political system more stable while the leadership dictates the strengths of a state's foreign relations hence determining the strength or weakness of a state.

Lastly is the media which has become key in influencing states foreign policy formulation though this is dependent to political system of a state. Media is charged with the responsibility of being the link between the government and the people as well as a watchdog on behalf of the population. It expresses the people's opinion as well as educating them on the government plans and intentions for the general good of the state.

On the external variables, a state's foreign policy is formulated majorly based on intents of other states, sentiments and actions of great powers and attachment to international organizations. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and opinion of other great powers on terrorism has seen African states like Kenya formulate their foreign policy in line

with the powers intentions and considerations. The former tend to limit a state's sovereignty through resolutions and limiting how states relate with each other.

2.2.2 The power of a state

In the contemporary world, states manifest their powers through their ability to influence international matters in the international system as well as advancing their interests to other sovereign states. The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 as a multilateral assembly aimed at upholding diplomacy and advancing states own foreign policies through cooperation. Despite its presence, the undesired continued to happen within the global sphere. States continued to project power as a way of advancing their national interests. States continues to attack other sovereign states but with absence international constitution, a leader could not exist (Chan, 2017).

In 1962 the world witnessed a nuclear confrontation between two superpowers namely the United States and the Soviet Union, a standoff that would be referred to as the Cuban Missile crisis. Owing to the fact that it was at the height of the cold war, the Soviet Union sought to arm Cuba with Nuclear warheads all pointed towards the United States making the wake up call to the latter. The US deployed its naval blockade to stop any soviet movement to Cuba delivering such arsenal a move that was contrary to the international law as there was no declaration of war in place. Further, the treaty of Westphalia allowed a state to acquire weaponry without limits. The world was left wondering who would knuckle under first (Kennedy, 1969).

According to Graham Allison (1971), there was no single direct solution that would decisively end the standoff. He developed three decision making models that have continued to be applied by the world up to date.

First was the 'Rational Actor' model which adopts an individual as the key actor in foreign policy. This individual is presumed to be rational enough to be relied on to be knowledgeable enough to make well thought decisions that perfectly advance the interests of the state. This therefore means this model is based on availability of information to policy makers to enhance their decision making. During the Cuban missile crisis, various facts had to be ignored for the decision makers from both sides to make rational decisions. As a result, the US believed that if the Soviet also came out rationally, they would turn back their missiles on sight of the US blockade as nuclear engagement would have been a heavy price to pay at the time (Kennedy, 1969).

Second model was the 'Organizational Process' which perceives the government as an amalgamation of influential bodies functioning together rather than a sole or a collection of opinionated entities. It presumes foreign policy decisions that are made in a rigid and bureaucratic environment and that any actions to be taken will always happen with proper authority in place of course obtained through a clearly outlined chain of command and standard operating procedures. During the Cuban missile crisis, President Kennedy resulted to a naval blockade to avoid collateral damage if he resulted to bombing of the Soviets in Cuba (Barry Buzan, 1998).

Lastly is the bureaucratic politics model. This model brings out individuals who air their own opinions for what is best for organizational and overall national interest. The objective to be satisfied by these individuals brings out consensus between concerned entities. The US agreed to withdraw its missiles in Turkey as a way of reaching a consensus the Soviet Union and avoid Cuba invasion.

Contrary to the Allison's models and looking at Zambia, President Kaunda went against all other African leaders in 1989 when he entered into negotiations with the South African counterpart a move that was considered a total disregard to foreign policy hence a total shelving of the organizational processes and overall government politics. Though he did not have rational grounds to act, his moral force convinced him that he could change the situation in the apartheid stricken country (Allison, 1972).

2.2.3 The media and Afrocentric Foreign Policy

The world has developed a way of regrouping the post Westphalian treaty based on various factors. This has seen rise of first and third worlds, global north and south and many more. However, despite all the necessitating factors to these groupings, the state's sovereignty has remained intact maintaining the monopoly of violence. This has left the international system in anarchic state calling for a need to have a mechanism for state peaceful engagement leading to the birth of foreign policy (Hill, 2003).

Media has over time become an important component of most African states in their formulation and implementation of foreign policy. With the recent increase of number of actors in foreign policy formulation has equally touted the role of media in availing information necessary to and about these actors (Kamuhanda, 1989).

For socialist countries, Mass media is constantly embraced in foreign policy with the aim of promoting peace security and amicable coexistence for the overall socialist gain. Media helps the process of foreign policy formulation in advancing public opinion and open up to people on what the respective governments are doing in advancing the states interests beyond its borders. This is to ensure that the state remains checked and within its limits set by the actual, supposed, or probable demands of the nationals (Kumar, 1982).

Further, media helps the people to monitor the behavior of the government in accordance with the national objectives hence an imperative yoke between the government and the latter. Through constant monitoring by citizen, the government maintains a desirable posture that through use of communication broadcasts is projected to the outside world. This therefore ascertains that media plays an important role in successful formulation of a state's foreign policy (Mathews & Mushi, 1981).

Normally, the conduct of a government within the global system should be a replication of the local political system. However, as realists put it, the international environment is hostile due to the struggle for survival and maintenance of status quo by independent states hence upholding the domestic ethos proves a challenge. At the same time, the propagation of players in the international structure in recent epochs has additionally problematized the skill of foreign policy formulation. Diplomats are now forced to engage in a wide range of contentious matters other than the traditional security. This forces them to engage government administrators and parastatal executives (Mathews & Mushi, 1981).

2.2.4 Post-cold war African foreign policies

The transnational relations and of course the foreign policy of Africa has significantly changed since end of the cold war. During the war, African countries had the leverage to choose the camp in which they preferred to belong unlike in the post-cold war era where their foreign policy has become predictable. The end of the war marked the beginning of not only more pronounced challenges but also a source of information to foreign polices to be formulated. These new challenges range from globalization, deceases, human insecurity amongst others. The establishment of African Union in 2001 amongst other regional

partnerships was aimed towards revolutionizing Africa's foreign policy and amidst other roles, reassurance of African economic security (Hart, 1997).

There has been also an influx of number of factors that affect African foreign policies that include IFIs, MNCs NGOs and IGOs within the international system. This wide range of actors in the international system not only challenge the traditional perception that portrays state as the only unitary actor but also contests the assumption that state is the only player in the foreign policy making arena (Morgenthau, 1967).

Today non-state actors are significantly affecting the approach to foreign policy. Since conventionally a state's foreign policy is anchored on particular objectives in line with the states national interests, the role of a state in the international system remains key as it informs it largely foreign policy (Rose, 2011).

Agyeman-Duah and Daddieh (1994) states that the main aim of foreign policy of a developing states especially in Africa revolves around attainment of economic assistance that eventually add up to the states development goals. A number of factors explain the post-cold war aid oriented foreign policies of African states. Firstly, the foreign policy approach is triggered by the versely pronounced marginalization of Africa within the global economy.

The continent has been placed for the longest time in the peripheral role as indicated by the diminishing Official Development Assistance (ODA) and the meagre allocation of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to the continent. This marginalization has been attributed to the shift of focus from Africa to different ventures in Eastern Europe (Callaghy, 1991) .

The need for economic growths in Africa and other wide-ranging developmental challenges has greatly influenced the formulation of foreign policies giving much interest to foreign aid.

Nonetheless, the aid oriented posture of African foreign policies have over years posed stern repercussions to the health coexistent of the continent within the international sphere that include introduction new actors in such as IFIs that overtime has called for structural adjustment that undermine the sovereignty of these states (Awoonor, 1994).

Despite the evolving schools of thought within the international relations, the state has continued to be the principal actor in the international relations with some questions seeking to determine the extent to which it's not the only actor (Buzan, 1998).

2.2.5 Media in foreign policy making process

Foreign policies are formulated to advance the states interests to where domestic policy cannot penetrate. Most African states have their policies revolving around security and general wellbeing of its citizens. Seib (2008) brings out media as tool with a new role whereby most people in African state utilize it to advocate for changes and formulation of new foreign policies in line with the state interests. This is in addition to the traditional role whereby leaders used media to influence support for the existing policies.

During the gulf war for example, the CNN effect influenced the international community by changing their thoughts hence determining the subsequent direction of foreign policies. This according to Seib (2008) was as a result of constant reporting of real time situation of the war and publicly decreeing the political influence behind every phase of the active combat. Such media broadcasts as witnessed in the war can adversely affect the credibility and legitimacy of the ruling government while on the other hand establishing and upholding sources and benefits of a policy the government is ought to have made (Soroka, 2002).

The significance of media influence at times depends on the media house reporting and origin of the news. The more a media house is esteemed the more influence it exerts. However,

Existing literature notes that mostly media plays a key role in identifying key issues and how best to bring together the public and policy makers (Eilders, 2000)

Hitler is quoted to have effectively used media to spread propaganda. Arguably, the radio and print media was less influential at the time due to censorship and hence affecting the general impact on people's opinions. As outlined by the agenda setting theory and priming where by the former portrays the population as consumers of media broadcasts as the gospel truth while the latter allows the people to review the performance of leadership based on the matters covered by the media. These theories bring out media as a turning point to peoples' opinion based on how much information is available. (Lazarsfeld & Berelson, 1944).

Additionally African leaders have turned their heads towards utilizing media to influence how people vote mostly by airing of campaign promises through both print and radio (Snyder & Strömberg, 2008). Further, the politicians have utilized the media to single out matters that may be of concern to the people they represent and sought to address them through the same medium. This therefore has directly led to change of policy process due to the power that media bestows on people through public education (Snyder & Strömberg, 2008).

In Africa for example where drought and cost of living has been sky rocketed since introduction of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) the continents developmental challenges can be addressed through objective media coverage.

2.2.6 Media in coverage of foreign policy events

To some extent, the impact of media in influencing foreign policy formulation greatly depends on how the media itself and the foreign policy makers relate. The telecommunication channels form part of the atmosphere in which most non-state actors thrive and execute their agenda. Media therefore adopts various roles in such environments.

First, they construct a reality and give leaders of the non-state actors an exposure to it forcing them to act in its favor. Secondly media forms part of the environment through which policy makers make their decisions hence influence the direction taken as a quest to improve their public image or launch a campaign that will engage the media in their desired direction (Viggo, 2000).

The extent at which media cover events determines the overall public interest. Depending on the nature of event, an event can attract limited public response while others escalate the same. Media also tends to give more attention to foreign news more specifically to tragic occurrences that are violent in nature which is a biased approach to peace promoting news (Viggo, 2000).

African states as democracies develop their foreign policies based on prearranged national interests. However, they decided to remain nonaligned at the end of the cold war which formed base of most of their foreign policies. Hoge (1994) argues that despite the absence of a definite definition of national interests, the approach taken by post-cold war African states is determined by how the events affect a state. While the cold war provided the media broadcasts inclined towards the interests of the superpowers, the press remained vital in implementation of the policies (Nye, 1999).

The US considered the collapse of the Soviet Union as part of its national interests. This means that without a definite sense of national identity, a state cannot be able to advance its national interests. This makes policy making process a difficult process as power is exerted from all directions. Nye (1999) perceives power affecting foreign policy formulation as a three sided chessboard with the first side representing a states military power which is unipolar in nature, the second side depicting the economic muscle and lastly is the

transnational relations which bring out a state's ability to influence other powers. With all these factors influencing the national interests of a state, the formulation of foreign policy formulation process has left African states almost option less on the direction to take instead compelled to some extent align with the world powers.

Foreign policy formulation in the post-cold war Africa has in most cases taken place in a polarized environment. Media has therefore had to perform the normal media functions as a way of providing response leaning towards foreign policy formulation. Though a complex process, media has remained key towards decision making and as a tool to ensure implementation. African leaders and their foreign policy makers have since relied on media for international occurrences. In such scenarios, media has served as a source of information key to policy making as outlined by the CNN Effect concept Robinson (2000).

The post-independence Africa had its foreign policy anchored on states interests in relation to the rest of the world without putting into account any challenges that a state might be facing to attain the formal foreign relations. These challenges included but not limited to impact of colonialism and security matters. The colonial period had significant influence in shaping the African states foreign policies especially politically, economically and as well as cultural perspective. The modern political set up of the African continent remains a mirror of colonial system as it substituted the indigenous system of administration (Farah, Kiamba, & Mazongo, 2011) The modern African state, following the quashing of the pre-colonial African culture, is an extension of the colonial system that continues to extend ethnic politics amongst the citizens.

It was not in the interest of the colonial powers to neither uphold democracy amongst African states nor prepare them for self-governance after independence as the system was put in place

as a tool for manipulation and depriving. It's through the inherited mismanagement of governance system by post-colonial African leadership that Africa continues to bleed due to corruption, totalitarianism and selfish interests (Wyk, 2007).

When the Europeans invaded and partitioned Africa, none of the powers across the vast continent paid attention to the interests of the African population. This authenticates the fact the colonial system was meant to exploit and force an authoritarian rule. The African elites inherited the system without questioning its cruelty and ethnic perspective that upto date resulted to advance marginalization of some communities within the post-colonial Africa (Alemazung, 2010)

Further Mengisteab (2011) argues that the division of cultural identities into states without putting into consideration the unequal economic wellbeing of these states has continued to pose a management challenge in Africa. Through introduction of political parties by colonialism, the ruling elites were empowered into making decisions on behalf of the majority subjects without seeking their input or opinion hence autocratic leadership.

Economically, Colonialism has influenced the functionality of modern day Africa. This can be witnessed by the adverse underdevelopment attributed to the European sustained thirst of African natural resources (Nunn, 2003). On attainment of independence, most African states were optimistic that the vast mineral reserves would provide a base for economic development and uplift their foreign policies within the global sphere grounded on the assumption that these resources would diversify individual African states economic interests and cement policy options (Mazrui, 1994) . However, through sustained resource syphoning, Colonial powers left Africa at its lowest point of poverty with the states compelled to start

economic growth from Zero level. The states were left to produce agricultural products whose market were the same European states (Farah, Kiamba, & Mazongo, 2011).

During the cold war, Most African states opted to remain unaligned to either of the powers as a way of finding a place for an independent and uninfluenced decision to remain out of the war. This was common foreign policy strategy amongst most of African state but proved difficult to implement due to lack of economic and military capability. For example despite Tanzania coming out clearly with non-alignment stand, they became aligned to either of the warring powers for military aid and as well as other types of foreign aids and grants (Ndue, 1994).

The unspeakable negative effects of colonial regime to both economic and political arenas of African modern sates are widely manifested. However, since the end of cold war, Africa has since learnt its lesson. African states have learnt not to blame the colonialists or the superpowers of the war but instead focus towards bringing reforms to the political and economic configurations particularly through development of sound and sustainable foreign policies (Rodney, 1973).

2.2.7 The era of media in Africa

The introduction of Digital media has seen a complete turn in definition and outlook of media with the news cycles reduced to milliseconds courtesy of live social media and twenty-four-hour journalism a phenomenon that never existed a few years ago (Anena, 2016).

The use of fiber optics has got internet to be cheaper and available making digital content within the reach of the people's smartphones. This has compelled traditional media houses, despite the prevailing challenges; adopt new media in order to conform to the more interactive and timely reporting. Despite all these changes people in Africa continue to count

on media to play its traditional role of educating and informing the populace. It further plays a more precarious role of strengthening and upholding democracy through availing information to citizens on the contemporary world and agenda setting for the African leadership. It is in order therefore to say that an informed society is put in place by the media through skillful moderation and advocacy of relevant conversations geared towards revolutionizing Africa and its leadership (Mbaku, 2018).

To uphold democracy, African media houses have taken up the role of a watchdog while taking up the leadership role through innovation and revolutionizing the continent. The connection between the freedom of the media and defensible development in Africa lies in the formers ability to inform the citizens on the roles of governments towards attainment of development Goals. This goes without saying that free and autonomous media is paramount in eradicating corruption and upholding accountability among leadership (Mbaku, 2018).

Through such exposure the public then can demand its government to act on reports tabled by the media and call for accountability and equity in wealth distribution and economic growth.

With the rise of investigative journalism in Africa, many governments within the globe have been put on check by constantly informing citizens on the government ill activities in line with the expectations. During the Nigerian presidential election of the year 2015 for example, the media coverage played a major role in aiding the opposition to call the government into account (Anena, 2016).

According to Anena (2016), while digital media has continued to revolutionize Africa, its inception has continued to pose challenges amongst many media houses some attributed to slow or unavailable internet connections, outdated media equipment that don't match the digital era and limited skilled workforce that can efficiently analyze digital information. The lack of funding for media houses has also continued to pose a challenge due to sustained shortfalls in their budgets. This has resulted to dependency on the government for funding through advertisements. This has also led to government capitalizing on their predicaments calling for the media houses to be aligned with the regime. This has jeopardized the voice of media in some part of Africa where anticorruption exposes are not viable due to possible targeting, cutting of financing and possible shut down. Good example of such media intimidation was witnessed in Nigeria and Chad where social media censorship was enacted with strict punishment put in place for anyone publishing any antigovernment material.

In 2015, the government of Liberia also shut down a private media house while journalists got killed in various African countries. This has necessitated the need to diversify and avail digital media in accordance with the needs of their society and to reduce the risk of journalism

Further, media houses should advance their strategy and avail local news coverage in the local languages via internet to ensure accessibility of the content to all consumers. This is meant to uphold the idea that media and government are supposed to work together towards foreign policy formulation. While the government tables policy, the media should analyze critique and bring forth any relevant information about the policies with an overall aim of adding value to them and vice versa (Mbaku, 2018).

2.2.8 Media and the Arab Spring

The spread of modern communication technology that includes mobile phone sets, digital cameras has in a great way promoted integrity and accountability across the globe This is because any occurrence can be recorded using a mobile phone camera and be circulated around the globe rapidly especially through the internet or global media such as CNN. The CNN effect comes out as a strong influence to foreign policy influences in Africa and during international crisis setup. The speed and timeliness at which this information gets to the people enable them to put pressure on the government (Castells, 2009).

The spring is inaccurately associated with successful protesting towards change of regime in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya in that order. This assumption overlooks that not all attempted push for revolution turned successful. It began late 2010 when a street vendor set himself ablaze after claiming police consistently oppressed him asking for bribes in lieu of a business permit. This stirred up protests across the capital of Tunis forcing the leader of the authoritarian regime flee to Saudi Arabia after more than twenty years of iron fist rule. The success of Tunisian push inspired activism in other countries faced with authoritarian governments despite the consequences of fully blown civil wars in countries like Libya, Syria and Yemen. The Arab spring was pivotal to bring out the role of media in push for a policy change within African states with focus put on role of social media. It played a major role around government censorship to traditional media (McGill, 2015).

The spring took place within states that have high level of internet usage bring about the aspect of collective intelligence that created the aspect competition to capture and spread the demonstrations. It was further characterized by mob psychology whereby individuals loose

the self-responsibility and result into a crowd that confers anonymity to its leadership (Reicher & Kazdin, 2000).

During the protests, the use of social media doubled but with limited growth of the numbers in Libya. Twitter and Facebook were the major platform used by the revolutionists with almost every Egyptian responding to online polls that were used to hoist the regime and raise awareness on crimes against humanity. Facebook generation as the youth in Egypt called themselves used the varied social media platforms to plan protests hence wide range was covered as compared to the traditional way of use of word of mouth.

2.3 Foreign Policy Formulation among African Countries

According to Anyanwu (2011), effective negotiation and bargain which most African countries lack compared to developed states are always informed by the offer of an individual. Sometimes, it is extremely difficult to bargain for a deal when you have little or nothing to offer on the negotiating table. Unfortunately, this is the sad state of most African countries on the negotiating table. A country without sufficient food for public consumption, for instance, needs to first build its internal power through the transformation of agriculture and the integrity of its institutions such that there is an efficient system of governance. Additionally, offering adequate opportunities for the people to work and transform the economic positively would improve the country's position on a global platform.

Studies indicate that a negotiation deal always favors the prepared party, the party with the grand plan for liberation. The current foreign policy framework shows that most African states are unprepared to benefit from the deals they commit to while their trading partners gain significant tremendous gains at the expense of growth and development by the African states. While most of these countries are not at any fault for siphoning resources and

opportunities from the African soil, their leaders, are at every fault for not establishing a reliable and beneficial approach for the utilization of these deals (Niyonkuru, 2016).

Most African leaders might appear uninformed and misadvised by their immediate counsel and may sometimes need to assess the credibility of the counsel they obtain before committing to long-term agreements. Taking advices from their cronies who only seek to benefit from telling them only what pleases their ears has been the leading drawback in foreign policy development (Basu, 1997). Moreover, even after these deals are signed into law, most people never take an analytical approach to understand their implications. As it seems, issues and concerns only emerge when dealing with the consequences. Sadly, even the media mostly responds when cost of living rises and the masses complain, which always dies as a passing wave. By virtue of observation, in the latest implementation of value added tax (VAT) on fuel in Kenya, most Kenyan media houses emerged with complex analytical overviews and projections. Observably, over the past couple of weeks, the social responses and interactions have already died down and the media is longer talking about the current dwindling trend in economic growth and development.

2.3.1 Pertinent Issues and Media Reporting in Africa

The media still remains the most essential assessment body in addressing the social, political, and economic subjects in Africa. It has access and right to any information of public interest; more so, it is best suited to address the current issues given the privileges and the resources. According to Wasserman (2012), the media is the key to the liberation of a nation; however, it has to operate to the wellbeing of the nation. Reporting without bias and addressing the social and economic trivialities of a country are the primary roles of the media. Objective reporting addresses critical issues affecting relevant bodies and the public. Intrinsically, the

media is mandated to oversee proper management in the governance of a country by propagating information to the relevant audience. According to Livingston (1997), observers raised concern that the media was expanding its ability to influence the conduct of the U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy. The phenomenon was dubbed as the “CNN Effect” following CNN’s attempt to influence the U.S. foreign policy. Livingston (1997) observed that the advancement in technology made it possible to broadcast news from anywhere on the planet, which gave the media a better opportunity to influence the policy development process. This study have therefore highlighted the media fails or indeed successes to fulfillment of their ethical requirement to minimize harm to global representation of Africa.

2.3.2 Nation Branding

Nation Branding stands out as an important approach in foreign policy formulation and practice of a state. It focuses on tangible products such as culture and values all focused towards making ones identity more robust and communicable. It as a composite of various aspects of a state that include its geography, good neighborliness, the prevailing business climate and overall marketing of a country. He asserts that Nation branding should be based on the states long term goals. This therefore means that it informs the foreign policy formulation approach taken by a state (Anholt, 2013).

In the international arena, states compete for recognition and attention from business investors, markets and even foreign governments. Nation branding therefore comes out as a tool that portrays the desired image and package it in a more unique manner that brings out its pride. However, government can only engage in these activities if they understand the opinion of its people (Fan, 2005).

Nation branders have at their disposal various channels that they can use but lately the online media has been reflected as the most efficient and reliable more specifically to tourism industry. Traditionally, linear model of communication was preferred but with the rise of social media, both the nation and target group are able to actively participate in creation of foreign policies (Ketter & Avraham, 2012).

As a matter of competition, states are forced to showcase their exclusivity to foreign audiences. They focus to maximize use of media as most of the foreign states perceive a state as portrayed by the media. Consequently, in foreign policy formulation, deliberate communication on a country's objective helps it to get ultimate gains from its policy as it brings out the state's contribution to the greater good of either a bilateral or multilateral arrangement and should therefore continue to be pivotal to foreign policy making.

2.3.3 Media Reporting Africa

The African mainstream media has not yet achieved its mandate in addressing the issues ailing the economic progress of the continent. However, individuals are currently uprising to rescue the presumably failing media. Currently, social media offers a reliable mechanism where individuals can share patient issues regarding current issues in a multidimensional platform. Arguably, CNN, BBC, and Aljazeera (English) seems to have taken over the reporting mandate in most African states following the failure of the African media. However, the channels have been accused of painting the wrong African image. A critical assessment shows that the African media is more interested about concealing the painful truths that appear to create the wrong image to the world. For instance, international and freelance journalists were credited for their comprehensive covering during the 2007 Kenyan post-election violence (Somerville, 2009).

Fundamentally, although patriotism to the African states is crucial, reporting the current shortfalls in Africa to the world is the only way to get these issues addressed. If these issues were being addressed well over the past half a century, impunity could probably have been ended. Sadly, impunity, corruption, and contravention to the rule of law has persisted for far too long that it has been assumed as normal. A balance between the social, political, and economic development has been missing in the initiation of a practical approach of solving social ills and economic challenges. A conceptual assessment of the current social trends and the behavior of the political elite are indicative of a system that does not respect integrity and honesty in governance (Pigato & Tang, 2015). As a result, they fail to observe these principles while establishing agreements with other nations, which create loopholes upon which other countries advance their exploitative strategies.

2.3.4 How Media Reports influence the Policy Formulation Process

Media have increasingly become powerful due to the diverse ways it is consumed. Citizens can get access to information more easily than in the past thus can get alternative views from experts and independent journalists making it difficult for policymakers to control what information is accessible to whom and consequently makes concealing policy actions more difficult (Coleman et al, 1999). The media, researchers, and general critics have done a significant advancement pushing certain stories with the intention of creating awareness about the trivial issues within the society (Adegoke, 2018).

In the year 2013 for example, a bill was tabled to the Kenyan national assembly that sought to increase prices of previously zero rated consumer Media attention brought out the public uproar demonstrating different viewpoints from affected parties, the general public, experts, politicians, policy makers and even representatives from diverse government agencies. This

contributed to providing policy makers with a comprehensive view of the issue from perspectives they otherwise would not have considered thus influencing their course of action (Wolfe, 2012).

2.3.5 Failure in Report Adoption by African Leaders

Some African leaders in some cases have demonstrated failure in placing the wellbeing of their countries above personal interests. They enjoy the affluence and the public resources but fail to act in the best interests of the country. The lack of goodwill by these leaders is evident in the wrongful decision-making processes that plunge their countries into financial oblivion. Out of ignorance, they fail to utilize the existing reports on the current standing of their countries. Arguably, based on the outcomes of most policies, most of these leaders make decisions based on the individual interests at stake. According to a report by Africa Renewal, had African leaders heeded advice from experts and pumped profits from locally made commodities into stimulating manufacturing companies, the countries would have attained exponential economic growth (Tafirenyika,2016).

Media has played a significant role in addressing the ensuing plague of exploitation of African states. International media houses such as the Cable News Network (CNN) explored trivial issues in various warring countries such as the 1995 Bosnian Crisis, which successfully halted the atrocities meted against these nations (Warner, 2015). Analysts assert that CNN supports its reporters with resources, security, and Intelligence, which makes it easier for them to venture even into the most dangerous places. A report by Boxall & Purcell (2011) indicated that the target respondents and perpetrators were biased against African reporters, which made it riskier for them to seek correspondence. Allegedly, neocolonialism was designed by the colonial masters to succeed colonialism. It would ensure that they

enjoyed the privileges even without being physically present. The 1961 All-African People's Conference defined colonialism as the survival of the colonial system while recognizing the political independence in developing countries. The colonial perpetrators have encroached the economic and political space to ensure that they take a proper share of the interests made by the common citizen. Most African countries are in a constantly growing debt and have no viable strategy of having it stopped, which means that the African states will continue trading their fortunes to keep their debts paid.

The looming challenge is that the media needs the support by the current society to point out issues that aim at enhancing growth and development within various sectors of the economy. Once these African countries have promoted institutional independence and integrity, they can commence into redrafting policies to create a favorable platform for mutual benefits from other global partners.

It is apparent that the issues that have persisted for several decades can be dealt with once the African society has initiated a redemptive attitude to positively change the ensuing retrogressive culture. First, the people have the responsibility of standing up against oppression by government. Considering people vote based on populism and ethnic divisions, attaining proper governance cannot be achieved. Intrinsicly, good governance is achieved by visionary leaders, who are guided by principles and adherence to the rule of law. Having leaders being manipulated by their lobbyists further makes it difficult for them to perform their duties professionally and credibly. Clearly, the current political environment in most African countries remains a significant hindrance against proper governance. Additionally, the independent institutions such as the media suffer backlash and manipulation such that

even professional journalists cannot work on the pertinent issues affecting the country for the fear of retribution.

The media has a role to explore the issues affecting the modern society as well as the negative impacts of economic stagnation. As it appears, the media has only done so little to bring these issues to the public attention. Mostly, the media only touches these issues so vaguely that most people who follow news feeds are unaware of the ongoing rot in the modern society. Consequently, the lack of media emphasis on the current societal ills has made it difficult for the society to take an appropriate action, especially during elections where the electorate is expected to elect leaders based on their capacity to lead the nation in the right direction.

Most cases, the target audience determines the reports published and aired by the media. In an interview, one media analyst asserted that sometimes media lose audience when they dwell on the issues that so badly ail the society. While these assertions cannot be verified or justified, it is apparent that media houses are more concerned about making profits; therefore, they focus on stories that bring them more traffic since these numbers attract more advertisements and consequently enhance their profitability. Increased attention on stories that cause frenzy and divert the focus of the society from important issues in the society

2.3.6 Current Africa's Position in Efficient Foreign Policy Formulation

The effectiveness of a country's foreign policy can be evidenced by its capacity to balance trade and advance its economic agenda on an economic platform. However, according to Artadi and Sala-i-Martin (2003), Africa still behind other developing countries in Asia and South America as far as foreign policy formulation is concerned. Additionally, African social economic situation has gotten worse since then end of colonialism, which is an implication

that Africa has not been making a positive step against its trading partners (Englebert, 2000). To date, the media has derailed in pointing out these issues with the necessary emphasis that can get the society involved.

Inherently, the current economic and social state in Africa can be attributed to the bad governance and the stagnated economy. Apparently, the current state of affairs cannot be directly linked to failure in foreign policy development; however, the current failure in foreign policy development can be directly linked to the current of affairs. Primarily, decision-making processes in most African states are thwarted by lack of professionalism, honesty, and integrity. Arguably, these failures are associated with the current underdevelopment and dwindling integrity even in institutions in most African states. Electoral bodies have proved incapable of conducting credible elections, which in most cases, has plunged the respective countries into chaos. The governance in these countries is characterized with manipulation, which makes the process of democratization difficult. Institutions and individuals who fail to adhere into this form of manipulation are victimized, killed, or incriminated into cases that make it difficult to perform in a professional capacity. The leaders seem unprepared to uphold their integrity or even act in the interest of their subjects; consequently, various developed countries have taken advantage of this situation to exploit resources through collaboration and individual interests. For instance, Doig & Theobald (2013) alleged that certain heads of states are given lots of cash and property by international organizations or nations for a trade of public resources. Evidently, most retiring government leaders have left their countries with huge debts, which make it impossible for incoming leaders to make significant progress in addressing the basic requirements for the

basic people. Unfortunately, most of these leaders show little concern for the media and other independent institutions.

It is apparent that failed democratization processes negatively influence the freedom of the media. The leaders normally undermine independent institutions. In Uganda, for instance, the media is only put in place as a formality and can only report what the state agrees with. As a result, real issues affecting the immediate society are never reported. Certain countries have been able to gain attention from the international media, which has successfully unraveled the rot in most African countries where the powerful elite never adhere to the rule of law.

2.3.7 Role of Media in Policy Formulation.

The freedom of expression as largely advocated by the media can historically be traced from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948. Subsequently, media is now recognized worldwide as the one of the key state pillars of policy making process. In the contemporary world, control of flow of information is proving almost impossible. Initially, policies were structured in favor of the ruling elite or the ruling regime. As media keeps watch to policy formulation processes, states are now left without options but be open and accountable.

The presence of diverse media has significantly promoted transparency in policy process. This is because media does not only avail information to people but also serve as an educating medium to the general populace on policy matters. Through detailed analysis and critiques to government approach towards a specified regime, the policy makers remained checked hence objective during decision making (Seib, 2008).

The vigil nature of the media makes it's the protector of people's interests as it promotes hearing of people's opinion through its criticism to a government policy forcing them to withdraw or restructure the intended policy. Media performs the role of national watchdog through intensified seminars, print media columns, localized public forums amongst others. Through these settings people's opinions are picked and conveyed through formal and informal channels to the policy makers (Eilders, 2000).

Media has also served well as a unifying factor to a point of contention. For example, when a foreign policy is formulated with the overall interest of a state in mind, media takes up the educative role and informs the general populace on pros and cons of adopting such a policy to the state. Occasionally media has failed to observe its coverage limits in that instead of holding informed debates about a presumed policy, journalists engage into directed debates or air individual opinions. This has occasionally worked against neutrality and maintenance of fair ground (Kamuhanda, 1989).

2.3.8 Current determinants of African Foreign Policies

Various factors have led to revolutionizing of African foreign policy formulation in both post-colonial and most specifically in the post-cold war Africa as the element of continuity has been sustained throughout the years. Despite the fact that Africa has been marginalized by various world eras such as the era of slave trade and colonialism, the same marginalization has been sustained to date only that this time is in terms of controlled economic freedom within the international sphere (Adebayo, 1993).

While various world events such as disintegration of the USSR in 1991 and fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 are used to mark the end of the cold war, Africa believe that the end came in 1988 when the Namibian Agreement was established which paved way for an independent

Namibia. This signified a beginning to an end of struggle by superpowers to control the continent (Schraeder, 1994)

At around the same time the United States had its special forces killed in Somalia forcing a change in its foreign policy approach towards African conflicts. This presented Africa with an opportunity to explore foreign policies that were in their terms especially within their geographical regions. The potential regional hegemons stood a chance to develop stronger policies without fear of influence while weaker states turned to be almost non players in regional matters (Hsiung, 1993).

The economic reforms that came with the end of struggle for Africa by superpowers during the cold war had irregular effects to African states. For example, a state like Kenya had to struggle to operationalize its economic changes while Nigeria had all indicators of failing in all its attempts. (USAID, 1993) .

The countries that managed to establish and sustain meaningful reforms saw an expanded foreign policy framework. Apart from the traditional players such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), media has become a key feature in foreign policy balance by endeavoring to change decision-making from a government affair to a public involving matter. In States experiencing challenges in political change, media has also become a key tool to supplement the traditional International Financial Institutions (IFIs) sanctions and political conditionality. For example, France has sustained its colonial ties with Cote d'Ivoire due to what it stands to gain despite the failure of the latter to democratize and the turbulent political atmosphere in the poor state. (Stopford & Strange, 1991).

The Post-cold war Africa has witnessed growth of Multi National Operations (MNCs) with the effects of globalization being across the continent. With the shrinking global boundaries to what is referred to as 'end of geography' Africa has become empowered by being able to participate in global matters as well as borrowing ideas on how to formulate and expand their foreign policies. Despite the fact that it is a marginal player in the global economy, a need for diverse foreign policy approach starting from regional level has become inevitable a disregard to the similarity in nature of foreign policies formulated by African states in the post-independence period (Ake, 1995).

It is worth remembering that foreign policies at the time were influenced by push for anti-colonialism and nonalignment. These categories of concern have since diminished with states developing varied self-reliant objectives for their interests in the post-cold war era especially with introduction of IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Although there has been sustained self-interest within African states in development of foreign policies, there has been a mounting logic that Africa may be required to act communally as a continent regarding some specific matters for to blossom in the impending years (Gereffi, 1996).

Over time the scope within which African foreign policies are formulated has largely changed with contemporary decline of the ability of African states to impact influence beyond its geographical borders. A country like Somalia has been left almost functionless by militia groups that have seen the state run for decades without a legitimate government. Such states witnessed in various African states pose a question on who makes the foreign policies on behalf of its citizens and if made, in whose name they are perceived due to possible absence of national element against which national interests are coined (Ake, 1995).

With the traditional foreign policy tools assuming sustained of peace in a state, the situation cutting across African states has challenged this assumption. First it's clear that Africa has never enjoyed economic power in its post-colonial days hence the extent of its economic foreign policies is limited. The globalized world has further subjected Africa to uneven economic environment with MNCs making profits and reemploying them in their mother countries leaving Africa the least fortunate. Their quest revolves around cheap labor and profits (Gereffi, 1996).

Previously states like Nigeria used oil as their weapon of choice to win leverage in their foreign policy formulation a move that is no longer practical in the globalized world today. The state has accrued debts, and any such move is likely to attract sanctions. However, the state can only use the commodity to play off foreign competitors by obtaining the best market prices that there may be (Mazrui, 1994).

The changing Security situation within African states has revolutionized the states approach to foreign policies that are concerned with territorial security. The end of the cold war did not resolve nor partially address Africa's security concerns but instead altered their configuration. The continent has seen the rise of warlordism like in the case of Somalia and Rwanda, most of them masking under the shadow of state and thwarting how the rest of the world perceive these states hence weakening their foreign policies (Reno, 1997).

Limited democratization as a result of warlordism has destabilized domestic security, promoted ethnic tensions at times with financing cartels outside the territorial boundaries. The deterioration of state power in some African states alongside politically fueled ethnicity has greatly affected self-sustainment by these states hence the nature of foreign policies formulated (Bender, Coleman, & Richard L. Sklar, 1985).

With the widespread globalization, a need to reconfigure the traditional foreign policy insights has come into place to address the continent's position in the post-cold war era. Most of the challenges facing the continent if not addressed by the way African states formulate their foreign policies may see Africa's role in the international system completely shrink. This therefore means that the future of the continent is entirely dependent on the continent's foreign policies. Arguably, the need for sustained democratization influences formulation of measured policies, ensuring even domestic resource distribution and a more politically capable regime with ultimate goal of stable and diversified economy. This is to mean that without stabilizing the economic architecture of the African States, development of reasonable foreign policies remains greatly restricted, extending to just neighboring and sub-regional states (Chahal, 1994).

2.4 Theoretical Review

The prevalence of numerous assertions and reports on the participation of the media in addressing the ongoing issues in Africa can be illustrated by theories. Already various theories have been previously coined to conceptualize the role of the media on the process of policy formulation in Africa. Theories utilized for this study include agenda-setting theory, Cultivation theory and Media Dependency theory.

2.4.1 Agenda-setting theory

Agenda setting theory formally developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw in a study of 1968 American presidential election seeks to describe the capacity and the tendency of the media to focus on the topics of public agenda and subsequently set a certain image on the public's mind (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2013). The theory is informed by the school

of thought that the audience pays more attention to issues reported more frequently. Therefore, this gives the media adequate power over the target audience. However, the advancement of certain reports at the expense of what the audience enjoys has negatively influenced the reporting capacity of most media houses across the world (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2013). Additionally, most reporting is currently done to gain viewership, especially through controversy, at the expense of critical analysis of the issues of public interest. In the recent times, trends in the media reporting shows that, journalists focus more on political events and elections than they do on important issues that inform policy. Gradually, the media appears to have dropped its responsibility in creating initiatives in positively informing the manner in which the people think.

Epistemologically, agenda-setting theory can be traced to Walter Lippmann's assertions in his assertions in the first chapter of his book, *Public Opinion*, which was published in 1922. Lippmann argues that mass media connects the events of the world to the imagery within the people's minds. Although Lippmann did not use the term agenda setting in the chapter, "*The World Outside and the Pictures in our Heads*", he was developing a similar analogy. In this regard, while the media may not necessary dictate the thoughts of the people, it determines the things they can think about. Intrinsically, people can generate ideas based on the issues they read or hear about, mainly from the media. Cohen (1963) builds on these words by asserting that writers, editors, and publishers develop a map that shapes the mental focus of their audience. This theory therefore has played a great role in depicting the role adopted by the media in influencing people's opinion and push towards a certain course of foreign policy formulation in the post-cold war Africa.

2.4.2 Cultivation Theory

This theory which was founded by George Gerbner in 1976 suggests that exposure to media over time cultivates the viewers perception of reality. This therefore means that when people watch television for a long time, it changes their opinions and adopts what they see on the television. Arguably, the social realities are made to align with the events projected on television. Phenomenally, the media has sufficient power to influence the people's way of life, not just by the news and reports but also by the entertainment programs projected (Potter, 2014). When George Gerbner coined this theory, he intended to create a positivistic illustration. Presumably, it assumes an objective reality and a value neutral exploration of the pertinent issues affecting people's way of life. The theory aided the study in determining to what extent are post-cold war African countries exposed to various types of media and the perception of the general population towards utilization of each towards influencing the process of foreign policy formulation.

2.4.3 Media Dependency Theory

The Media dependency Theory was advanced by Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Defleur in 1976 with a quest to tie interrelations of mass media and the individuals and or its audiences and overall influence to social systems. Dependency theory conceives of dependency as a relationship in which the fulfillment of the needs and goals of one party relies on the resources of another party. Apparently, this correlation is representative of the relationship between media and its target audiences. It further illustrates the effects of the media on the social framework across the diverse society. Presumably, the leadership structure forms an essential faction of the generic audience; which means the media holds a perfect position to influence the local and international policy development approaches. The

theory is relevant to the study as a tool of determining how much external influence has changed the course of media to misrepresent the post-cold war African during the push for foreign policy formulation.

2.4.4 Liberalism

This theory begun from pluralists of 1960s and 1970s advocating for state absolute gains. It is termed as the definition of modern democracy as a way to bring out upholding rule of law, exercising free and fair elections and respect to state sovereignty. It is perceived to be a retort to realist as it discredits the concept of use of hard power but instead vests the same power in institutions and economic cooperation to manifest state power in a more optimistic approach.

The central argument of liberals is that application of inexplicable violence and power pose a threat to discrete freedom hence must be avoided by use of both local and intergovernmental institutions. At intergovernmental level, the institutions and organizations provide means to avert confrontation that include punishments in case of violation. This means that use of power and military confrontation to shape a state behavior is contested by liberals.

Liberalism is anchored on grounds that upholding right to life, freedom and ownership of property is paramount to any government as it is the cornerstone to a unprejudiced and impartial political system. Therefore liberalism is troubled with putting in place institutions that not only uphold individual freedom but also ensure that a state's political power is checked. It believes that unconstrained governmental structure such as dictatorship cannot safeguard the wellbeing of its people.

Liberals believe that a states undertaking in an overseas arena have robust impact on freedom within its geographical boundaries. They contest formulation of acquisitive foreign policies as acquired materialistic power such as military might be able to not only be used against other states but also its own citizens. Liberals therefore call for a political system where civilians have power over the military. This theory is paramount to this study as it helps bring out circumstances under which some foreign policies are formulated and how common good supersedes a state's interest.

2.5 Summary and Gaps to be filled by the Study

Manifestly, extensive research has already been completed to understand the impact of the media on the people's way of life. Particularly, the research indicates that media has a responsibility in shaping the development of foreign policy. In this literature review, it is apparent that the African mainstream media has not sufficiently addressed the issues influenced people's way of life. Thematically, people have been accustomed to certain cultural framework, which are intended to ensure that the people are properly inclined towards dictating the issues that define their way of life. The survey shows that decision-making processes by the state leaders are a product of the decisions people make through the electoral process.

The main challenge; however, is that Africa is struggling with democratization and self-identity. As it appears, individuals who believe in totalitarianism form of governance are mandated to promote democratization. As a result, they focus in manipulating the rule of law to avoid oversight from independent government and non-government institutions.

Based on the current survey, it is apparent that the media has a critical role in influencing the process of enhancing policies across the diverse African setup. While these studies indicate

that media has contributed significantly they have not yet answered whether indeed media has played a role on in influencing the post cold war Foreign Policy formulation processes in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the framework that was utilized to collect data for conducting the research. Methodology is a systematic approach used to gain a conceptual understanding on the manner that information ought to be obtained, consolidated, and analyzed in a logical manner to give meaning to the study. The study utilized qualitative form of study by using the existing.

3.2 Research Design

The study was conducted using qualitative method of data collection particularly by utilizing secondary data from existing studies as a way of understanding the values and perceptions that underlie and influence foreign policy formulation. The choice was informed by the fact that there are numerous studies regarding foreign policy development that have been conducted on foreign policy formulation. Exploring these studies provided a clear overview of the extent towards which these studies address the existing challenges. With a comprehensive overview, the study has been able to address and sought to fully answer the underlying questions and to resolve the ensuing challenges.

3.3 Data Collection

The source of data used is secondary from both published and unpublished works. Published works included Organizational reports, Journal articles, document reviews and government reports while the latter include unpublished thesis.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is an important aspect of research. It involves translating data in a manner that assists the researcher convey the intended information to the audience. Analyzing findings from secondary sources is significantly different from primary data since such data has already been synthesized. In this case, information has been synthesized from existing studies to purposely make reliable responses to the research questions. Different studies have been analyzed based on relevance and suitability to the current study. Implicitly, the identification and utilization of the necessary studies was randomized to give each analytical approach a viable exemplification comprehension approach. Data collected was analyzed through content analysis method which sums up categorization of the data for the purpose of thematic classification, summarization and tabulation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to present the analysis of the data regarding the role of the media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war Africa. This study utilized the involvement of the media in foreign policy formulation in African states; hence, the need to use secondary method of data collection as mentioned in the third chapter. The format of this chapter is based on the objectives of the study as formulated in the first chapter of the study. Thus, it will enhance the representation of data effectively and ensure that all the objectives of the study are covered adequately.

4.2 The Historical Position of Media in Influencing Foreign Policy Formulation in Africa

In the early 1960s at the wake of decolonization, Africa was experiencing extreme constraints in expressing itself through foreign policies. This was a result of limited control of domestic interests of African states as well as pressure exerted externally to the newly democratized states by the colonial masters who had unmatched influence to their immediate former subject. At this point therefore, foreign policy was influenced by subordination and dependence created by colonial ties.

To overcome these recurrent challenges, African leaders led by Pan Africanist Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie sought to establish a continental institution that would accord the weak African states leverage over the world affairs. This led to establishment of organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 hence bringing to light the African concerns and even gave more power to individual state foreign policy formulations (Robert, 1990).

The regional leadership was based on states resource capability hence ability to push for independent foreign policy formulation. This was meant to avoid the repeat of what was

witnessed during the struggle for leadership of East African Community amongst Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania leading to its eventual collapse in 1977. At the time, African foreign policy making process was entirely the duty of the presidency and the elites loyal to the regime. In states where political parties were so opposed that they could not approve the foreign policy plan at hand, the leader of the day had absolute power to source, draft and ratify a foreign policy. The regional organizations strengthened principal foreign policy formulators within African states. Throughout the era of African decolonization, the economic prosperity of independent states was used to measure the success of African states. Overtime the continent underwent transformations throughout the 1990s when the cold war and the apartheid came to an end, the two major issues that majorly influenced and shaped the African foreign policy.

The cold war did not take into account the sources of African foreign policy instead regarded the assistance from the superpowers more paramount. The war aimed at retaining Africa aligned phenomena that were witnessed by fall of notorious regimes like in Somalia and Zaire that were sustained by the war superpowers.

The Breton Wood institutions namely the International Monetary Fund and World Bank subsequently executed the Structural Adjustment programmes which saw further decline of the already weak African economies. They termed African states corrupt and with incapable of responding to African challenges due to improperly structured foreign policies and economic crisis. The media censorship witnessed in Gabon and Togo saw unpopular leadership take up leadership roles. This translated to development of controlled African states foreign policy that further threatened the survival of the weak states.

The affiliation of media to foreign policy decision making process has largely been overlooked. Media has been central in influencing governments to develop policies that have been seen to go against the much upheld state sovereignty approach. Based on real time broadcasts through news media, major responses have been arrived at by both domestic and international actors leading to formulation of policies that include armed interventions that are perceived to be costly and radical (Seaver, 1998).

O'Heffernan (1991) argues that just like the government, media in the contemporary state, is part of the policy making process stating that the two entities interconnect to achieve the desired policy.

Media power is admittedly characterized by far fetching influence that range from domestic to foreign matters. African ruling regimes have historically relied on media to provide relevant information for decision making and at the same time used to relay government decisions. In some cases, media has been used to relay misleading information with ultimate goal of creating vagueness in the media industry and hence portray it as unreliable source of policy base.

Media has in the recent past been used to advance diplomatic interests. According to Cohen (1986), the technological advancements has heightened the role of media in advancing a state's foreign policy by enabling public pressure a more pronounced dimension due to real time coverage of events.

Media has substituted the old diplomacy as it plays not only an informative role in foreign policy formulation but also enables a drastic transfer of public opinion to the policy makers (Enns & Cresswell, 1999) beliefs that an inclusive and complete foreign policy must please the general populace. Further to Enns opinion, Gilboa (2002c) outlines that global

technological advancements have revolutionized media constraining its role in that despite influence to foreign policy process by the global media, A few authoritarian African leaders remain adamant to change implied by the media. In ideal situation however, modern media through visual images should manifest its power towards changing the government position in line with the public opinion.

The widespread economic improvements and formulation of foreign policies in Africa can identified to have occurred from the 1990s onwards. Most African governments occasionally yielded to the increasing internal demands for political amendments caused by dissatisfaction by party regimes. Most of the leaders in African states realized that it was a challenge to practice dictatorship following the political revolutions that occurred outside Africa after the cold war. The media played a huge role in creating awareness through news bulleting that influenced the opinions of the people on leadership and need for intervention by international states. The link between financial help by the foreign states especially then West and multilateral firms for the economic and political transformation of Africa was vital in the creation of foreign policy across most of the African states in the 1990s.

For the African leaders, the new force demonstrated that survival would be based on political transformation towards liberalism. As such, structural changes brought about by the new aspects of foreign policy symbolized political pluralism and economic reforms in most of the African countries. According to Voltmer (2013), democracy resulted to be synonymous with the general elections resulting into a law instead of the omission in almost all African states. The development of democracy during this period paved way for better formulation of foreign policies due to improved relations between countries.

As a result of this, a decade later, the beginning of this reform started in Africa and countries that had not started democratic path openly admitted that politically Africa is ahead of long-term responsibility to the liberalism values. For that reason, almost all African states had to follow suit and embrace pluralism and consolidate democracy. This involved aspects such as supporting democracy, allowing citizens to vote for leaders regularly, and giving the media freedom among other aspects. These aspects have seen an increase of the African media especially television and print media, which have been effective in steering for a better African society through promoting international relations. The media has been important in the transformation of democracy since it operated in undefined, unreceptive, and often-changing political, economic, technological, and social environment.

For example, the media in Kenya strongly came out during the coverage of the Hague charges due to the post-election violence in 2007. The local media was broadly opposed to the proceedings of the court and undertook its responsibility to inform Kenyan citizens and the world in general about the occurrences that were termed subjective. On the other hand, the international media significantly continued to carry its duty of informing people what it deemed appropriate and this was critical in shaping the foreign policies of Kenya in the aftermath of the case.

Cohen (2015) asserts that despite the importance of the media in foreign policy especially in Africa, it should be given more attention to investigative journalism to carry out detailed coverage with evidence instead of depending on live events. This is essential because it would give room for carrying out background checks regarding the international relations issues in order to promote cohesion after certain events. Historically, the media especially in Africa lacked experience and resources to cover important issues affecting the African states,

which resulted to citizens missing out on critical information regarding foreign policies. However, there have been improvements over the years since journalists have been trained on how to cover events especially on international relations, which are essential in the formulation of foreign policies.

4.3 Comparing Media in Foreign Policy Formulation in Africa to the Rest of the World

The discussion on the extreme at which mass media has played a role in influencing foreign policy formulation has continued to range. Some scholars associate the media power to the CNN effect while others claim that media manufacture consent for the elite policy. Foreign policy formulation has remained an elusive and disputed scope that engages various theories that are framed in quest of understanding how foreign policies are made, by who and how best are implemented and the expected results (Pecoraro, 2002).

Customarily, foreign policy making was perceived to be a duty of a group of experts and not often affected by daily politics. However, with time it has become evident that the ruling regime is amongst the key determinants of foreign policy direction despite the fact that it is supposed to be isolated from domestic politics.

The foreign policy formulation practice is pegged on various factors that range from population to territorial and geographical location that overly constitute the interests of a given state. However, overtime, it has become almost predetermined that many African countries foreign policy is shaped by global politics. With the widening of world political scope since the end of world war two, the interstate relations amongst African countries and with the rest of the world have significantly grown (Renouvin, 2011).

The pronounced readjustments have seen most of African states focus their attention towards promotion of regional balance and peaceful resolution of conflicts. One of the most

accredited policies as far as foreign policy formulation policies are concerned are the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). These agreements between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries were meant to substitute the prevailing trade relations under General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). According to Okoth (2010) EPAs were meant to achieve a long term goal of poverty reduction and gradual incorporation of all regions to the global market. Abdi (2016) on the other hand claims that the main cons for foreign policy are within its implementation scope. For example, Chinas presence in post-cold war Africa has significantly been pronounced and a point of concern amongst policy analysts as it is perceived that China has geared towards maintaining critical influence over the continent through advancement of its foreign policy that is coined towards exploitation of natural resources and the yet to be developed African Markets

Kaarbo (2015) agrees with the findings of authors aforementioned in the paper that media has significant influence on the policy since it is part of the environment in which the formulation of the policy occurs. The African mainstream media as mentioned by Ramsay (2011) is not an exception in spearheading effecting foreign policy formulation in African states. Although there are significant differences between the involvement of media in Africa and the rest of the world regarding foreign policies, it is still a vital component in the process. The African media has failed significantly in the previous, which has been detrimental to the formulation of foreign policies on African states.

Africa consists of developing nations and this has defined the approach of the media towards its involvement of the matters relating to foreign policies. Most of the media outlets especially satellite televisions did not stand up or engage actively in issues of foreign policy for various reasons such as inadequate resources, corruption, intimidation, or bias. As a result

of this tendency, numerous foreign policies are being implemented without incorporating vote of public opinion being since the media acts as the medium between the public and the leadership domestically as well as internationally. The fact that African states are developing; there is a substantial difference with others especially the European media.

The involvement of African media regarding foreign policy has not achieved the desired levels of active participation and conveying reliable and accurate information to the public as well as putting pressure on the leadership. It is evident from the literature review that the freedom of media in most of the states is limited and this restricts their participation in the formulation of foreign policies. In most of the states, the media is restricted to publish or air various issues that leadership deem inappropriate such as scandals involving powerful individuals in the foreign affairs. This aspect is historical and it undermines the role of the media in these important matters resulting to poor policies; hence, lack of development and good infrastructure. These findings are in line with the conclusions derived by Wolfe (2012) in the literature review.

Contrary to the African mainstream media, the media in the rest of the world especially Europe has far-reaching impact on the foreign policy formulation. The advancement of technology and communication has enabled the European media such as CNN, Al Jazeera, Sky, and BBC among others to determine and shape foreign policies of states across the globe. Their massive resources have enabled them to be located in almost all states across the world that makes them access critical information that is critical in shaping how foreign policies are formulated and implemented. In comparison to the African media outlets, these media outlets especially the CNN has been able to intervene in foreign matters internationally especially in Africa to highlight hideous motives as well as educate members of public. Most

of the interventions on African foreign policies have been intervened by the media especially CNN and Al Jazeera as well as BBC who seem to have taken over the mandate of reporting in majority of the African countries.

Social media is another form of media that has taken over the role of shaping the formulation of foreign policies. Social media platforms such as twitter and Facebook have become essential tools of information in the contemporary society. These tools have become prevalent in most of the African States in the recent years. They can transmit information in real time and it is difficult to control them compared to other media such as satellite television, they can relay information in real time; hence, facilitating quick intervention in foreign affairs such as wars, treaties, and humanitarian issues among others. Social media is playing a crucial role in foreign policy formulation since people can share information faster, which enabled them to contribute to the issues and policy makers are aware that the public have knowledge on important matters. Lecheler & De Vreese (2012) mention that social media platforms have become a new dawn in the foreign policy making since mainstream African media tend to conceal essential information from the public.

The revolution of information communication in the twenty first century has greatly influenced how diplomacy is carried out particularly the foreign policy formulation. This has enabled the media to implement change and attain the much-needed outcome in the international affairs. The media used an aspect of attraction, which is effective in using communication to change various beliefs and implement the perception of the public towards various issues. These changes have been achieved because the policy makers are aware of the position that the media has in the formulation of foreign media. The fact that media is reporting the elements affecting foreign and international affairs in the African states helps

the issues to be addressed effectively compared to the previous years where media coverage and reporting was limited. This conclusion agrees with the findings of Westerman, Spence, & Van Der Heide (2014), who asserts that various issues that most of the African states are facing today could not be there if the media was as influential as it is now.

4.4 Significant Roles of Media in Foreign Policy Formulation in post-cold war African States

According to McCombs (2018), media has become one of the essential aspects towards formulation of foreign policy in both developed and developing nations especially due to the rise of new media of internet and satellite television. Scheufele & Tewksbury (2006) emphasizes on the ability of the media to define the opinions of the people not in support of the contemporary foreign policy, but as a tool that can change politics on the global stage. He uses the concept of CNN effect, a term coined in the 1990s, to hypothesize that the international ubiquity of CNN has shaped public opinion worldwide since the second Gulf War. His evaluation demonstrates the unparalleled possibilities offered by the communication advancement in technology over the years to link nations in fostering formulation of foreign policies. The media has been involved in many incidents regarding foreign policy in developed and developing countries resulting to significant changes. For instance, the reporting of the media regarding the politics behind the Gulf War and its awfulness influenced the public opinion about the war significantly, as many Americans started doubting its justification. Major media houses use their resources and experienced journalists to unearth vital information about governments and members of interest; hence, shaping the opinion of the public.

Warner (2015) acknowledges the influence of the media especially the commonly known CNN Effect as well as the Al Jazeera Effect. He asserts that the media have the capability to

influence the status quo of formulation of foreign policies in African nations as it has done in the developed countries by shaping the public opinion on the international and domestic stage. Media such as satellite television and internet cultivate a shared identity among the all the members of the state, which enable them to contribute to the issues affecting them. This is important for foreign policy formulation since the responsible people, groups, or corporation will consider the opinions of the public members.

Majority of the leaders from African states engage in foreign policies in an attempt to improve their economies, security and develop infrastructures. To achieve this, they usually rely on their counsel to inform them on the best terms of foreign agreements to ensure the best interests for the state. However, it is evident that most of the individuals in these counsels represent their personal interests, which leads to misguided advices. This makes it difficult for African countries to formulate foreign policies that benefit the country leading to drastic drag in economic and infrastructural development. In this sense, the media is essential in this process since journalists are more informed than the members of the public and are in a better position to question the terms of agreements in various foreign policies.

The constant coverage of the media in various issues affecting African states puts pressure on leaders and governments to ensure that policies formulated are beneficial to the public rather than only a few people in the higher positions of the government. However, mentions media in African states has performed poorly in the formulation of foreign policies historically leading to most of the countries in Africa to become poor due to policies that are not benefitting these nations. This is in agreement with the findings of Smith & Lasswell (2015) in the literature that most of the African media reacts to policies when they are already enacted, which does not influence their impact on the common citizen. Failure of the media

to engage with the relevant individuals formulating the policies and asking the hard questions results to bad foreign policies that ends up hurting the economy. Numerous foreign policies rarely benefit the public, but foreign nations and a few individuals in the government.

Most of the media outlets in Africa are complacent, intimidated or corrupt, which prevent them from posing the hard questions or giving the right information to the public. Moreover, effective media usually brings up the implications of various policies after they have been implemented, which do not solve the problem. The media can be very important when it enlightens the public in the early stages of the formulation of policies to enable the public to contribute and support or oppose ineffective policies. However, most African media fails to get involved, which result to bad policies as mentioned in the literature review. Additionally, most of the media outlets do not follow up on stories since they drop once another heated headline comes up, which gives policy makers an advantage to enforce unfavorable foreign policies.

4.5 Effects of Media during the Process of Foreign Policy Formulation in post-cold war African States

As aforementioned, media can and usually play an important role in policy making especially foreign policy formulation. According to McCombs (2018), the typical view of the media is that it is important in the early stages of the process of making a policy, which the media plays the role of setting the agenda. It is then adopted and handled by various stakeholders such as policymakers and politicians. It is important to mention that media is not only important at the beginning but throughout the policymaking process (Cohen, 2015). Majority of the standards of policymaking have a much too narrow approach of the effects of the timing of the media.

Media is one of the most effective tools that have the ability to draw and sustain public attention to certain issues. They can change the dynamic around a policy debate by defining or framing an issue through rhetoric or dialogue to convince or discourage the public. It is the role of the media to establish the nature, sources, and the outcome of policy issues in manner that fundamentally change the dynamics in the level of attention paid to a particular policy as well as the various solutions available. In most of the African states, the media has been on the forefront in drawing attention to the members of the public about the foreign policy formulation. Media also acts as a medium between the government and the public in terms of informing people about the policies and actions of the government and aiding in communicating the attitudes of the public to the officials.

This study highlights that these suppositions as advocated by these researchers potentially depict the impact of the media by potentially asserting that it is unlikely to lead to a significant change on the prosecution of domestic and international politics. Although the media plays an important role in defining the policy externally concerning the quest for international partners, there is misinformation that they are unable to account for the fact that the media's influence is high since it is the lens of the public and can credit or discredit a given objective of the foreign policy. Hawkins (2011) addresses this gap by presenting a systematic analysis of the Darfur genocide coverage by a number of news organizations in Africa, Europe, United States, and China. Hawkins signifies a strongly normative viewpoint, asserting that media is necessary to inform citizens, but not enough to prevent humanitarian crises and conflict.

The argument is in agreement with the findings of Neuman & Guggenheim (2011) that media influences foreign policy by putting issues on the public agenda as well as framing them in

a manner that captures the attention of a large audience that demands action from their elected representative. For example, the Somalia and Darfur crises and conflict missed in the international politics until the media started paying attention. As such, the media acts as a mobilizing conscience in the sense that it puts policymakers under pressure to react to crisis (Green-Pedersen & Stubager, 2012). However, it is important to note that the media faces various constraints especially the environment. For example, national interest, geographical history, audience, and state ownership of the media have been some of the major constraints towards media's role in formulation of foreign policies in African states.

The effect of media on foreign policy formulation also seems to be reliant on the source of the news. News outlets that are respected and reliable normally have more influence than marginal and disputed news sources. In most of the cases, the international media such as CNN are deemed more reliable than the African media. Moreover, the impact of the media on policies heightens when there is an increased coverage of a similar issue at the same time by various media outlets. The media's ability to determine the important issues to cover is critical for both policymakers as well as the public. Another important effect of the media in formulation of foreign policy is that they frame the public opinion about various policies. Martitim (2013) mentions that framing of public opinion occurs when in illustrating an event or issue, the emphasis of the speaker causes the individuals to focus on certain elements to construct their opinions.

According to framing theory as mentioned by Naveh (2002), the characterization of an issue to the audience determines how that particular issue is comprehended. Essentially, issue framing entails the selective exposure of information or news to an audience with the objective of shaping their understanding of an issue which can include withholding some

information or give some facts a priority. Framing by the media usually influence the direction that the policy takes since it pulls the emotions or values into discussions or debates. This argument is in agreement with the findings of Grätz (2015) that the public in African states can access information more easily today than in the past. There are more media outlets which enable the public to get more than one viewpoint from experts and journalists, which make it difficult policymakers to conceal information to the public.

Africa media with the help of international media has significantly improved in pushing various issues involving foreign policies in order to create awareness to the society and trigger public participation. For instance, in 2015 the Kenyan media played a role in informing the public about a policy by the national assembly to increase the price of zero rated products and the uproar by the people resulted to a halt to the policy. As such, the media has greatly influenced formulation and implementation of foreign policies in most of the African states by shaping the public opinions and creating awareness about different policy objectives. The ability to shape the public opinion has significant effect because it creates media diplomacy.

According to Naveh (2002), media diplomacy entails refining the creation and implementation of foreign policy and understanding of the public on matters of global affairs. In a democratic society, in which most of the African states are, propaganda for local and outside consumption cannot be broadcasted without risking reliability and respect with audience. Therefore, media diplomacy is a vital tool for management of change that constitute nation branding that is done through mainstream media such as television, radio, and newspapers. They are essential because they serve as a tool for management of image and reputation as well as achieving the aims that countries seek in the international system.

Media diplomacy is also vital in foreign policy because it aids in ensuring that the nation's image is connected with reality and the solid actions taken by a country in the international stage.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the details covered in this research paper in a conclusive manner. Therefore, this section will not present any new information or concepts, but rather present the information that has been drawn from the previous chapters. Among the concepts presented in the chapter include summary of the study, conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of the Study

Foreign policy is essential for nations because it seeks to promote the national interests of a state on the global stage by establishing liberal relationships and coexistence agreements for mutual benefits. Therefore, the formulation of the policies is important and needs to be well thought to ensure that the best of a nation's interests are considered. Effective international relations are vital in advancing the development of foreign policy of a nation on the global platform. There are many elements that determine the formulation of foreign policies in fostering good relationships between nations. The media has been one of the major elements that play an important role in the formulation of foreign policies due to its immense influence. The media has a pronounced impact on foreign policy formulation on developed nations making it crucial in most of the international dealings. Similarly it is essential in developing states especially African, in the formulation of foreign policies.

Before the advancement of technology in Africa, the media did not have a significant influence on the formulation and development of foreign policy in African states due to interference from superpowers, supranational organisations, multinational corporations,

intergovernmental organizations, and non-government organizations. However, following the advancement of technology especially in post – cold war era, the flow of information has gradually transformed, making it possible for ordinary citizen to get information about national matters. Both African and international media widely cover local and international news, which makes people aware of the proceedings of important issues and matters affecting the world. This has brought public participation and opinion, which did not exist before hence influencing how the foreign policies are formulated. Moreover, the prevalence of social media has also played a big role in the formulation and development of foreign policy in African states because it is more flexible than the mainstream media.

Unlike mainstream media, social media content has turned out to be almost impossible control hence a source of pressure to policymakers to have the best interests of the country at forefront to avoid public uproar. For instance, the media has played a crucial role in the development of East African Community framework in the recent past. This is because it centers on the progress of trade among the EAC states to spark insights about the viability and relevance of the guiding policies towards the trade relations between the states. Despite its key role, media freedom remains a challenge within African states which has negatively affected the formulation of foreign policies. Suppression of the media is critical because it meddles with the integrity of policymakers resulting to formulation of policies based on personal benefits rather than national benefits.

The aim of the research paper was narrowed down to focus on post-cold war African states since most of them have been unable to develop a viable configuration of interests alongside their foreign policy. Most of the African states' foreign policies have become subject to political surges worldwide. The reluctance and lack of capability of the media especially

African mainstream media has derailed the progression of African states on foreign matters since they are reserved in their commentary on political issues. Therefore, the study focused on how the media is involved in all stages of formulation of foreign policy and how policymakers and politicians use the media to influence their agendas on matters of local and international relations. Since the study focused on exploring the contribution of the media in the formulation of foreign policy in post-cold war African states, the researcher developed a number of objectives to aid effective achievement of the research aim.

The objectives formulated include establishing the historical place of media in influencing foreign policy formulation in Africa, comparing media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war Africa with the rest of the world, finding out the significant roles of media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war African states, and establishing effects of media during the process of foreign policy formulation to post-cold war African states. These objectives were meant to focus extensively on all the areas that were related to the topic of the study. Formulating a number of objectives was important because they guided the researcher to focus on a given scope that facilitated effective exploration of the research topic.

The second chapter of the research paper focused on reviewing the important literature that related to the role of the media in the formulation of foreign policy in African states. The development of this chapter followed the objectives that were formulated to ensure that all the relevant information was obtained. The information was obtained from different scholars who had focused on how media influences formulation of foreign policy especially in the African countries. Moreover, the section entailed a critical analysis of the information that was collected from the different sources. The definition of foreign policy and exploration of theoretical review were among the concepts of discussion in this section of the paper.

Further, the manner in which the media influences the policy formulation process in various African countries was discussed. A critical evaluation of media reporting in Africa and as well as pertinent issues in Africa was contained in the second chapter of the research paper.

The third chapter analyzed the methodological approach that the researcher adopted to draw the findings of the study topic. A description of the procedures and methods that were adopted by the researcher were well presented in the section. In summary, the chapter described a qualitative method of data collection as the most suitable in understanding the role of media in the formulation foreign policy in African states. Particularly, secondary research was utilized from the existing studies in an effort to understand the study topic. The exploration of these existing studies aimed at offering a clear overview of the extent towards which these sources address the aim of the research. Moreover, the information obtained from the existing studies was synthesized to create reliable responses to the research questions in this section.

5.3 Conclusion

The findings of the study that were presented in the fourth chapter of the research paper led to the conclusions that were made. These conclusions were made relating with the objectives of the study that were meant to guide the study aim.

The first objective of the study aimed to understand how the media historically impacted the formulation of policy in African states. It is important to understand that media in Africa was dissimilar from that of the global north countries. Historically, the African mainstream media did not have mandate to address sensitive issues such as policy making due to state controls.

Various scholars in the study have revealed that most of the African states leaders did not

give media the freedom to focus on matters of policymaking due to their questionable integrity behavior and personal interests. Therefore, the media did not have much influence on the foreign policy formulation in African states for a long time. The media was also easily manipulated and intimidated making it difficult for them to convey crucial information to the people; hence, contributing to development of poor policies.

The study further focuses on the advent of technology in Africa and how it influenced media and foreign policy formulation in African states. The technological advancement led to the introduction of social media and international media such as CNN that addressed issues pertaining formulation of foreign policies. The media started focusing on policymakers and how they developed the policies especially addressing their integrity. It was revealed that it was difficult to compromise the international media and this strengthened the African mainstream media to inform the people. Moreover, it brought about social media, which has played a huge part in revolutionizing formulation of foreign policy since the information reaches the people in real time.

The other objective sought to understand how the involvement of media in foreign policy formulation in Africa and the rest of the world are important. The study concluded that the approach of the African media and the rest of the world especially the developed countries are different. The African mainstream media such as television and print media have performed dismally in the formulation of foreign policy due to various factors such as intimidation by the state, bias, and inadequate resources. This tendency has derailed the development of African states because most of the foreign policies are formulated and implemented without the knowledge of the people. Most of these policies do not represent the interests of the public, but the interests of selfish leaders and irresponsible policymakers.

Moreover, the research revealed that the African media in most of the countries have not achieved desirable levels in creating awareness of the new and existing foreign policies. Most of them are either restricted to cover the important issues or have inadequate resources, or just reluctant to cover political matters. Compared to the media in other parts of the world especially the western countries such as the United States, the media has for a long time been on the frontline in the formulation of foreign policy. The relations between the United States for instance and the rest of the world are greatly influenced by the media such as CNN and BBC that hold in-depth analysis with the policymakers and top politicians frequently. The ability of the journalists to ask them tough questions without fear or favor has seen effective formulation of policies that represent the interests of the country.

In contrast, African media is either biased or afraid to ask politicians and policymakers in African states questions about trivial issues that influence foreign policy and this negatively affects how the policies are formulated. Moreover, they do not carry out thorough analysis in a language that can be understood by the ordinary citizens to enable public participation. However, the research concludes that in the recent past, the African media is gaining momentum and catching up with the rest of the world in influencing formulation of foreign policy. It is apparent the presence of international media in African states is challenging African media to ensure that it plays a significant role towards formulation of foreign policy. The use of social media is also catching up with the rest of the world especially Europe and is influencing the perception of the public on matters of foreign policy.

Further, on exploring the significance role of the media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war African states, it was apparent that media has risen to become important in African countries due to the diverse ways it is being used. Moreover, the African population that

understands the role of the media in national issues has increased making it crucial in formulation of policies. The research paper reveals that citizens can access information more easily now than in the past because the media outlets have increased, which makes it possible for them to get alternative views. Most of the issues relating to international politics are made available to the people by media both local and international creating massive awareness about matters importance in the government.

Lack of effective foreign policy formulation has led to exploitation of African states by the developing countries especially from Europe. The post-colonial media has stepped up to focus on politics to prevent political players from formulating policies for their benefits but rather put their countries first. The media houses have come out to analyze the details of foreign policy agendas in a layman's language, which helps the common people to understand sensitive issues and form public opinion. The research paper reveals that media plays a big role because it supports its journalists with resources and security to cover news in scope and avail them to the citizens. Thus, policy makers and politicians are aware that people understand how policies are made and the relations of their country in the international stage; hence, they are keen to formulate effective policies.

The research paper further revealed that despite the challenges that the media faces in the African states to address crucial issues concerning foreign policy due to censorship, it continues to do its best to create awareness to the members of the public. The support from the society has given the media confidence to cover more crucial issues that have seen effective formulation of foreign policy. The resilient nature of the media has seen improvement in the integrity levels of policymakers resulting to redrafting of policies, which

has led to development of a favorable platform benefiting both the African states and the international partners.

It is also apparent in the research paper that the media has played a significant role in the exploration of issues influences the economy of the African states due to poor foreign policies. The paper reveals media as one of the stakeholders that have taken some of the responsibility to ensure that the people are aware of the various decisions relating to local and international issues. Most of the African media however concentrates on touching only on the issues that people follow forgetting that some of the news that they ignore affect state policies. It is important for the media to put strong emphasis on the contemporary trend of the societal ills that result to poor policies that affect the states' relations in the international stage. Independent media have influenced formulation of foreign policy that has translated to improved, economies, heightened security and strong trade ties amongst various African states as they are not controlled by anybody. Moreover, social media has facilitated the development of good policies because of modern day access to internet by many people hence increased public awareness on trivial issues.

5.4 Recommendations of the Study

Citing from the conclusions of this study, the relationship between the media, foreign policy formulation and their relations with the people in the states where they happen is complex. It is evident that influence on foreign policy formulation happens where there has been massive media coverage of the agenda set by government or matters that are of national interest and are affecting citizens. This study has its recommendations regarding the role of media in foreign policy formulation in post-cold war African states. One of the recommendations for this study is that the African media needs to be more aggressive in

pursuing matters of national interest in order to create awareness to the public. This can be attained through carrying out more research on the relationship between information, opinion, and decision making needs regarding foreign policy. This is because an evaluation on the role of the media viewed through the objectives of this study found that despite that the media shaping the public opinion, it acts in concert with policymakers. In this sense, the policymakers are aware that the media has a role to play hence use them to push their agenda. Secondly, due to technological advancement witnessed throughout the post-cold war Africa, there is need to address proliferation of information especially social media. This is because it has proven to have no boundary to the amount of information that the public can access and it is difficult to know whether it is true or false.

Therefore, the study further recommends that despite the influence that the media has on formulation of foreign policy in African states, it must ensure that the information availed is correct and not biased. This will eliminate the aspect of manipulating journalism by the elites and seek to uphold professionalism in reporting. Appropriate training of journalists should be periodical to give them capability to address contemporary sensitive international issues. Moreover, this study recommends that the media should borrow a leaf from numerous fields in the academic disciplines since it is a multidisciplinary field. The academic community should promote a multidisciplinary curriculum for the media studies in order to equip the media personnel better, particularly in the developing world where most are limited to media without exposure to other disciplines that inform matters of foreign policy. The topics and issues studied in media cannot be separated from the society and this should be factored in order to improve the critical mass of the media personnel.

This study also recommends cooperation between the media industry and academic research. This aspect is present in developed countries but non-existent or weak in African states. This has an effect on the general media output particularly on content that lacks informative and vital information. This can be improved by changes in the media landscape, which should incorporate other academic circles.

5.5 Suggestions for Other Studies

Besides the conclusion of this study, there are factors that the researcher considered and found it necessary to include in subsequent studies. The concept of media reporting and how it influences formulation of foreign policy in African states as brought out in this study is an important concept that is necessary for the success of international relations. Therefore, it is essential to take this concept for studies as practiced in Africa as compared to developed states. The scope of this research was the African states; hence, represents only a small portion of the whole world. It is essential to carry out more studies that focus on different parts of the world in order to expand knowledge regarding the role of the media in formulation of foreign policies in the post-cold war world. Moreover, it is important to focus on even on how media in developed countries influence foreign policy formulation since they have different settings and this could shed additional knowledge towards the exploration of the research topic.

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