

# **E-DIPLOMACY IN EAST AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

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**September 2013**

**DECLARATION BY STUDENT**

This research study is my original work and has not been presented to any other examination body. No part of this research should be reproduced without my consent or that of the University of Nairobi.

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**DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR**

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

MR. PATRICK MALUKI                      Signed.....                      Date.....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my family for the support and encouragement they have accorded me, even with the stresses of work and on the verge of giving up, mom and dad your words of encouragement anchored me to success.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Glory first be to God who provided the opportunity and resources to carry out this academic research paper. I also take this opportunity to give my sincerest gratitude to my parents and mentor/supervisor Mr. Patrick Maluki, who all played key roles in ensuring that I remained committed and motivated throughout my research.

## ACRONYMS

<b>IT</b>	Information Technology
<b>IS</b>	Information Systems
<b>ICT</b>	Information and Communication Technology
<b>ISP</b>	Internet Service Provider
<b>CCK</b>	Communication Commission of Kenya
<b>IXP</b>	Internet Exchange Point
<b>PC</b>	Personal Computer
<b>DOS</b>	Denial of Service
<b>ANT</b>	Actor-Network Theory
<b>CID</b>	Criminal Investigations Department
<b>ccTLD</b>	Country Code Top Level Domain
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for Social Science
<b>WWW</b>	World Wide Web

## **ABSTRACT**

In recent years social media has been increasingly used in many parts of the world. In 2009, it was the essential tool in Iran for the opposition protests to appeal to the support of the world public opinion by helping dissidents plan rallies and spread first-person accounts of the protest movement. Interestingly, in the case of Iran, there were 220,000 tweets an hour, 3,000 YouTube videos, and two million blog posts, many of which became powerful tools for the dissidents to rally international support. Similarly, in 2007 Kenya's post-election violence, the social media was a powerful instrument in creating and spreading hate messages forcing the government to impose a media-blackout in a drastic attempt to control the spread of violence. Social media not only proved to be a powerful medium in influencing the public but also drew the attention of public diplomacy professionals, observers, and political analysts on how it could be positively utilized to enhance a country's image. The research determines the tools used in adopting ICT to cultivate public diplomacy in Kenya, its impact and challenges, and analyzes the successes of adopting ICT into diplomacy in order to ensure efficiency in public participation of government polices and other processes. It adopts the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as an explanatory framework of analysis. ANT proposes a socio-technical account in which neither social nor technical positions are privileged. It employs both exploratory and descriptive designs where the use of exploratory design was appropriate to establish the state of E-diplomacy in Kenya, while descriptive research determines the frequencies and provides us with a visual on how things are. The responses were processed by use of a computer statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) programme. The research outlines its findings in terms of knowledge and expertise in adopting E-diplomacy in Kenya and the lays out strategies in curbing challenges such as cybercrime which are inter-twined with ICT. It concludes by providing specific recommendations such as sensitization of the general public on positive utilization of the social media to amendment of laws to ensure efficiency and reliability.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Global mass communications and advances in new information and communication technologies (ICTs) are posing a fundamental challenge to the traditional conduct of international relations by dispersing authority to multiple terrains, increasing the activism of the global civil society, and driving the expansion of global finance and trade.<sup>1</sup> According to Potter, we stand on the threshold of an information revolution in which electronic forms of communication, largely immune to regulation, will be the primary means of communication. Advances in information technology will act as catalyst for the forces of both fragmentation and integration in the current international system.

The internet, World Wide Web (WWW), telephones, digital imagery, and other information and communications technologies (ICTs) have changed the environment in which diplomacy has operated. Three factors have driven this transformation: speed of applications; increasing capacity; and shrinking costs. Increased availability of, access to, and speed of delivery of large quantities of news and information to a global audience in real time are making the management of state affairs more complex than ever. The internet is operational in 214 countries, with the most rapid growth outside the United States and Canada.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Evan H. Potter (2002). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Grant (2005). Discussion Papers in Diplomacy "The Democratisation of Diplomacy: Negotiating with the Internet". Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. pp1-2

The Internet has had a significant impact on policy and politics. Today, it is difficult to find any policy process that does not involve e-support and create impact through social networking tools, such as blog, Twitter and Facebook. International relations and public diplomacy are no exception. An increasing number of diplomatic services use Web tools such as YouTube or mobile phone applications to engage with their target audiences. Some have even established virtual embassies. Significantly, the Internet has opened up two-way channels of communication, providing a tool for individuals and organizations to influence global policy. These and other developments, which are collectively referred to as cyber space diplomacy, e-diplomacy, virtual diplomacy or internet diplomacy, increasingly influence the conduct of international relations.<sup>3</sup>

Government ministries have discovered the potential of the internet as a powerful medium for the dissemination of information. On most websites of ministries it is possible to find basic foreign policy instruments, press-releases, who is who in the ministry, travel information, information for foreigners among others.

The internet can be seen to have reinforced the importance of texts as the key medium of modern human communication, in a variety of forms such as e-mail, websites, and hypertext-based documents, and for diplomacy, texts have always been crucial. The richness and complexity of diplomatic activities, including negotiations, representation, social activities, and media coverage is crystallized in texts, that is, diplomatic documents.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The e-diplomacy initiative (2010), <http://campus.diplomacy.edu/env/scripts/Pool/GetBin.asp?IDPool=10177>. Malta

<sup>4</sup> Jovan K. and Slavik H. (2001) Language and Diplomacy DiploProjects Publishers, Malta. p.11

We are now said to be in the midst of a ‘new industrial revolution’, one that will lead us into a new kind of society, an ‘information.’<sup>5</sup> Yet awareness of, and enthusiasm for, these changes have been tempered by fears that the Internet brings with it new threats and dangers to our well-being and security. Cyberspace, the realm of computerized interactions and exchanges, seems to offer a vast range of new opportunities.<sup>6</sup>

Public diplomacy, as an important strategic asset and an effective means of strategic communication, primarily attempts to set media agendas, create news frames, switch news contexts, and fabricate speculative narratives and sensitive topics. In so doing, it imposes one country's value system and media standards on the rest of the world, resulting in increased international public opinion.<sup>7</sup> According to Lee, Hillary Clinton avidly pursued the e-diplomacy strategy to mobilize the American public to get busy on the internet and proactively interact with foreign audiences to carry out some of America's diplomatic strategies. Clinton's enthusiasm about web tools offered the promise of promoting democracy in countries that currently give the United States big geopolitical headaches, particularly Iran, China and Russia. In addition, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates proclaimed in June 2009 that social media such as Twitter, which played a critical role in documenting and coordinating the protests in Tehran, Iran, has been a huge strategic asset for the United States because it makes it extremely difficult for governments to control information, thus representing a huge win for freedom around the world because this monopoly of information is no longer in the hands of the government.

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<sup>5</sup> Webster, F. (2003). "Theories of the Information Society", 2nd edn. London: Routledge

<sup>6</sup> Yar M (2006),. "Cybercrime and Society". SAGE Publications Ltd, India.

<sup>7</sup> Yahya R., (2010) Power, and Politics in the Digital Age: The 2009 Presidential Election Uprising in Iran, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, United Kingdom.p.143

Unlike during the cold war, in which governments dispatched personnel directly to other countries to help with the street protests and the like, in this new age of antiterrorism, the aim of web-based public diplomacy is more likely to be creating smart mobs in others countries. in fact, ever since the inception of the information age, prominent government leaders have firmly maintained that the information age, and internet technologies would be the most crucial weapon in ideological struggles, believing that they would solve all global problems.<sup>8</sup> For instance, Ronald Reagan considered information technology as the David of the microchip that will bring down the Goliath of totalitarianism. it is therefore reasonable to assume that social media will be more commonly adopted in the future with the intention of bringing about changes.

In the past many scholars disputed the notion of cyberutopianism where the use of the internet to change a nations regime is a manifestation of technological determinism and cannot withstand scrutiny. The underlying assumption of cyberutopianism is the conviction that once a state relaxes the access of the internet, younger generations will swarm to antigovernment websites, question its legitimacy of their government, and eventually take the matter into their own hands.<sup>9</sup> Hence, Yahya argues that successful public diplomacy and strategic communication must address both mass audiences and specific target audiences. Certain media such as television, radio and the internet, as well as press and public affairs operations, reach a broad public.

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<sup>8</sup> Yar Morozov E. (2009). Facebook diplomacy. Newsweek.[www.newsweek.com](http://www.newsweek.com)

<sup>9</sup> Yahya R., (2010) Power, and Politics in the Digital Age: The 2009 Presidential Election Uprising in Iran, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, United Kingdom.p.148

## **1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

When Egyptian factory workers, unhappy with their low pay, began talking about a national strike an anti-government page was developed on popular social networking website Facebook which went to attract over 60,000 members. On 11 February 2011, Hosni Mubarak resigned as President of Egypt after continuous nationwide protests and an unsuccessful a five-day internet blackout. Between 2010 and 2012 these websites went on to bring about the Arab spring instigating uprisings in Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the republic of Yemen and other countries in the region. Facebook was used to schedule protests, Twitter to coordinate, and Youtube to tell the world. The significant role of social media stimulated a lot of debate on the influence it posed on the general public. The uprising raised questions on how a country could positively utilize social media to enhance its image not just domestically but internationally.

The power of social media in Africa and other states is indeed of great concern not just for states but other actors in the international system. Reliable and effective measures such as well established ICT structures can be key in ensuring that states have the backing of its citizens through real time communication. Indeed, countries are now learning to employ various public diplomacy tools in order to achieve their goals and interests.

Kenya having embraced ICT development through the different forms of internet practice (e-mail, websites, twitter, facebook and other social-websites, video conferencing, etc), it has also attempted to used it to cultivate its public diplomacy in different aspects. Which brings us to the

question: How has Kenya adopted ICT to cultivate its public diplomacy and how effective has this adoption been in achieving our goals? This study investigates E-diplomacy in Africa with a case study of Kenya.

### **1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

1. To determine the tools used in adopting ICT to cultivate public diplomacy in Kenya.
2. To establish the impact and challenges of adopting ICT to cultivate public diplomacy in Kenya
3. To analyze the successes of adopting ICT development to cultivate public diplomacy in Kenya

### **1.4. HYPOTHESES**

1. E-diplomacy enhances the management of public diplomacy.
2. ICT development helped increase the impact of e-diplomacy in Kenya.
3. E-diplomacy positively influences public opinion.

## **1.5. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

E-diplomacy raises the question of whether the adoption of ICT enhances a countries relationship with its citizens. Could social media be a valuable tool in enhancing a countries image both domestically and internationally? Finally, can these tools be used to rally public support and ensure that a country's policies are supported by the general public?

This study examined how and why E-diplomacy through ICT enhances a countries capability to achieve its goals and interests. The study investigated E-diplomacy with case studies from Africa specifically in Kenya and the Arab Spring. E-diplomacy although studied widely, has been primarily focused on first world countries. There is need for qualitative work and thorough analysis of data to ensure a qualitative scientific point of view.

To academicians and students of International Relations, this study presents the kind of impacts and challenges encountered in adopting ICT in Public diplomacy. To bureaucrats, this research provides valuable lessons learnt in adoption of e-diplomacy. The lessons learnt on how the Kenya government ministries manage the challenges brought about by e-diplomacy will be invaluable to other East African countries and organizations which may be contemplating to adopt and implement similar Information Systems. This study documents and evaluates the efforts of E-diplomacy in Kenya with a view to serve as a record about the insights that can be extracted from their work and so as to provide a reference point for similar or related projects.

We live in a time of widespread connectivity and that much of the world's population is with an amazing speed, joining a common network.<sup>10</sup> Sharp and Wiseman argue that there are more than five billion mobile phones on the planet today and that the number of phones in Africa now exceeds the number in Western Europe. That mobile handsets are increasingly becoming sophisticated computing devices, powerful and disruptive tools for economic growth, political expression and social change.

With the above in view, it can be rightfully assumed that access to the internet through devices such as the mobile phones and through the emergence of the fibre optic has created a potential game changer in the field of development in East Africa and Kenya in particular. This digital emergence manages to change the principal instrument within international relations, that is, diplomacy. Traditionally, diplomatic engagement consisted largely of government to people. With the advent of the social media and the rapid increase in mobile penetration, however this engagement has now increasingly taken place from people to government and from people to people. This direct link from citizens to government allows diplomats to convene and connect with non-traditional audiences, and in turn allows citizens to influence their governments in ways that were not possible before.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Sharp, Geoffrey Wiseman (2012). American Diplomacy, IDC publishing, The Netherlands.p.217

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p.218



## **1.6. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **1.6.1. The Concept of E-diplomacy**

Thanks to the information revolution, questions about global television and foreign policy are now part of the larger, lively discussion of what is variously termed cyber diplomacy, electronic diplomacy (e-diplomacy), digital diplomacy, or internet/net diplomacy.<sup>12</sup> Larson highlights that there are two underlying technological and economic trends that drive the information revolution that have shown no signs of slowing for more than a quarter century. First, Moore's law, which states that the power of a computer chip will double every eighteen months, has proven true since 1965, when Intel cofounder Gordon Moore first announced it. Second, an equally impressive steady drop in the cost of semiconductors accompanies this remarkable growth of computing and communications capacity. Consequently, a third trend is the explosive growth of the internet, already available, according to one estimate, to more than 10 percent of the world's population, opening the gates for a global flood of news and diplomatic messages.

In order to carry out the study effectively, it is imperative that a thorough understanding of the concept e-diplomacy is undertaken through its definition. E-diplomacy, as defined by Berridge, is the conduct of diplomacy via electronic information and communications technologies (ICT's), especially the internet.<sup>13</sup> That ICT's have made a great difference to the ways in which states conduct their international communications, both with their own officials abroad and with foreign states, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. They have also

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<sup>12</sup> James F. Larson (2004). *The internet and Foreign Policy*. Science Press Publishers, Ephrata Pennsylvania. p.3

<sup>13</sup> G.R. Berridge, Lorna L., Alan J.(2012). *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy*, Macmillan Publishers, England.

deeply influenced the international organization of foreign ministries and their diplomatic networks, for instance, reliance on the traditional diplomatic bag has steadily diminished as documents have been digitized, online learning systems are being used more and more for training purposes, and dedicated channels on YouTube and other social media are being exploited.

At its broadest, the term virtual diplomacy, e-diplomacy, or digital diplomacy signifies the altered diplomacy associated with the emergence of a networked globe. At its narrowest, it comprises the decision-making coordination, communication and practice of foreign affairs as they are conducted with the aid of information and telecommunications in the wake of the changes brought about by the computer and telecommunications industries.<sup>14</sup>

The information revolution however, had not unfolded in a vacuum. Instead, it has taken place alongside secular processes and events such as Globalizations. The convergence of small, mobile and powerful communications technologies around the internet is one obvious source of change, but there are several other important aspects of these broad transformations.<sup>15</sup>

Political scientist Bernard Cohen, wrote the Press and Foreign policy (1963), during the era of newspapers noting that the press may not be successfully much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. Thus, the

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<sup>14</sup> United States Institute of Peace (2006). Virtual Diplomacy online. Available from:  
<http://www.usip.org/virtualdiplomacy/about.html>

<sup>15</sup> James F. Larson (2004). The internet and Foreign Policy. Science Press Publishers, Ephrata Pennsylvania. p.5

internet is for many the 21<sup>st</sup> century newspaper. The greatest change brought about by the internet is a vast increase in the circulation of messages and meanings that make up agendas for the media, the public and the government. According to Cohen, the relationships among three actors: the press, foreign policy and the public hasn't changed even after forty years but include a dynamic, global and highly networked communication process.<sup>16</sup>

The new importance of the electronic mass media in the foreign policy process has become well recognized. The impact of televised images on the American perception of overseas events, particularly those involving U.S. military resources, is well documented. The result is the phenomenon known as the CNN effect, where attitudes of both diplomats and the public at large are heavily influenced by the fast-breaking coverage of international crisis. He argues that such coverage by the television networks dropped from more than forty percent in the 1970s to less than 15 percent by 1995. In part, the void has been filled by the internet, with its interactive web sites that deal with the global developments at all levels.<sup>17</sup>

### **1.6.2. Realist and Idealists Theoretical Perception of ICT on Diplomacy**

According to idealists, the Information Revolution has practically turned information into a source of national power and influence. International power is now gauged in terms of accessibility to the world's communication infrastructure and the dominance of countries with regards to technology. Traditional military and financial powers are being replaced by soft

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.9

<sup>17</sup> Dizard, P. (2001). Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age, Praeger Publishers, USA.p.172

power.<sup>18</sup> Soft power is the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through persuasion as opposed to coercion. It works by convincing others to follow, or agree to, norms and institutions that produce a desired behavior.<sup>19</sup> With its emphasis on information and knowledge, the new communications environment is making soft power more practical. Indeed, the new ICTs hold the key to soft power, making it possible to appeal directly to a multitude of actors”.

However, some scholars such as Harold Innis and Marshal McLuhan challenged the idea that communications would lead to a democratic diffusion of power. He saw what he called the tragedy of modern culture as the influence of the electronic media in undermining space and time in the interests of commercial and political power. McLuhan, took a similar skeptical view of the new electronic age. He was pragmatic realist who recognized the threat as well as the promise of new technologies. He pointed out that a global network could lead to a new tribalism, hindering rather than helping the open exchange of information and the mediation of human difference.<sup>20</sup> This can be seen through countries such as Russia and China. Russia presents a mixed picture at the turn of the century, lively opposition press, open internet networks and street-corner freedom of speech.

On the other hand, the most powerful media instruments, television and radio, are largely manipulated by government and corporate interests. China represents a more intriguing patten.

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<sup>18</sup> Martin, Todd (2001). Virtual Diplomacy [online]. Canada: A Student Journal of International Affairs, Volume 2, February 2001. Available from: [http://www.carleton.ca/emerge/v2\\_art/v2\\_art1/9.html](http://www.carleton.ca/emerge/v2_art/v2_art1/9.html)

<sup>19</sup> John Arquilla, Et al. (1999). The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward An American Information Strategy, RAND Publishers, USA, p.40

<sup>20</sup> Dizard, P. (2001). Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age, Praeger Publishers, USA.pp.182-185

Official controls over information flow remain largely in place. However, the communist leadership faces an uncomfortable dilemma in reconciling strict censorship with the need to upgrade the national communications network in ways that match the demands of an expanding economy. Kalba international, a Boston consultancy, estimated in 2000 that within a decade China will have almost a quarter of a billion mobile subscribers, more than any other country in the world. In the process the country's leader are more than likely to lose control over their ability to manage information, an essential element in maintaining their grip on political power.<sup>21</sup> This can be seen as largely true because new gadgets (mobile phones, fax machines, we sites, etc) to permit the kind of monitoring that had previously allowed a vast surveillance bureaucracy to identify and punish violators of information controls.

According to the realist view, military security is an area where digital diplomacy will play a more active role in the coming years. The defense department in the United States has moved steadily to integrate advanced information technologies as central elements in its operational plans. As a pentagon study had noted, the computer chip and digital systems for ground combat are as radical as the machine gun in World War 1. The result has been the emergence of a new strategic doctrine, the revolution in Military Affairs.

The realist scholars seem to rest on the notion that open information flow faces many challenges in the new century. That until now, resources have largely benefited powerful interests, particularly governments and corporations. These institutions have had the money, and the will,

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<sup>21</sup> Madanmohan Rao (1999) Internet Governance: The struggle over political economy of cyberspace, p.9

to take advantage of electronic resources for their own purposes.<sup>22</sup> As a result, they are primarily responsible for creating and exploiting the present basic (backbone) network at home and abroad. This backbone facility is now being widened and its purposes transformed as it reaches out to mass audiences through a web of smaller networks. In effect the network is being consumerized and extending, at various speeds into other societies. Moreover its capabilities reach far beyond telephone services to include a full range of information services that can be plugged into a digital circuit.

This changeover has brought astonishing growth of the internet. From small origins as a data network, it is now a multimedia resource, available to hundreds of millions of users worldwide. To realists, these changes are creating conditions for an unprecedented event in human history. It is the prospect of an electronic network that will allow everyone on earth to communicate with one another. Thus realists argue that there is still no clear defined view of the medium range impacts of this change.

Even though both realists and idealist differ on the impact of information flow through digital technology, it is clear that it enhances public diplomacy especially through social media. Social media has become an important strategic asset and an effective means of strategic communication for increased international and domestic public opinion. In light of this Kenya has also tapped and invested heavily on ICT to foster its relationship with the public. This it did in the hope of delivering services more efficiently and effectively, and making information more

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<sup>22</sup> Dizard, P. (2001). Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age, Praeger Publishers, USA.p. 185

accessible to the citizenry.<sup>23</sup> E-government generally involves using ICTs to transform both back-end and front-end government processes and provides services, information and knowledge to all government customers, that is, the public, businesses, government employees and other government agencies. E-Government uses a range of information technologies, such as the Wide Area Networks, Internet, and Mobile Computing, to transform government operations in order to improve effectiveness, efficiency, service delivery and to promote democracy.

### **1.6.3. Kenya's Strive to Advance National Goals**

Kenya has been able to use this ICT platform to rally for of its foreign policy agendas where Kenya's foreign policy has since independence been guided and shaped by its own national interest.<sup>24</sup> This self-interest could be grouped into three main categories, Security/Political, Geo-Political Factors and Kenya and Regional Integration where Kenya participates actively in several regional initiatives such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), ACP-EU, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation, amongst others.<sup>25</sup>

To meet the above, Kenya, as highlighted earlier, would need successfully public diplomacy and strategic communication where they must address both mass audiences and specific target audiences. Media such as television, radio and the internet, as well as press and public affairs

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<sup>23</sup> Available from: [http://www.e-government.go.ke/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=65&Itemid=75](http://www.e-government.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65&Itemid=75)

<sup>24</sup> Proudly African (2013) Available from: <http://www.proudlyafrican.info/Proudly-African/Proudly-African-Territories/Kenya/Ministries-Authorities/The-Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs.aspx>

<sup>25</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kenya (2013) Available from: [http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=57](http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=57)

operations, reach a broad public. But public diplomacy efforts are also directed at narrower, more discrete groups, especially those that because of their expertise, stature, or leadership roles influence the decisions and opinions of others. Opinion leaders in foreign societies can be effective partners in advancing our broader public diplomacy goals.<sup>26</sup> It is well to assume that a country like Kenya would therefore need to tailor its public diplomacy and communication programs to specific audiences, using the most appropriate and effective media available.

Borders for information flows are more porous and more actors are involved in international affairs and international politics. Diplomacy is increasingly becoming accountable to, and influenced by, public debate and interest-group lobbies.<sup>27</sup> This demands new ways of communicating foreign policy to a range of non-governmental international actors, and new ways of assessing the influence of these communicative efforts. From this perspective, public diplomacy is seen as dialogical, collaborative and inclusive and takes advantage of social media to establish two-way engagement with the public.

Most of the nations today are responsive to the new forces of mass education and the formal media.<sup>28</sup> In them, public opinion forms through the complex interplay of subgroup sentiment, sometimes interlocked with the sentiment of similar groups in order of countries; of the hostility or attractiveness perceived within a given situation; of media policy; and of government leadership as reflected in the media. According to Gregory, policy is not usually the result of

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<sup>26</sup> U.S. Department of State (2007). U.S. National Strategy for Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication, Crossbow Press, West Bethesda, USA. p.12

<sup>27</sup> James Pamment (2013). New Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice, Routledge Publishers, USA. p3

<sup>28</sup> Gregory Henderson (1973). Public Diplomacy and Political Change: Four Case Studies: Okinawa, Peru, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Praeger Publishers, NY, USA. p 22-23



decisions explicitly taken by a small group of elite in the manner of many diplomatic decisions but is more often the result of a sometimes obscure ground swell of forces articulated by the media, of groups, and of the formal communication system. The policy influence of this public opinion has growth with the increasing pressure of the attentive public on policy questions. In a world of this kind, diplomacy in public diplomacy thus implies that public groups and media themselves, not simply appointed leaders and bureaucrats, are involved in the devising of and execution of policy.

#### **1.6.4. CASE STUDIES**

##### **US Public Diplomacy and the Iraq War**

Throughout the period leading up to the IRAQ WAR and during the war itself, GEORGE W. BUSH administration took great pains to ensure that the public supported the war. Looking at the period before the war, public opinion was generally supportive.<sup>29</sup> Between November 2001 and January 2003, the percentage of Americans supporting war with Iraq vacillated between the low 60 percent range and the high 70 percent range. A December 2002 poll found that 58 percent of Americans wanted more evidence for why war was necessary and that a similar number favored acting only with the support of the United Nations. By early February 2003 the Bush Administration had managed to change these numbers. Now a full 60 percent of the American public supported the war, even over the objections of the U.N.

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<sup>29</sup> Glenn P. Hastedt (2004). Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, VB Hermitage Publishers, USA. p 405-410

### **China's E-diplomacy Initiatives**

China has also taken promotion of Chinese culture and language studies as a major component of its public diplomacy, contributing to spreading Chinese culture and increasing China's global influence. Since late 1990s, China has been aggressive in promoting the study of Chinese all over the world. By November 2007, 143 Confucius Institutes had been established by the Chinese Ministry of Education via cooperation with local universities in 51 countries.<sup>30</sup> In Kenya, as well as many other countries, public opinion is providing a unique opportunity to governments to influence decision-making. As noted earlier by Glenn, there has been an increased role that public opinion and legislatures play in modern diplomacy.

### **Kenya's Mobile Internet Potential**

According to Ricochet Research, a study conducted on February 2013 revealed that there was a 77.2% penetration of mobile phones in Kenya. It further said that there were over 30.4 million active mobile phone subscribers and that interestingly, 99.2% of internet subscribers were going online from their mobile phones. A development that has even brought up the importance of making websites optimized for mobiles. The Communication Commission of Kenya stated that as at September 30, 2012, 19.3 million Kenyans were subscribing to mobile money, a little less than 50% of the population.<sup>31</sup> These findings clearly reveal a new form of communication revolution in Kenya which, apart from the M-Pesa mobile money transfer success, has continued to offer limitless opportunities.

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<sup>30</sup> Joshua Kurlantzick (2007). *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*, Integrated Publishing solutions, NY, USA.

<sup>31</sup> Available from: <http://ricochetresearch.com/77-2-penetration-in-kenya-of-mobile-phones/>

However, recent events such as the ICC cases against Kenyan suspects, Kenya's War in Somalia, the 2005 referendum spur critical questions as to whether the government has invested and utilized public diplomacy resources and instruments ,especially its recently developed ICT technology, to its full potential. These ICT resources, could however, be easily utilized to rally public opinion both locally and internationally.

### **Kenya's untapped E-diplomacy capacity**

In November 2011, IPSOS-SYNOVATE conducted a poll against six Kenyan suspects of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The poll determined that as of October, 59 percent of Kenyans supported the ICC process, compared with 56 percent in July. The poll revealed that overall national support was relatively high but had not registered a substantial jump because of other provinces where public opinion remained against the ICC process.<sup>32</sup> Another poll conducted by SYNOVATE and published on April 6<sup>th</sup> 2011, where then Vice president Kalonzo Musyoka, embarked on a Shuttle diplomacy to woo African leaders to support Kenya in a quest to bring the ICC cases facing the then six Kenyans back home, revealed that 69 percent of Kenyans said no while 31 per cent said they support the VP's efforts.<sup>33</sup> A disparity that raises the concern as to how the shuttle diplomacy could have been successful at the international level while it had lost favor of the majority of its citizens at the domestic level.

Similarly, the 2005 Kenyan constitutional referendum held on 21 November 2005, was voted down by a 58% majority of Kenya's voters after many government officials including the then

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<sup>32</sup> ICC Webpage Available on: <http://www.icckkenya.org/2011/11/poll-public-support-for-icc-rises-following-pre-trial-hearings/>

<sup>33</sup> Available on: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-67398/majority-kenyans-opposed-shuttle-diplomacy>

President Mwai Kibaki, had campaigned for a 'Yes' vote on the constitution, which divided the ruling National Rainbow Coalition into camps, for and against the proposal. The main issues of contention at the time being presidential powers, land reforms, religious courts among others. Many paid little attention to the actual text of the constitution and used the Yes or No vote as a means of supporting the differing camps. This clearly depicted lack of understanding by the larger public to what the referendum curtailed and followed a political standing. Kenyan bureaucrats, could have easily taken the opportunity to educate the public on the important aspects of the referendum in order to influence its passing.<sup>34</sup>

Professor Winnie Mitula, a University of Nairobi (UON) institute of Development studies researcher, during a release of a survey on January 17<sup>th</sup> 2012 said that 82% of Kenyans approved of the "Operation Linda Nchi" that saw the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) enter Somalia after a string of kidnappings and bombings in the country by suspected Al Shabaab militia. The survey was conducted between November 4 and December 5 last year 2012, six weeks after the military crossed the border to Somalia. According to Prof Winnie, the survey covered 2,400 respondents of voting age drawn from 44 of the country's 47 counties.<sup>35</sup> According to findings, only 11 per cent of Kenyans feel that the government has handled the war against the militants badly. The remaining seven per cent are not aware that the country has gone to war. Even though the government policy to engage Al Shabaab received an impressive public support, it can be argued that public diplomacy was not the key factor in influencing the decision. On the other hand,

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<sup>34</sup> Available on: <http://www.kenyanews.net/story.php?rid=202733083>

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

media coverage and public outcry over continuous terror attacks could have easily influenced the high rate of approval by Kenyan citizens in the study.

## 1.7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It has been often said that theory is a construct that assists us in selecting and interpreting facts. In this sense this study adopted the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as an explanatory framework of analysis. ANT, which is sometimes specified as sociology of translation is primarily connected with the work of representatives like Bruno Latour, Michael Callon and John Law.<sup>36</sup> According to Mario, the essential characteristic of ANT is the equitable analysis of human and nonhuman actors. They are esteemed as equal actors in networks which want to achieve a common purpose.

ANT theory is also referred to as enrollment theory or the sociology of translation, where the interrelated roles of actors and their strategies are defined and negotiated.<sup>37</sup> ANT deals with the socio-technical by denying that purely technical or purely social relations are possible, and considers the world to be full of hybrid entities. Instead, ANT proposes a socio-technical account in which neither social nor technical positions are privileged.<sup>38</sup> ANT is appropriate to use for this study because it identifies and acknowledges the key human actors and non-human actors within an organization and the effect on the potential social issues that might occur. ANT is used to investigate issues in e-diplomacy process that incorporate human actors such as citizens and bureaucrats advancing their goals and policies, how the interaction between these actors affects the e-diplomacy process, and identifies the factors that influence the process.

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<sup>36</sup> Mario Ziemkendorf (2007). Actor Network Theory. Druck und Bindung Publishers, Norderstedt Germany. p.1-2

<sup>37</sup> George Ritzer (2004). Encyclopedia of Social Theory, Volumes 1-2, Sage Publications, USA. p1-2

<sup>38</sup> Radaideh M. and Al-Ameed H. (2007) Architecture of Reliable Web Applications Software. Idea Group Publishing, USA. p159

ANT theorists regard both technology and society as a combined socio-technical system and that separating them then the approach becomes invalid. A regard that Technical Determinists argue that the development of technology follows its own logic and that the technology determines its use.<sup>39</sup>

However, the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) which stems from the sociology of scientific knowledge with its proponents Pinch and Bijker, regard the process of technological change as an evolutionary process, as do evolutionary economists. As a result, they also advocate a multidirectional model of technological change.<sup>40</sup> Hence, SCOT doesn't seem to oppose ANT theory and agrees that it provides an alternative perspective on technological change. It can therefore be said that based on the overriding relevance and application, that the ANT adequately illustrates e-diplomacy through the internet as a social phenomenon rather than technological tool. At this point, we examine E-diplomacy in East Africa: Kenya as a Case Study in the era of digital technology.

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<sup>39</sup> Mario Ziemkendorf (2007). Actor Network Theory. Druck und Bindung Publishers, Norderstedt Germany. p.2

<sup>40</sup> Preslava Stoeva (2010). New Norms and Knowledge in World Politics: Protecting people intellectual property and the environment, Routledge Publishers, USA. p.19

## **1.8. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This study employed both exploratory and descriptive designs where the use of exploratory design was appropriate to establish the state of E-diplomacy in Kenya, while descriptive research was used to determine the frequencies and at the same time it gives us a visual on how things are.

### **1.8.1. Sampling**

The populations for this study consisted of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Information and Communications, The Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) and various Kenyan High Commissions stationed outside the country. The study adopted both the qualitative and the quantitative methodologies in doing the research. Das (1983), states that quantitative and qualitative methodologies are not antithetic or divergent, rather they focus on the different dimensions of the same phenomenon. Sometimes, these dimensions may appear to be confluent but even in these instances, where they apparently diverge, the underlying unity may become visible on deeper penetration. This emphasis has developed with the growing attention focused on “triangulation” in research.<sup>41</sup> Triangulation is the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. The assumption is that the effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method would be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another.

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<sup>41</sup> Yin RK (1994), "Case Study Research: Design and Methods", (2nd Edition) Newbury Park, Sage



The sample frame constitutes of both the Senior and Junior management level where Simple and Stratified sampling was employed to select the respondents in this study. Stratified sampling is used to ensure that the various entities in the population are well represented in the sample and to ensure accuracy. With Simple Random Sampling, a random sample was selected such that every element in the population had an equal chance of being included into the sample and the respondents selected were each interviewed discretely.

### **1.8.2. Data Collection**

The mechanisms employed in data collection included both questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaires were preferred in this study because those who took part in this study were considered to be literate and capable of answering the questions sufficiently. For quicker response, the use of email to administer the questionnaires was employed for areas where physical access to respondents was limited, for example, Kenyan High Commissions in foreign countries. However, personal visits to the respondents were carried out where a drop and pick approach can be employed. A maximum of seven (7) days was allocated for the distribution and collection of the questionnaires thereafter, the questionnaires were collected and the results interpreted and frequency tables, percentages and graphs were used to present the results.

Interviews were conducted with the use of both structured and semi-structured modes of interview. Telephone interviews were hereby preferred to facilitate the research especially for areas where physical access to respondents is limited, for example, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) where statistics of cybercrime can be accurately analyzed. Structured

interview involves asking the respondents the same questions the same way while semi-structured mode of interview involved a series of open-ended questions which were based on the topic areas the respondent wants to cover. The responses that were obtained from the open-ended questions were compared to obtain proportions, the results of which were compared to the literature review to establish the significant implications adopting ICT on diplomacy in Kenya.

The responses obtained were tabulated and processed by use of a computer statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) programme to analyze the data. Descriptive was also used, specifically mean deviation and descriptive mean. This is because it enables the researcher to describe the findings in terms of their means, mode and median across the population under study in Kenya.

### **1.8.3. Research Design**

This study had the privilege of providing in-depth analysis on the recent internet development in Kenya and the potential it offers on promoting public diplomacy in Kenya. This study employed both exploratory and descriptive designs where the use of exploratory design was appropriate to establish the state of E-diplomacy in Kenya, while descriptive research was used to determine the frequencies and at the same time it gives us a visual on how things are.

### **1.8.4. Population of Study**

The populations for this study consisted of the numerous Kenyan High Commissions stationed in various countries, government ministries especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Information Communications and Technology. The study also consisted of the CCK, who enforce regulations on all Internet connectivity in Kenya. The research targeted the IT staff

in the above selected study population (both in the Senior and Middle level management) who were administered the questionnaires.

### **1.8.5. Data Analysis**

The process of data analysis is based on the research objectives designed at the beginning of the research where frequency tables, means and percentages were used to represent the findings. The responses obtained from the questionnaires filled out by the different managerial levels, were tabulated and processed by use of a computer statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) programme to analyze the data. The chapter outline consists of the following: Chapter one comprises this proposal, examining E-diplomacy in Kenya, identifying the problem and methodology. Chapter two focuses on the evolution of diplomacy and emergence of e-diplomacy. Chapter three includes the critical analysis of adoption of E-diplomacy by the Kenya Government. Chapter four comprises the analysis of research findings and present strategies for enhancing E-diplomacy in Kenya and chapter five is on conclusion and recommendations

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1. THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and a major element of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. That is, diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment. Although diplomacy also implies such discrete activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill, it is hence not surprising that until the label “diplomacy” was affixed to all of these activities by Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as *negotiation*, and by Cardinal Richelieu, as *négociation continuelle*.<sup>42</sup>

That was, permanent diplomacy “in all places,” irrespective of friendship or religious hue. Diplomacy is not limited to/by what professional diplomatic agents do, but may rather as well be carried out by other officials and individuals under the direction of officials. In the Middle-Ages, diplomacy was chiefly assigned to a *nuncius* and a plenipotentiary. While the former was merely a “living letter,” the latter had “full powers”—*plena potestas*—to negotiate on behalf of and bind his principal. The two were alike, however, as being temporary envoys with narrowly focused tasks. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, these ad hoc envoys were replaced and/or

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<sup>42</sup> G.R. Berridge (2002), *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 1, 5-6, 105-12.

supplemented by permanent or *resident* embassies with broad responsibilities.<sup>43</sup> This was the case because temporary embassies were expensive to dispatch, vulnerable on the road, and always likely to cause varying degrees of trouble over precedence and ceremonial (in view of the high status required by their leaders). Eventually, with diplomatic activity intensifying in Europe in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, it was discovered to be more practical and more economical to appoint an ambassador to remain at a much frequent court.<sup>44</sup>

Even more, continuous representation produced greater familiarity with condition and personalities in the country concerned and was accordingly likely to generate a more authoritative flow of information home. It also simplified the preparation of an important negotiation, in addition to launching it without attracting the attention that would normally accompany the arrival of a special envoy. The spread of resident missions was also facilitated by the increasing strength of the doctrine of *raison d'état*, that is, the doctrine where standards of personal morality were irrelevant in statecraft. The only test then was what furthered state interests. As early as 1535, the most Christian King of France, François I, had established a resident embassy in Constantinople at the Court of the Ottoman Sultan. Expectedly, resident missions were initially greeted in some areas with intense suspicion. Yet, their importance was such that they were steadily enforced by the customary “law of nations,” which evolved in the region after the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The premises rented by the envoy and his entourage soon began

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<sup>43</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p. 140

<sup>44</sup> D.E. Queller (1967), *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p. 82.

to acquire special immunities from local criminal and civil jurisdiction—reflecting a change in practice.<sup>45</sup>

Obviously at the time, nevertheless, the more powerful and more relaxed states were slower to dispatch than to receive resident embassies.

### **2.1.1. EARLY DIPLOMACY AND ITS EVOLUTION**

Structurally speaking, responsibility for diplomacy in the states of Europe was routinely designated among different bureaucracies on a geographical basis (mixed at times with domestic matters). In France, in 1626, the first “Ministry of Foreign Affairs”—as known in its current form—was created by Cardinal Richelieu, the legendary chief minister of the French King Louis XIII. Increasing diplomacy raised the possibilities of inconsistency in both the formulation and execution of foreign policy, a concern demanding more unified guidance and better preserved archives. The fact that diplomacy was more and more conducted by representatives residing for long periods abroad eventually urged for a certain extent of organized communication with them, including ciphering and deciphering instructions and dispatches. These continuous negotiations abroad required not only standing bureaucracies at home but also one rather than several competing bureaucracies.

That said, only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century did the provision of advice on foreign policy and the administration of diplomacy by a single ministry headed by a “foreign ministry” become the

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<sup>45</sup> E. Young (1966), “The Development of the Law of Diplomatic Relations,” *British Yearbook of International Law* 1964, Vol. 40, 1966, London: Oxford University Press, 141-82.

general rule in Europe.<sup>46</sup> Britain waited until 1782 before creating its Foreign Office, while the U.S. State Department was established a few years later, in 1789. China, Japan, and Turkey followed afterwards in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Continuity of diplomacy via the resident mission was not the only distinguished feature of the French experience. Another, points out Berridge (2002, p. 107) was *secrecy*. Currently, reference to “secret diplomacy” may mean keeping secret all or any of the following: either the contents of negotiation, knowledge that negotiations are going on at all, the content of any agreement issuing from negotiations, or the fact that any agreement at all has been concluded.

In the French system, remarkably, secret diplomacy generally meant keeping either the fact or the content of negotiation secret. This was an important consideration mainly because a successful negotiation implied—by definition—each side battling for less than its ideal demands. Once certain parties, such as radical supporters of a government, some other domestic constituency, or a foreign friend, were aware of what was ahead at the time, the more likely the talks could be disturbed. Furthermore, the French adopted the critical principle that deceit had no place in diplomacy. As the resident ambassador became more accepted, achieved a higher social standing, and gradually became part of a profession, he attached more importance to honesty in diplomacy. In “The Art of Diplomacy,” Callières underlines that the purpose of negotiation was not to trick the other side but to reconcile states on the basis of true estimate of their enduring interests.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> D.B. Horn (1961), *The British Diplomatic Service 1689-1789*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>47</sup> F. de Callières (1994), *The Art of Diplomacy*, New York: University Press of America, p. 83

Since only if agreements are made on these bases are they likely to endure; otherwise they are not worth concluding in the first place. By contrast, if a state assures an agreement by deceit or subsequently renounces an agreement once it becomes inconvenient, it is likely to breed a desire for revenge. Not only so, other states will find themselves disinclined to enter negotiations with it in the future. And that is how *greater honesty* in diplomacy was a maturing sign of the diplomatic system.<sup>48</sup>

Another distinguished feature of the French system was the *professionalism* of diplomacy, with its controlled entry, proper training, clear ranks and regular payments. Callières (1994, pp. 99-100) estimated diplomacy was too important and too much in need of extensive knowledge and technical expertise to be treated otherwise. The transformation of diplomacy into profession was a slow process, and was not seriously under way until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

However, signs towards this direction showed up before that by the emergence of the *corps diplomatique*. The evolution of this organ, with its own rules of procedures, such as the rule that the longest-serving *ambassadeur* should be the spokesman, or *doyen* (dean) of the *corps* on matters of common interest, was clear evidence of an emerging sense of professional identity among diplomats. In other words, diplomats in the French system came to recognize that they had professional interests that united them as diplomats, along with political and commercial interests that divided them. Among these professional interests—and perhaps the foremost—was defense of their immunities under the “law of nations.” Despite the fact that the earliest resident

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<sup>48</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p.150

<sup>49</sup> M.S. Anderson (1993), *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, London:, pp. 80-96, 119-28



diplomats were not generally of the highest social standing, special envoys normally had considerable status. This was deemed necessary to maintain the prestige of the prince and flatter the party with whom he was dealing, as well as to make it easy for the diplomat to move in circles of influence.<sup>50</sup>

As the French system matured, with the institutionalization of resident diplomacy, permanent ambassadorships attracted leading notables. Likewise, the emerging foreign services of the various European states became the province of the traditional aristocracy, explains Anderson. This aristocratic dominance of diplomacy was significant because of the considerable uniformity of outlook that it fostered across the diplomatic services of different states. A diplomat who spend most of his career in foreign capitals could easily feel himself part of an aristocratic international.

As the number of states increased, the complexity of the problems confronting them multiplied. With the urgency to attend the issues mounting, the French system of bilateral diplomacy became too slow “ordinary diplomatic channels” and no longer sufficient alone. According to Nicolson, this was realized during World War I and was demonstrated by the large number of conferences, many of them achieving permanent status, which were hurriedly organized to cope with the events.<sup>51</sup> Subsequently, *multilateral diplomacy* was initiated with the foundation of the League of Nations after World War I. The French system, however, remained at the core of the

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid p.140

<sup>51</sup> H. Nicolson (1963), *Diplomacy*, 3rd ed., London: Oxford University Pres, pp. 84-85.

world diplomatic systems and it remains, asserts Berridge, at its core today.<sup>52</sup> This merit is once again well acknowledged by the comments of several American diplomats who dealt intensively with French officials in the course of their careers in France and elsewhere:

Until 1961, diplomatic law, which provided diplomatic agents with immunities under local criminal and civil law, was mainly defined in the accumulated practice of states that had come to be accepted as binding upon them. Concluded in 1961, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) codified the customary law in diplomacy. That is, it clarified and tightened it, refined its content, and relaunched it in the form of a multilateral treaty. This was realized under the impetus of concerns felt most strongly by the states of the West at that time.<sup>53</sup>

First, there was a sense of growing anxiety that looseness in the existing roles was enabling some states to use their embassies for illegitimate purposes. Second, there was a fear that traditional diplomatic institutions would be dismissed as part of the machinery of neo-colonialism if the new states of Asia and Africa were not allowed to give them official sanction. And third, cites Denza, there was an apprehension that the prevailing rules were inadequate to cope with the huge increase in the “armies of privileged persons” in the major capital cities attendant upon the arrival of representatives from those cities. In fact, the move towards codification had begun in

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<sup>52</sup> G.R. Berridge (2002), *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, New York: Palgrave, p. 112

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*

the late 19<sup>th</sup> century but was only formalized in 1949, when the U.N. International Law Commission (ILC) inscribed the issues on its agenda.<sup>54</sup>

The matter was treated with more urgency after 1952 in view of strong complaints from the Yugoslav government about the activities of the Soviet embassy in Belgrade. Furthermore to the inviolability of resident missions, the VCDR would continue to entitle diplomatic agents immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state, and also from its civil and administrative jurisdiction—except in some matters where the diplomats were involved in an entirely private capacity. Certainly, the Convention reiterated the right of receiving states to expel diplomats whose actions were considered as harmful, rather than subject them to court proceedings.<sup>55</sup>

Importantly, the Convention also pointed to the freedom of movement of the diplomatic agent—a vital aspect of his functions, not least that of information gathering. The necessity of this right was affirmed by the Soviet bloc policy to limit the travel of foreign diplomats to 50 kilometers from the capital unless they obtained special permission for longer destinations. Signed in Vienna on April 18, 1961, the Convention came into effect three years later, on April 24, 1964. It remains, describes Brown, “without doubt one of the surest and most widely based multilateral regimes in the field of international relations.” One of the reasons for its success is that the VCDR deals only with traditional bilateral diplomacy, and hence, excludes relations with

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<sup>54</sup> E. Denza (1976), “Diplomatic Law: Commentary on the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,” London: British Institute of International and Comparative Law, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid

international organizations and special missions. Another reason for its success, points Kerley, is the fact “all states are both sending and receiving states.”<sup>56</sup>

### **2.1.2. EMERGENCE OF E-DIPLOMACY AND THE FORCE OF THE INTERNET**

Today not only the context but also the content of diplomacy has radically altered. The context of persuasion to advance national interests has expanded to include anyone anywhere connected to and affected by any of the information and communication media.<sup>57</sup> Even more disorienting, the realm of national interests now includes at the very least global economies, and, increasingly, international migration, environmental crises, terrorism, drug trafficking, weapons proliferation, and cyber harassment. All these issues pose global threats, but are also suffered immediately and most profoundly at the local level. Therefore, diplomacy, the practice of foreign affairs, is a subset of domestic policy, which has been itself shaped by the expanded agenda of national interests.

This new structure is undergoing a decentralized fusion of global and local interest, which Rosenau calls “fragnegration,” a concept that juxtaposes the processes of fragmentation and integration occurring within and among organizations, communities, countries, and transnational systems to the extent that it is virtually impossible not to treat them interactively and causally

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<sup>56</sup> J. Brown (1988) , “Diplomatic Immunity–state practice under the Vienna Convention,” *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 37 p. 54.

<sup>57</sup> A Virtual Necessity, “Virtual Diplomacy Series, February 25, 1999, available at: <http://www.usip.org/oc/vd/vdr/gsmithISA99.html>

linked.<sup>58</sup> Along with fragmentation comes the dispersion of authority away from states and the growing role of decentralized governments, non-governmental organizations, media, social movements, in addition to other transnational non-state networks as essential international actors. This transition period and perhaps the emerging paradigm is characterized by the profusion of asymmetrical relationships between state and non-state actors, including activities sponsored and carried out by diverse supra-individuals in the fields of politics, media, technology and business. And although fragmentation threatens nation-states' conventional hold on power, savvy states should recognize these new conditions as an opportunity to implement revolutionary approaches to global affairs, strategies and management. "What states lose in control," stress Brown and Studemeister, "they could regain in influence."<sup>59</sup>

The Information-Age fostered "hard power" (or coercion) versus "soft power" (or persuasion) distinction has radically reformed conventional theories about national security. Popular persuasion *au lieu de* hardball coercion is neither an easy sell to nations-states nor once grasped, learned and implemented with simplicity. According to this perspective, having the means today to circulate the most persuasive information to the largest number of people the quickest becomes to be as important, if not more important, than a striking weapon. That being said, access, information, and connectivity are all essential components of wielding influence to this power. Respectively, Information Age analysts Arquilla and Ronfeldt observe that diplomats will have to realize that a new realm is emerging—the noosphere, a global "realm of mind"—that

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<sup>58</sup> James N. Rosenau (1999), "States, Sovereignty, and Diplomacy in the Information Age," Virtual Diplomacy Series, February 25, 1999, available at: <http://www.usip.org/oc/vd/vdr/jrosenauSA99.html>.

<sup>59</sup> Sheryl J. Brown and Margarita S. Studemeister (2001), "Virtual Diplomacy: Rethinking Foreign Policy Practice in the Information Age," *Information and Security: An International Journal*. Sofia: ProCon, Ltd., p. 28-44.

may have a profound effect on statecraft. Second, they see that the Information Age will continue to undermine the conditions for classic diplomacy based on realpolitik and hard power, and will instead favor the emergence of a new diplomacy based on what they call noopolitik (nu-oh-poh-li-teek) and its preferences for soft power.<sup>60</sup>

Noopolitik, they state, is an approach to diplomacy and strategy for the Information Age that emphasizes the shaping and sharing of ideas, values, norms, laws, and ethics through persuasion. “Both state and non-state actors may be guided, by noopolitik; rather than being state-centric,” argue Arquilla and Ronfeldt (1999). Its strengths may well stem from enabling state and non-state actors to work conjointly.” They stress the driving motivation of noopolitik cannot be national interests defined in static terms. Where “Realpolitik pits one state against another,” the two Information Age analysts conclude saying, “noopolitik encourages states to cooperate in coalitions and other mutual frameworks.”

Most experts agree today that the 21<sup>st</sup> century has brought along with it a turn of fundamental change, although there is, understandably, much uncertainty about what kind of a world the current global transformation may produce. In order to comprehend these changes and accordingly adapt to them, new conceptual repertoires need to be developed to meet the challenges posed by the speed the world is evolving and the extreme global complexity that is emerging. One factor that is pushing towards this new environment is IT and, most significantly, the Internet. A look into the conventional approaches that have so far inspired theoreticians and

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<sup>60</sup> John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt (1999), “What if there is a Revolution in Diplomatic Affairs?” Virtual Diplomacy Series, February 25, 1999, available at: <http://www.usip.org/oc/vd/vdr/ronaryISA99.html>.

practitioners may better help explain how the Internet has had an influence in shaping both local and world politics.<sup>61</sup>

Since its introduction, the discipline of international relations has been based on a separation between internal and external state relations. This separation was forwarded to the modern state system by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which attempted to resolve the religious conflicts of the Thirty Years' War by replacing a universal religious authority that acted as the arbiter of Christendom with the states sovereign within its own territory and with the right to non-intervention in its affairs by any other state. After 1648, the internal affairs of states were thus conceptually separated from the external arena of interstate relations.<sup>62</sup> Yet, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the traditional domestic-international framework no longer holds.

The division between internal affairs and foreign affairs is becoming untenable in an environment where world politics are increasingly driven by the forces of *globalization* and *localization*. Information Technology dramatically accelerated the cross-border movement of goods, services, ideas, and capital, resulting eventually in a huge increase in transnational cultural and political exchanges and in the emergence of many new institutions and structures that transcend state borders. Modern information technologies minimized the previous limitations imposed by space and time on the mobility of worldwide capital and industry, and have created an environment for global trade and investment decisions.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p. 83

<sup>62</sup> Andreas Wenger (2001), "The Internet and the Changing Face of International Relations and Security," in *Information Security: An International Journal*, Sofia: ProCon Ltd., pp. 5-11.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

Despite the widespread belief that the IT revolution is restructuring the international system, there is far less consensus about the theoretical and practical impact of the often contradictory developments in international politics. With the diffusion of territorial, societal, and economic space, the debate initially centered on the redistribution and the changing nature of power. The distribution of power has become increasingly unstable and complex, and traditional political and cultural boundaries that once defined distinct worlds are being reshaped. The transformational architecture of global information networks has made territorial borders less significant to a certain extent (state borders are still highly significant when it comes to national security concerns). At the same time, war and peace are evolving in an environment where boundaries between the political space and the military space are increasingly indistinct, as between the civilian domain and the military domain.

### **2.1.3. THE POWER OF ICT**

Power in the global information society, as explained earlier, depends less on territory and military puissance. Information, technology and institutional flexibility have rather gained importance in international relations. In an unpredictable and highly turbulent international environment, the soft powers of knowledge, beliefs and ideas allow political actors to achieve their goals. Opposing powers these days are less inclined to battle out their differences in the physical arena. Rather again, they focus on the information domain, where getting access to information is now the central strategic principle. Networks wage wars, and small players can



now outsmart huge opponents by using asymmetrical strategies. Nevertheless, the understanding of such conflicts and their multifaceted dynamics remains limited in scope.<sup>64</sup>

States are traditionally the exclusive holders of power and authority. But the importance of information and knowledge—with the advent of the Internet—have paved the way for new and diverse actors to engage in international relations. Simultaneously, the speed, the capacity, and the flexibility in the collection, production as well as dissemination of information have increased. As decentralized network-based soft power structures have gained in importance, the state's monopoly on authority has become fragmented. Countless number of nongovernmental organizations, social movements, among other transnational nonstate networks, now compete with states for influence.<sup>65</sup>

These emerging contenders rely on the power to persuade a public that is increasingly global, and they are now able to mobilize support for an array of issues, with clashing intentions. And it is this huge increase in the number of actors and the potential fluidity of the international political agenda that complicate considerably the conduct of statecraft and the formation of foreign policy. As a consequence of the fragmentation of authority and the transforming quality of power, the classic foundations of security have also altered.

While the object of security is no longer simply the territorial integrity of the state, the Information Revolution has dramatically increased the dependence of developed countries on

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<sup>64</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p. 85

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid* p. 86

efficient national and transnational information infrastructures. In developed societies, key critical infrastructures—electricity production and distribution, transportation, financial services, telecommunications, and water supply—are reliant on information systems and are highly vulnerable and subject to risks. Threats to these structures are less likely to come from so-called “rogue states” (later referred to by the United States as “states of concern”) than from hostile non-state actors operating on land or in a relatively opaque cyberspace that has yet to be regulated effectively.

#### **2.1.4. Merits and Demerits of the Internet in Fostering Activism**

Several case studies, along with an Internet activist survey indicate that the Internet, including electronic mail, the Web, and its other facets, gives grassroots groups an essential new tool for attempting to foster political change. Some of these advantages appear to be merely evolutionary improvements in terms of speed and cost on older technologies such as the telephone and facsimile machines.<sup>66</sup> Their advantages appear to be truly revolutionary, reflecting the unique nature of the Internet. No technology by itself, of course, guarantees a successful campaign, but when other forces come into play the Internet does give its users more power. *The following presentation summarizes the advantages the Internet enjoys in fostering activism (Danitz & Strobel).*

#### **The Internet is inexpensive and convenient**

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<sup>66</sup> Tiffany Danitz and Warren P. (2001), “Networking Dissent: Cyber Activists Use the Internet to Promote Democracy in Burma,” pp. 129-169.

Sending messages via electronic mail is far less expensive than using the telephone, facsimile machine, or other technologies, especially when activists must communicate over long distances and need to reach members of the network in remote areas. Furthermore, organizers can distribute campaign materials (posters, photographs, recordings, and the like), far more cheaply—and, surely, more rapidly and easily—than would be the case if they used the postal mail or other means to distribute physical copies of the materials. While some start-up costs are required (a computer, a modem, an Internet account), these are not beyond individuals' means. Not surprisingly, the survey revealed that many activists make use of freely provided university email accounts.<sup>67</sup>

### **The Internet is an organization tool 'par excellence'**

Without the Internet, it would be virtually impossible for activists to coordinate their moves and actions (such as for the anti-globalization protesters who move from one world city to another). The Internet has facilitated remarkably any coordination for a campaign demanding quick action and involving physical distances.

This feature is a revolutionary state of affairs. The Internet has allowed members of the international community, in a much wider scope, to comment on and affect domestic, local legislation, in a privilege once reserved for lobbyists or for registered voters. Even

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid p. 170

diplomatically, this aspect of the Internet along with its cost-effectiveness has led some governments to employ it for their embassies.<sup>68</sup> Portuguese officials claim to have been among the early adopters of encrypted email for diplomatic messages, where in 1995 Lisbon's envoys around the world were advised to scan the Internet for news from and about home. Canada and Greece were among the early adopters of another Internet technology, namely Web casting.<sup>69</sup>

### **The Internet allows rapid replication of successful efforts**

Organizers of a successful Internet campaign can immediately share their winnings (or failing) strategies with cohorts anywhere on the globe. Yet, and due to local conditions and factors, a success or a failure in one locale does not automatically translate likewise in another,. And there seems little doubt that the Internet has helped activists broadcast news around the world about their campaign and about a given situation. However, there are as well several potential disadvantages to using the Internet that can limit its usefulness to grass roots groups engaged in political action. Many of these *downsides* depends on how the Internet is used; and like the advantages above, some are related to the medium's unique characteristics.<sup>70</sup>

### **It is a risk to rely solely on a single source of communication**

Although the Internet was designed for robustness during an emergency, disruptions can and have occurred. In July 1997, Internet traffic "ground to a halt" across much of the United States

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid pp.171-72

<sup>69</sup> Adam Clayton Powell, III, "New Media: How They Are Changing Diplomacy," iMP Magazine, July 23, 2001.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid

because of an odd combination of technical and human errors, signaling what some Internet experts believe could someday be a more catastrophic meltdown. Also, the break in a key undersea cable link between Australia and Singapore in November 2000 underlined the vulnerability of the Internet, and the need for access to alternatives in case of emergencies. More than 80 main telecommunications operators own the damaged 39,000-kilometer SEA-ME-WE3 fiber optic cable, which links Australia, Asia, the Middle East and Europe. With the region dependent on increasingly powerful fiber optic cables laid on the seabed to meet the surging demand for high-speed Internet access, the enormous traffic pile-up caused by the cut jammed connections to the Internet, an incident that occurs several times a year.<sup>71</sup>

Even more serious, the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) emphasizes its concern over attempts to shut down the Internet by malicious hackers. The body that oversees Web address allocation worries that any ‘mad’ teenager with a \$300 computer may attack the few “root” servers which direct computers to Web addresses, or domain names or the ten top-level domain servers, all of which serve as a kind of directory for the Internet.<sup>72</sup> In fact, that has already happened. Four Israeli teenagers, ages 15 and 16 from the same school, admitted they wrote and spread the computer virus “Goner” that wreaked havoc worldwide in December 2001.

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<sup>71</sup> Michael Richardson and Thomas Crampton, “Undersea Cable Break Shows Internet Vulnerability,” IHT, November 23, 2000, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Experts Say Key Internet Servers Vulnerable to Attack,” Reuters (published in ‘The New York Times’), November 13, 2001.

With computer users in North America, Australia and Western Europe hit the hardest, the four teenagers were simply placed under “house arrest” as they “made the virus delete files and clogged email in-boxes around the world.” In view of the vulnerability of the Internet, other technologies such as the telephone and the facsimile machine still enjoy advantages in certain situations, notably if the sender needs immediate confirmation that the information has been received or during conflicts where leaders would fear of being traced or intercepted while employing modern technology.<sup>73</sup>

### **Lack of Anonymity**

As some activists do not see this monitoring as necessarily a bad aspect, private one-to-one electronic mail messages are slightly more secure although they can be hacked by anyone with sufficient technical knowledge. A more potent option is strong encryption, which, in theory, allows only sender and receiver to read the decoded message (like the system known as Pretty Good Privacy ‘PGP’). A more recent development is the construction of secure Web pages that require passwords for users to enter secure “chat rooms” with real-time conversations (technologies, like these, are still out of reach of many Internet users).<sup>74</sup>

The need to administer the Web has led the Web’s *unelected government*, the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C), to respond. The Consortium, based at the Massachusetts Institute of

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<sup>73</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p. 89

<sup>74</sup> Ibid

Technology (MIT), is “an international collective of 275 companies, non-profit organizations, industry groups and government agencies that was created to set technical standards for the Web.” Among its activities are “PICS, a series of codes designed to help parents screen out objectionable material while their children surf the Net, and P3P, a system designed to protect privacy online.”<sup>75</sup>

Activists now refer to ancient methods as they communicate. Steganography, Greek for “hidden writing,” is one of the most ancient ways of passing secret messages, but until very recently received attention from computer scientists. During World War II, as well, the Allies became suspicious about hidden messages, leading the U.S. Office of Censorship to take “extreme actions, such as banning flowers deliveries which contained delivery dates, crossword puzzles and even report cards.” More recently, steganography has arrived on the Internet with free and easy-to-use programs to insert messages and pictures on digital files (e.g., photographs or music files) that can be slightly altered and still look the same to the human eye or sound the same to the human ear.<sup>76</sup>

### **Questionable Accuracy**

An advantage of the Internet for activists and for the majority of users is the fact that it allows them to dispense with the ‘traditional filters’ for news, even by reporters and government officials. It enables users to self-select information they are interested in and to retrieve data in

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<sup>75</sup> Richard Langhorne (2001), *The Coming of Globalization*, p. 91.

<sup>76</sup> Gina Kolata, “Veiled Messages of Terrorists May Lurk in Cyberspace,” *The New York Times*, online edition, October 30, 2001.

far more depth than in a newspaper or television program. For example, in 2001 the Indian government lost several ministers and nearly collapsed after reports of corruption appeared on the Internet, as scandals that were once more easily contained in New Delhi now impossible to control. “Not only did Tehelka.com reveal the corrupt underbelly of the Indian military: it also helped fan the controversy by serving as a bulletin board for readers and politicians to air their views.”<sup>77</sup> With corruption remaining a problem in several countries, it is no longer solely a domestic affair, at a time non-governmental organizations publish corruption rankings of countries and leaders on the Internet. And while foreign capital nowadays demands increasing transparency, governments that are not transparent (or pretend to be transparent in front of their public opinion or to the international media) are less credible, since the information they provide is considered biased and selective.

However, this openness Internet platform can also present dangers, allowing for wide and rapid dissemination of information that is factually incorrect or propagandistic, including material considered racist, sexist or hateful and incendiary—especially when the source of information is anonymous.<sup>78</sup>

### **Lack of Access**

Not everyone has access to the modern tools of communication, including computers, modems, and the necessary telephone lines or other means to connect to the Internet. Worldwide in the

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<sup>77</sup> John Thornhill (2001), “Asia’s Old Order Falls into the Net,” *Financial Times*, March 17, 2001, 7.

<sup>78</sup> Graeme Browning (1996), *Electronic Democracy: Using the Internet to Influence American Politics*, Wilton, CT: Pemberton Press, , pp. 79-81.



first quarter of 2005, only around 14% people had access to the Internet. As noted, even access to encryption methods that allow for more secure communication remains limited. Language competence, in addition to computer literacy, may turn out to be other barriers to connection.

Table 1.1. presents an overall view of the percentage of people with Internet access.

World Regions	Population (2005 Est.)	Population % of World	Internet Usage	Usage Growth 2000-2005	Penetration (% Population)	World Users %
Africa	900,465,411	14.0 %	13,468,600	198.3 %	1.5 %	1.5 %
Asia	3,612,363,165	56.3 %	302,257,003	164.4 %	8.4 %	34.0 %
Europe	730,991,138	11.4 %	259,653,144	151.9 %	35.5 %	29.2 %
Middle East	259,499,772	4.0 %	19,370,700	266.5 %	7.5 %	2.2 %
North America	328,387,059	5.1 %	221,437,647	104.9 %	67.4 %	24.9 %
Latin America/Caribbean	546,917,192	8.5 %	56,224,957	211.2 %	10.3 %	6.3 %
Oceania / Australia	33,443,448	0.5 %	16,269,080	113.5 %	48.6 %	1.8 %
<b>WORLD TOTAL</b>	<b>6,412,067,185</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>	<b>888,681,131</b>	<b>146.2 %</b>	<b>13.9 %</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>

**World Internet Usage and Population Statistics**  
(Source: [www.internetworldstats.com](http://www.internetworldstats.com))

## Risk of Sabotage and Government Restrictions

Since the Internet allows for anonymity, it is possible for provocateurs posing as someone or something else to cause much harm—both personal and to the system as a whole. As a measure of precaution, for example, the site "[www.georgewbush.com](http://www.georgewbush.com)" was inaccessible to visitors outside the United States during the last few days before the Election Day on November 2, 2004. Such mounting danger, among others, pushed the member states of the Council of Europe (along with four non-member states: Canada, Japan, South Africa, and the United States) to adopt the Convention on Cybercrime in Budapest on November 23, 2001. The Convention, which aims to combat online crime, covers three main topics: harmonization of the national laws that define

offences, definition of investigation and prosecution procedures to cope with global networks, and establishment of a rapid and effective system of international cooperation.<sup>79</sup>

Most governments find their control loosening in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as IT gradually spreads to the parts of the world that still lacks phones, computers, and electricity. Even the U.S. government finds some taxes harder to collect and some regulations (particularly those related to gambling or prescription drugs) harder to enforce. Today, many governments control the Internet access of their citizens by controlling Internet Service Providers (ISP). Skilled individuals, in both possible and affordable means, route around such restrictions.<sup>80</sup>

As societies develop, they face the dilemma of trying to protect their sovereign control over information and as they reach levels of development where their knowledge workers and general public demand free access to the Internet, they run the risk of losing their scarcest resource for competing in the information society. Closed systems may become costly, at a time openness turns out to be worth the price.

### **Threat to Authoritarian States**

The Internet poses a crucial threat to authoritarian rule. The state has often exercised a tough historical role in the development and control of ICTs and of the mass media. This legacy of

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<sup>79</sup> The Convention on Cybercrime, a Unique Instrument for International Cooperation," Available at: [http://press.coe.int/cp/2001/893a\(2001\).htm](http://press.coe.int/cp/2001/893a(2001).htm).

<sup>80</sup> Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor C (2001). Boas, The Internet and State Control in Authoritarian Regimes: China, Cuba, and the Counterrevolution, Carnegie Endowment Working Papers, Washington, DC, , pp. 2-3.

control has morphed into a similar rigid role in Internet development. Western governments may find themselves struggling to impose effective regulation on a medium that has grown rapidly without their immediate oversight.<sup>81</sup> Authoritarian rulings typically dominate the Internet from its beginnings and shape its growth and diffusion. The impact of the Internet on authoritarian political systems, and on ‘oneparty states’ (i.e., states ruled by the same party continuously for at least one generation), raises questions. Among them: Who is using the Internet, and for what purposes? What challenges to the state are likely to arise from this use, and how is the state likely to respond? And, to what extent is such a state proactively guiding Internet development so that the medium serves state interests?

Potential challenges that arise from Internet use can be conceptualized in four aspects.

### **Mass Public**

Public access to ICTs may facilitate a ‘demonstration effect’, where exposure to outside ideas or images of transitions in other countries spurs a revolution of rising expectations and, perhaps, the eventual overthrow of the authoritarian regime. The use of e-mail, Internet chat rooms, bulletin boards and the World Wide Web may, alternatively, contribute to ‘ideational pluralism’ and a more gradual liberalization of the public sphere in authoritarian societies.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid p. 4

## **Civil Society Organizations**

Such organizations may use the Internet to support their activities in a variety of ways, including logistical organizations and the public dissemination of information. In many cases, such organizations play a crucial role in undermining authoritarian governments, either by calling for an initial political opening or by triggering scandals that attempt to de-legitimize authoritarian rule.

## **Economy**

Internet use in the economic sphere may pose multiple challenges to authoritarian rule. It may, for example, present significant opportunities for entrepreneurship in a developing economy, possibly leading to the emergence of new domestic business elite. If the Internet contributes to economic growth more generally, it may facilitate the growth of a middle class. These two forces, a business elite and a middle class, may place increasing demands on the rule that challenge its control of society.

## **International Community**

The coercive efforts of foreign governments and multilateral institutions through such measures as the imposition of sanctions, the extension of conditional loans and aid, or even in the form of compensations (such as hosting the Olympics Games or admission to certain world organizations) are all frequently influential factors in the opening process of authoritarian rule.

Transnational advocacy networks, social movements, the media, and other actors outside of the target country usually play a key role in mounting campaigns for such decisive action.<sup>82</sup>

Obviously, Internet use is often crucial to the success of their activities. The case of China is interesting to observe, with street demonstrations recently becoming daily events, and activists likely to get more feverish as the 2008 Games approach, bringing some 30,000 international journalists to Beijing. These eventual Internet uses have the potential to challenge the stability of authoritarian governments. In cases where Internet use seems threatening, states will respond and even try to preempt such challenges, seeking to maintain control over the Internet as they have with other media channels in the past. Any given response is likely to involve a combination of two-types of strategies: *reactive* and *proactive* (Kalathil & Boas).

## **2.2. POLICING THE INTERNET**

The most visible, reactive strategies, involve direct efforts to either counter or circumscribe existing or potential hazards signaled above by simply clamping down on Internet use. Tactics include limiting access to networked computers, filtering content or blocking Web sites with software tools, monitoring users' online behaviors, and entirely prohibiting Internet usage. Another approach to exert control over the Internet is by proactively guiding Internet development and usage to promote particular interests and priorities.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid pp. 5-7

While reactive strategies respond to already existing or potential risks of Internet use, proactive strategies attempt to structure an Internet that is free from such challenges as it—at the same time—consolidates or extends state authority. Tactics, in this respect, may involve efforts to distribute propaganda on the Internet, create state-controlled national Intranets that serve as substitute for global Internet, implement e-government services that increase citizen satisfaction with the government, and strengthen state power on a world-wide scale by engaging in information warfare (such as hacking into Web sites and spreading viruses). Also, governments may make use of the Internet to serve economic development goals, based on an understanding that economic growth—along with a general improvement in the living standards—may also help assure continuing support for the ruling political system.

In the East Asia region, Hachigian and Wu rank a number of countries according to Internet access restrictions and on online political content and usage. The four categories are: severe, significant, moderate, and negligible.<sup>83</sup> Two countries with closed economies and military rulings, North Korea and Myanmar (Burma) fall at one end of the spectrum, as they *severely* restrict virtually all public Internet access. A national Intranet, known as the Kwang Myong network, reportedly links a few hundred North Korean computers in government departments, research institutes, industrial complexes, and universities.

Communist China and Vietnam place *significant* restrictions on Internet access. In 1998, the Vietnam government built a firewall to block more than 3,000 pornography sites and thousands

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<sup>83</sup> Nina Hachigian and Lily Wu (2003), *The Information Revolution in Asia*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA

of political sites, in addition to the proxy sites that allow circumvention of the blocks. Singapore promotes public Internet access and sets *moderate* restrictions on political content and use. Noting that Singapore is a *de facto* one-party state (run by the People's Action Party since 1959), it essentially focuses on the Internet's commercial potential, while worrying less about the political consequences. By 2002, every school in the country was supposed to have one computer for every two students and 12 Internet connections per classroom. Singapore's e-government system, as well, is one of the most sophisticated and advanced in the world, allowing most transactions with the government to pass online.<sup>84</sup>

A remarkable example of the political influence of IT in the East Asian region is in Indonesia, where IT contributed to the end of the 30-year reign of President Mohamed Suharto. According to Sen and Hill, during the last few years of Suharto's rule that started in 1967, the Internet was used extensively by the urban middle-class opposition to get around the government's censorship of broadcast media. To take an example, the news magazine "Tempo," which was banned in 1994, found an eager online audience for the Web site it initiated in 1996, "Tempo Interaktif," (at: <http://www.tempo.co.id>). In the first six months of the site, estimated reports revealed that some 10% of the Indonesians online had logged in.<sup>85</sup>

Sen and Hill stress that the utility of the Internet as a political platform render it a common tool for opposition groups. Even more importantly, it has led to the notion that the very freedom of the Internet has become a constant reminder of the absence of openness and freedom in other

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<sup>84</sup> Nina Hachigian (2002). "The Internet and Power in One-Party East Asian States," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 3, Summer 2002, 41-58.

<sup>85</sup> Nina Hachigian (2003), "The Political Implications of the Internet in China," Santa Monica, CA, pp 58-57.

media. There were four particular factors that allowed the Internet to empower opposition groups to Suharto, eventually contributing to his resignation on May 21, 1998.<sup>86</sup>

First, many Indonesians shared accounts and passwords, and by so reduced costs to get online. Internet cafes, second, became both more popular and affordable, and some proprietors even guided their clientele to locate the sites of opposition parties. Third, the traditional media covered much of the online political discussions, and thus advertised the existence of such sites and forums, as well as conveyed their designated messages. Finally, the Indonesian government was not willing or able to censor online political activity. As several other countries in the region, it wanted to encourage the information economy, but did not have the technical or legal structures in place at that time to block certain undesired sites or to monitor e-mail traffic.

In China, the government screens information depending on bureaucratic rank and discourages the flow of information among individuals. It is seeking to profit from the economic benefits of the Internet with the hopes of not letting it shake political control. The government currently sponsors Internet contests and offers tax breaks to those IT companies considered to be engines of economic growth. The typical user there tends to be urban, male, single, educated and young. The Chinese government does exert some control over the information posted online by blocking sites and enforcing censorship regulations. For instance, it only authorizes a handful of networks international access and forbids Chinese Web sites from using news from sites outside the country, with particular reference to sources that offer alternative ideologies to the Chinese Communist Party. In a new system called the “Night Crawler” (*Pa Chong* in Chinese) expected

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid p. 59



to allow authorities to locate and block unregistered sites, the Chinese Ministry for the Information Industry (MII) on March 20, 2005 issued a decree obliging all China-based Web sites and blogs, whether commercial or not, to register by June 30, 2005, providing the complete identity of the persons responsible for the sites.<sup>87</sup>

Cuba has noticeably promoted Internet development in areas it considers priorities. The government seeks to guide and channel the growth of the Internet so that like other media its principal impact is to serve the political goals of the Cuban revolution. And since these goals imply continued control by the current government, Cuba's proactive approach towards the Internet also serves to strengthen and extend state authority. Part of this strategy involves Internet propaganda. The successes and efficiency of such a policy still remain in doubt. For instance, the leadership in Cuba has taken a keen interest in employing the Internet to counter its negative image in international media. Various government-affiliated organizations provide official perspectives on current events, all with frequent criticism of the United States. One site, namely *cubavsbloqueo.cu* (Cuba versus the blockade), rallies opposition to the American embargo imposed on the country. While much of the government's on-line propaganda is oriented towards a foreign audience, computer networking may come to enjoy a greater role in domestic politics as Cuba moves ahead in its plans for a national Intranet.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Krishna and David Hill (2000), *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, , p. 194.

<sup>88</sup> Amir D. (2005). *The Information Age and Diplomacy: An Emerging Strategic Vision in World Affairs*, Boca Raton Publishers, Florida, USA. p. 104

In 2000, the Cuban government began to implement its plans for public access to a national Intranet through some 300 youth computer clubs and through several thousand post offices in the country. Through Intranet, the government would encourage public use and access to national e-mail and Web pages hosted within the country. Any outside access would almost certainly be pre-approved. In addition to opening network access to a wider segment of the population, the Intranet is also sought to create a politically safe substitute for the Internet. On the political level, the leadership can also channel discourse and exercise editorial control over content. In the future, it may as well incorporate the Intranet into its long-standing practice of using the mass media for top-down political mobilization.<sup>89</sup> Yet, the Cuban government's access controls are not perfect. A growing number of users manage to connect to the Internet *illegally* from home, using workplace passwords, black market accounts or personal connections. The potential for underground Internet access is likely to grow and increasingly become more of a challenge to state control.

A study conducted by Burkhart and Older divided the Internet development in the region into three categories: 'driven' countries that have allowed the Internet to develop essentially freely for the economic benefits it would bring, countries 'fearful' of potential adverse consequences to the extent that they banned the Internet, and last, countries that try to have it 'both ways' by fostering acceptable and tolerant activity while tightly controlling the rest.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid p.105

<sup>90</sup> Burkhart and Older (2003). The information revolution in the middle east and north africa, Published by RAND Santa Monica, CA. pp.48-52

In Saudi Arabia, Internet access remains strictly controlled by the state, which maintains the only international gateway. Allowing public access to the Web in 1999, this gateway is “heavily guarded by multiple, redundant firewalls in what must be the most complex and expensive attempt at content filtering in the world” (Burkhart & Older, p. 50). But even so, some Saudi residents were able to find a crack in the government wall and after thousands of surfers got access to the back door, the government was forced to cut access to it.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> E. Huff (2001) , “Globalization and the Internet: Comparing the Middle Eastern and Malaysian Experiences,” published by the Middle East Institute, Washington, DC, p. 445.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.1. CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF E-DIPLOMACY IN KENYA

#### 3.1.1. Kenya's E-Government

Kenya initiated and strived to achieve its e-Government structure as one of the main priorities towards the realization of national development goals and objectives for Wealth and Employment Creation. An effective and operational e-Government that would facilitate better and efficient delivery of information and services to citizens, promote productivity among public servants, encourage participation of citizens in Government and empower all Kenyans. The government of Kenya, therefore, committed itself to establishing e-Government by June 2004.<sup>92</sup>

Kenya's Strategy and objectives aimed at enhancing transparency, accountability and governance, making the Government more result oriented, efficient and citizen centered, enabling citizens and business to access Government Services and Information as efficiently and as effectively as possible through the use of internet and other channels of communication. Effective and efficient realisation of e-Government objectives depended on the availability of skills and the right attitudes across Government. The Government personnel at all levels were to be adequately equipped through relevant training to effectively carry out the initiative. This called for a change in the way Government carries out its operations and required training in

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<sup>92</sup> Available at: <http://www.kenyalaw.org/Forum/?p=207>

change management. In order to ensure a continued pool of IT knowledge base within Government, all training programmes were to have an IT component.<sup>93</sup>

The objectives of the Kenya e-government were outlined as follows;

1. To improve collaboration between Government agencies through reduction of duplication of efforts and enhance efficiency and effectiveness of resource utilization;
2. To improve Kenya's competitiveness by providing timely information and efficient delivery of Government services;
3. To reduce transaction costs incurred by the Government, citizens and the private sector through provision of products and services electronically; and
4. Provide a forum for citizens' participation in Government activities through opinion polls, surveys on Government policy direction, etc.
5. Increase internal operational efficiency and effectiveness by fully implementing systems as the Integrated Financial Management System (IFMIS) and the Integrated Personnel and Payroll Database (IPPD) systems which are already underway.
6. Harmonise all Ministry websites in a single Government Portal and create email addresses for all civil servants to ease access to Government information and improve communication.
7. Undertake capacity building by training the core implementation team on computer literacy and web-based applications and internet use.

ICT application is viewed in terms of stages at which it has been applied and countries such as Kenya, evaluate where they stand in this process. The first stage is the use of computers, on a

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid

standalone basis, or networked in “local area networks” (LANs). Most computers are internet-connected.<sup>94</sup> A good number of MFAs, including Kenya and other third world countries, are at this stage even now, which does not at all address the potential benefit of ICT that is available.

The next stage is the establishment of a ministry-wide network (also called a “WAN”); often this is integrated with the system that covers all ministries. While this had become the norm in many European countries by the mid-1990s, some countries still hesitate to implement this, owing to concerns over the security of such a network in a sensitive institution like the foreign ministry.<sup>95</sup>

The third stage is to widen this network to cover embassies abroad, creating an “intranet” or a “virtual private network,” or other form of internet-based communication protocols. Many small countries do not use this for reasons of cost and availability of technical manpower. China, India, and Japan have hesitated to use this method owing to serious concerns over security. The computers used for confidential communications are separated from general use machines and are not used for accessing the internet.<sup>96</sup>

Another stage in the application of this process is to take it mobile, and empower the diplomat and the negotiator to operate from any environment or location; geography and location no longer matter in retaining two-way contact in almost all situations. Diplomats operate out of hotel rooms and in disaster locations, using laptops, “Blackberrys,” and satellite phone-based

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid

<sup>95</sup> Ibid

<sup>96</sup> Ibid

instant communications.<sup>97</sup> In January 2006, the US secretary of state called these its “virtual presence” posts, to be set up anywhere as needed. We may also speak of a higher stage of esoteric application, where the foreign ministry enthusiastically embraces the “virtual” medium.<sup>98</sup>

### **3.1.2. ICT Advantages for diplomatic establishments.**

First, news agencies such as the BBC, CNN, and TV5 do not tell any country the way a particular international development might affect their interests. Nor does the analysis in *The Economist* or *Le Monde* tell the foreign ministry what opportunity is offered by a new external situation. The resident embassy remains the MFA’s prime source for sharp analysis and policy advice. But hard news now comes from elsewhere.<sup>99</sup>

Secondly, communication with publics is transformed. Websites of foreign ministries draw huge readership for information and analysis of international developments, travel advice, foreign country, and embassy or consulate information, and the like. Public diplomacy as it takes place now could not be conducted without the ICT revolution. China is a heavy user of the internet for outreach to its domestic public on external policy issues. It runs web forum discussions for registered users, making careful assessment of the feedback it receives on the way the country’s

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid

<sup>98</sup> Harry W., Charles A. (2011). *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service*, Georgetown University Press p. 234

<sup>99</sup> Kishan S. (2011). *21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner’s Guide*, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 199

foreign policy is perceived at home. In the context of the country's single party, authoritarian rule, this is an important means for publics to let off steam and communicate their views.<sup>100</sup>

Thirdly, Publicity activities aimed at the media are also transformed. Some foreign ministries carry out their briefings for the media (e.g. France, Japan), through their official spokesmen, via the internet on fixed days of the week, while on other days the spokesman appears in person as in the traditional way. This promotes soft power. The same applies to economic diplomacy where some countries use "B2B" (business-to-business) portals for business outreach overseas. Canada holds "virtual trade exhibitions" through its combined foreign and trade ministry. The method of the "virtual trade delegation" awaits exploitation.<sup>101</sup>

Lastly, In crisis, diplomats equipped with laptops and satellite phones connection can set up temporary offices in key places where embassies or consulates do not exist. After the December 2004 Asian Tsunami, several Western countries used similar methods to provide urgent disaster and consular relief. NGOs have become providers of vital data to national governments on major crises, in Africa and elsewhere, because ICT enables them to get real-time information from their relief teams on the ground, on situations as they evolve. They are often ahead of diplomatic networks. At the UN in New York, a network has been operational for some years, providing Security Council members with information on crisis situations in Africa and elsewhere.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

<sup>102</sup> Available at: See Global Policy Forum: [www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/ngo-workinggroup-on-the-security-council/40406.html](http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/ngo-workinggroup-on-the-security-council/40406.html)



Human resource management is transformed with the use of ICT. For instance, assignments are posted online and “bids” invited from those due for reassignment. This adds to transparency. The same holds good for any changes in rules that are being contemplated—these are posted online to invite comment. These are two of many ways technology helps in good management. It also adds to transparency. Many believe influencing foreign policy in a democratic country demands reaching out to public opinion; that is a fundamental premise of public diplomacy. A scholar writes: “Whereas Web 1.0 was used primarily as a source of information, Web 2.0 has transformed the use of cyberspace into a forum for interaction and engagement.”<sup>103</sup>

Foreign ministries are nibbling at using Web 2.0.<sup>18</sup> One recent conference concluded: “Web 2.0 platforms are tools for engagement with the general public and not a Public Diplomacy strategy in themselves.” New styles of communication are needed, and it is far from clear whether official agencies have the suppleness or freedom to reach out to their audience. One might think of governments using unattributed subsidiaries, using strictly nonofficial syntax to reach out to domestic and foreign publics, but that seems to lie in the future. For now, this medium is under trial by diplomats, and we will perhaps see a period of experimentation before new modes take shape.<sup>104</sup>

As stated by Gerster consulting (2008), unreliable infrastructures lead to high costs, which make ICT use expensive. This challenge has been compounded by negative cultural stances towards ICT in general on the part of the people. Generally people do not feel secure in virtual public

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid

<sup>104</sup> Jovan Kurbalija (2007), Quick Diplomatic Response: A Day in the Life of an E-Diplomat, DiploFoundation , p.27

spheres and thus may not use them to interact with the government or fellow citizens effectively. This has had a negative impact on development of e-democracy and related institutions. In African context, the factors that affect adoption of technologies and by extension e-government and e-democracy have much to do with lack of trust, low and unreliable ICT infrastructures, lack of adequate and appropriate ICT skills and lack of dedicated legal, institutional and ICT regulatory frameworks.<sup>105</sup>

Information technology and communications (ICT) has impacted strongly on diplomatic systems, bridging to *some* extent the distance syndrome that dominates the diplomatic networks.<sup>106</sup> Kenya and other third world countries have appreciated the fact that the internet provides innovative means for outreach to wide public streams, at home and abroad; “Web 2.0” offers new possibilities that are still under exploration.

The foreign ministry website, supplemented by the websites of embassies, provides a starting point. “Intranets” (also called ‘virtual private networks’) permit confidential exchanges within the country’s diplomatic and public services. Blogs have come into their own both for privileged communication and for open exchanges. Canada has been a leader in the application of net-based communications, for diplomatic training, export promotion and even domestic public outreach; many others have adapted well to the new medium and found their own paths.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> Kishan S. (2011). 21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner’s Guide, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 20

<sup>107</sup> Ibid p.21

In our global information village much communication takes place through stereotypes and sound bites. Globalization suggests to us superficially that the foreign has become familiar. The country is a “brand,” seen by people overseas through shorthand that colors both its products—be it tourism or business activities—and its politics. Images are powerful, forcing countries to improve the way they are perceived, and re-brand themselves, for both tangible and intangible benefits. Managing this brand concerns foreign ministries, the functional ministries, and a number of public institutions in much the same way as international companies. In this context image carries several meanings: First, it involves the country’s reputation. In the midst of a 1994 fisheries dispute with Spain Canada decided to shift emphasis from its legalistic case to the court of public opinion; standing on a barge on East River in New York, with the UN Headquarters building in the background, the Fisheries Minister displayed the illegal nets seized from a Spanish fishing vessel, producing graphic images that “ambushed” and embarrassed Spain, and pushed it towards a settlement.<sup>108</sup>

Small states such as Mauritius pursue niche diplomacy to enhance international reputation. Second, image governs the inflow of tourism, a major industry in many countries. Countries vie to coin memorable, evocative tourism slogans, and exert their utmost to overcome negative publicity. When dealing with disaster, image management becomes a key concern; for instance, the Maldives deliberately downplayed the damage caused by the December 2004 Asian Tsunami, on the calculation that this might preclude it from getting some relief aid, but this was

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<sup>108</sup> Daryl Copeland (2009), *Guerrilla Diplomacy*, pp. 148–9.

less important than ensuring that tourism rebounded rapidly, without any negative images of the damage caused to its many island resorts.<sup>109</sup>

Third, it influences external economic relations, including trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow; of course, business enterprises engage with states they dislike, but they prefer to do business in countries with a good reputation—both out of civic duty, and to avoid shareholder and media pressure. Fourth, image is made up of myriad actions, ranging from how visitors are treated when they apply for visas and at airport entry points, to the reputation of home brands and products, which rubs off on countries as well. Sporting figures become international icons, and hosting the Olympics or the football world cup involves national pride, affecting the reputation of governments at home and abroad. Finally, any deviation between a country's self-image and the actual image becomes a source of embarrassment, to the point of affecting that government's political standing at home. Country image is a concern for all countries, because a good image is also sound politics.<sup>110</sup>

While the components of public diplomacy (PD) are not new, what is novel is the realization that these elements form a holistic entity that prompts some countries to effort at directing all these activities in an integral fashion, to show one's country at its best and to influence foreign publics, to advance one's external interests. Image is the idiom through which much of the public

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid

<sup>110</sup> G. R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, 2nd edition (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2004).

diplomacy takes place. Hence authors such as Jozef Batora, using Nye's approach, called PD "the development and maintenance of a country's soft power of persuasion and attraction."<sup>111</sup>

### **3.1.3. A Tool for gathering and Disseminating Information**

Through blogs, Facebook, emails and Twitter, Kenyans can source and comment on topical political, economic as well as social issues. For instance during the 2002 and 2007 General Elections, most Kenyans learnt of the results through mobile phones, not the conventional media. the internet blogs and emails allow Kenyans to read and comment on issues that conventional media houses prefer to ignore.<sup>112</sup>

As much as the internet plays an important role in getting Kenyan stories out into the world, where people could be rescued from situations of grave danger because an sms was sent via the internet, the virtual media can also be seen as a double-edged sword. Mungai states diaspora Kenyans used virtual media such as internet chat rooms and email to actively summon their kinsmen resident in Kenya to dismember the country. That ethnic bigotry was a key feature of these interactions in which even highly educated academics blithely took part.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Jozef Batora, 'Public Diplomacy Between Home and Abroad: Norway and Canada' The Hague Journal of Diplomacy, Vol I, No. 1, p. 54.

<sup>112</sup> Mbũgwa wa Mũngai, G. M. Gona (2010). Remembering Kenya. Identity, Culture and Freedom, published by Twaweza Communications Ltd. Westlands Nairobi Kenya p.152

<sup>113</sup> Ibid p.20

### 3.1.4. The Weight of the Publics

How much does public opinion sway governments? Democratic government is predicated on popular consent, but although governments may use “focus groups” to measure the impact of policy measures and conduct their own polls (whose results are often not published) they are not run on the basis of such public opinion polls.<sup>114</sup>

Leaders have always reached out to publics and sought their support on domestic and foreign issues. During World War II President Franklin Roosevelt’s “fi reside chats” and Winston Churchill’s orations mobilized domestic war effort and resonated globally; that was public diplomacy of the highest order. Today’s technology makes it easier than ever to communicate with mass audiences, but information overload makes it harder to win their attention and produce the desired impact, with rare exceptions. Foreign ministries are experimenting with the use of social networks, using Web 2.0, to improve their outreach. Public diplomacy includes accountability to citizens, implemented in different ways.<sup>115</sup>

According to Daniel Nanjira, there are new and emerging issues that pose daunting challenges to Kenya in the area of foreign policy and diplomacy of the new millennium. That time changes and issues and dictates change with it. This calls for constant review and updates in foreign policy and diplomacy initiatives of countries in their relations with each other. The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nations

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<sup>114</sup> Kishan S. (2011). 21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner’s Guide, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 79

<sup>115</sup> Ibid p. 80

present a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world. it is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya's image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels.<sup>116</sup>

Foreign policy for Kenya has aimed at satisfying the needs of the Kenyan people in a multidimensional way. A combination of bilateralism and multilateralism in Kenyan diplomacy and foreign policy now serve the nation more effectively, with special relations being pursued by the former colonial power, Great Britain and other valuable donor countries such as the United States, Canada, Germany, France, and Italy, besides the UN system and other international organizations. In economic and business terms, the European Union is still the largest market for Kenya. But the diplomacy of culture and development and business and trade as well as globalizations and global finance for development still offer serious challenges to the country, as do the vulnerability to natural disasters, diseases and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola, as well as education, the global environment climate, and self-reliance in development initiatives.<sup>117</sup>

### **3.1.5. Kenya's News Management**

Massaging the public message is as old as politics. Much as the media abhor being “managed,” all governments try to influence publics via the media, placing positive spin on their own actions

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<sup>116</sup> Nanjira D. (2010). African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy from Antiquity to the 21st Century, Greenwood Publishers p.318

<sup>117</sup> Ibid p.318

and eroding the stance taken by adversaries, as during key negotiations. The existence of global information networks producing instant transmission of news to world audiences makes it hard to manage news. Some democratic governments understand that the relationship between the official establishment and the media is necessarily adversarial. It becomes virtually impossible to customize news for one audience, since it spills over to other audiences. Yet politicians address domestic audiences with themes that will resonate with them, as during elections; foreign audiences are expected to treat such rhetoric with indulgence.<sup>118</sup>

Often the best news management comes from the heads of government; they have a range of options for communicating their standpoint. Leaders who have media skills gain an advantage.

A consequence of the rising importance of domestic publics is that foreign ministry spokesmen now focus mainly on the home reactions to foreign affairs issues, to the point of reduced attention to projecting home policy to the foreign media. This is an inversion of the past role of foreign ministries. By the same token, even on overseas visits, leaders are much more interested in what the home media say than on reaching out to foreign publics via the media in the countries visited. Ideally, the one should balance the other, and foreign ministries have their work cut out in ensuring that the latter are treated as an equal priority.<sup>119</sup>

The Diaspora is often a key multiplier, in terms of spreading messages about the country of origin and helping in image projection. Diaspora Communities can potentially play a huge role in favorably promoting a nation's image conversely therefore, because public diplomacy tried to

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<sup>118</sup> Kishan S. (2011). 21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner's Guide, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 88

<sup>119</sup> Ibid p. 89



influence mind space abroad and is conditioned by a society's belief in itself, a society that has self-doubts and does not have confidence in its government has citizens and diaspora communities that will not be allies in a government's public diplomacy efforts.<sup>120</sup>

An increasing number of countries now have an explicit diaspora outreach policy. The job of the “official spokesman” of the government has become demanding, calling for top professional skills. Governments with large external agendas that are lax in news diplomacy, or allow multiple spokesmen, pay a price. The French and the Japanese MFAs blend real and virtual press briefings to reach out to truly global media opinion makers. Small state foreign ministries manage without regular official spokesmen, but they are not exempt from requiring training in communication skills. For example, during the 1999 hijacking of an Indian Airlines aircraft, first to Pakistan and then to Kandahar, Afghanistan, different ministers and officials briefed the press several times a day, as crowds of newsmen, family members, and bystanders mobbed the emergency cabinet crisis meetings, held several times a day. The human drama took precedence, at the cost of proper public communication. The hijackers won the media battle and forced the government's hand.<sup>121</sup>

Mbugua wa Mungai argued that media coverage of events that focus solely on national issues and exclude people's experiences in everyday life does not do people or peace justice. He argued that coverage of Kenyan's experiences of conflicts failed to represent effectively the conflict situation and the condition the people are in. He added that merely presenting the voice of the

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<sup>120</sup> Evan H. Potter (2009). *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power Through Public Diplomacy*, McGill-Queen's University Press, P. 58

<sup>121</sup> Kishan S. (2011). *21st Century Diplomacy A Practitioner's Guide*, The Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 88

officials and government agents who may not be at conflicts scenes instead of highlighting the opinions and experiences of the people on the ground especially the women and children, presents a skewed representation of the violence.<sup>122</sup>

In an unprecedented television coverage to the post election violence effect on displaced families, CITIZEN TV brought to the homes of Kenyans in February 2008 images of what life in internally displaced people's camps looked like. the channel also engaged the voices of survivors of the violence as well as families who had lost children and other family members. this enabled Kenyans to feel the pain of their brothers and sisters living as refugees in their own country. Kenyans then mobilized through churches, mosques, social groups, NGO's and the international community to get food, clothes and other necessities to the families living in the camps.<sup>123</sup>

### **3.2. SOCIAL MEDIA: A MEDIUM FOR VIOLENCE and PROPAGANDA?**

Before Mwai Kibaki was declared winner on December 30th 2007 by the Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, amid a closing of the gap between the two main contenders and claims of rigging, opposition leader Raila Odinga had announced his victory in a public briefing and the European Union observer team had openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the election results. The minister for internal Security announced a ban on live broadcasts, Kenyans turned to other means of getting and relaying information, such as short message services (SMS) from mobile phones. Mobile phones were used to communicate locally and internationally and

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<sup>122</sup> Mbũgwa wa Mũngai, G. M. Gona (2010). Remembering Kenya. Identity, Culture and Freedom, published by Twaweza Communications Ltd. Westlands Nairobi Kenya p.166

<sup>123</sup> Ibid p.166

share news and feelings. The ministry of internal security warned about circulating SMS that might cause public unrest and phone cards were also in short supply suggesting that the ban led to a high demand for mobile phone communication.<sup>124</sup>

Social media tools like WIKIS, WEBLOGS, FACEBOOK, YOUTUBE, and TWITTER were extensively used to organize and share information about the crisis and violence and to raise funds. While some discussion forums sought to promote peace and national unity others, especially in the diaspora, questioned national citizenship in the face of claims that a wrong person had been sworn in as president. Citizen journalism blossomed as Kenyans posted their thoughts online from the country and the diaspora. Some politicians set up their own "internet soldiers" who posted partisan anonymously, at times carrying multiple identities. Ethnic tensions were heightened using new media.<sup>125</sup>

### **3.2.1. The High Costs of Implementation**

Most developing countries including Kenya, find themselves facing the opportunity cost of pursuing more citizen-centric initiatives. E-government strategizing and implementation often comes with huge social technical and economic costs that are beyond most of the developing countries capabilities. One major challenge to nurturing the benefits of ICT usage in Africa has been its unreliable ICT infrastructures.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Mbũgua wa Mũngai, G. M. Gona (2010). Remembering Kenya. Identity, Culture and Freedom, published by Twaweza Communications Ltd. Westlands Nairobi Kenya p.191

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

<sup>126</sup> Robert A. Cropf, William S. (2011). Information Communication Technologies and the Virtual Public Sphere Impacts of Network Structures on civil Society, Published by IGI Global p. 233

Implementation of e-government by Kenya required Kshs.100 million and another kshs.500 million for equipment, connectivity, training e.t.c will be required annually for the next five years for the successful realisation of e-Government.<sup>127</sup> Kenya required to train all its civil servants to ensure adequate capacity in the use of internet, email and e-Government applications. Apart from Civil Service Reform Kenya needed to enable Legal and Regulatory environment to enable handling of Government records and information electronically and to ensure the security and integrity of information.

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<sup>127</sup> Kenya: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, IMF Country Report No. 05/11 published by the IMF on January 2005. Available: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2005/cr0511.pdf>

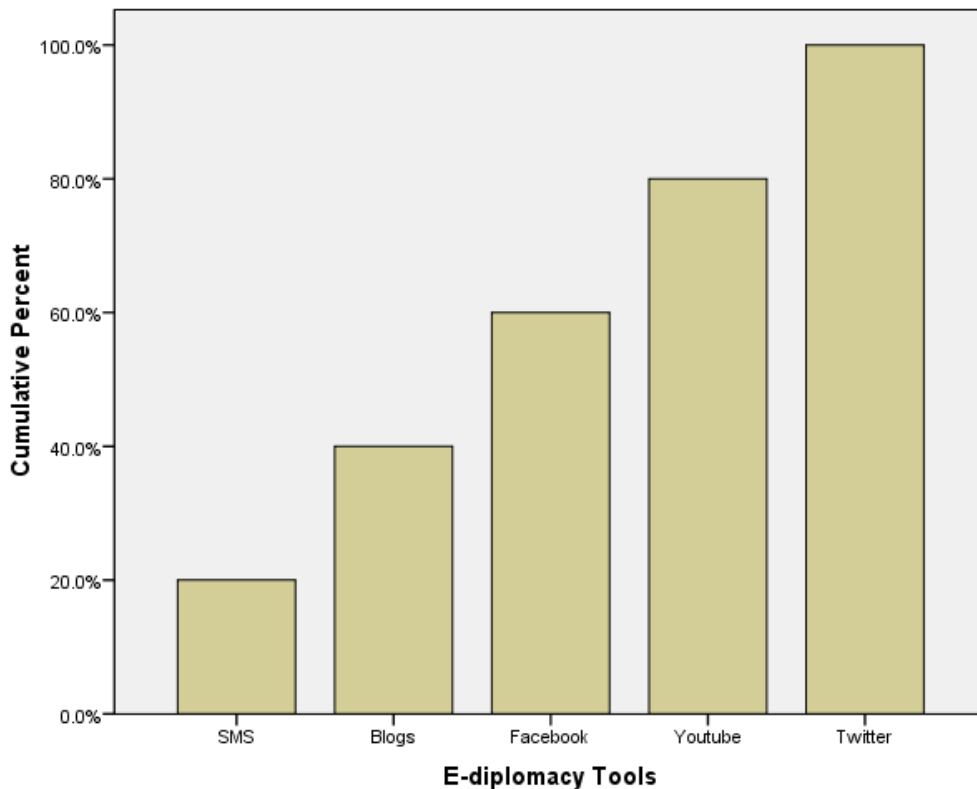
# CHAPTER FOUR

## 4.1. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

### 4.1.1. Knowledge and Expertise in Adopting E-diplomacy in Kenya

Out of the 51 questionnaires which were distributed, only 34 responded. All the staff interviewed consented to their knowledge and existence of E-diplomacy in Kenya. The first part of the questionnaire was to query the strategies adopted by the Kenya government to ensure effective E- diplomacy and foreign policy through adoption of ICT. This was on a five likert-scale where Very Great Extent = 5; Great Extent = 4; Average extent = 3; Small Extent = 2; Very Small Extent = 1.the results are shown on table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Common Types of E-diplomacy Tools in Kenya



Source: Research Data

Table 4.1.1 Tools used in E-diplomacy

E-diplomacy Tools Used in Kenya	Descriptive Statistics		
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Twitter	34	.29	.462
SMS	34	.06	.239
Youtube	34	.32	.475
Blogs	34	.15	.359
Facebook	34	.21	.410
Valid N (listwise)	34		

Source: Research Data

From the results in table 4.1 and table 4.1.1 it was found that, Twitter (98%), Youtube (80%), and Facebook (60%), were the leading E-diplomacy tools adopted in Kenya. The above tools are free and readily available on the internet which provides a large social networking base. These statistics show that Kenyans through the internet are utilizing the power of social media that are readily available and do not require any fees or extra costs.

Tables 4.1 and 4.1.1 also reveal that Blogs are steadily becoming unpopular since they require a lot of administration responsibilities. Unlike other social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter, Blogs require extra costs such as hosting, administrator control such as creating accounts and managing the website. At the same time, Blogs also require the general population to have sufficient internet bandwidth however, internet in Nairobi is still developing and it is still expensive and limited even after the emergence of the fibre connectivity. SMS is the least

utilized social tool in Kenya and this is primarily because SMS broadcasting is quite expensive. Unlike other social tools such as Facebook which are free to adopt, SMS communication in Kenya require fixed charges in-order to send and receive messages. The Kenya government even after its plans to inter-connect all its ministries through e-governance, faces a challenge to reach out to the general public through mobile phone messaging which would require a large budget allocation.

#### **4.2. Challenges to Effectively Adopt E-diplomacy**

To satisfy one of the specific objectives outlined on the first chapter, on the challenges faced in adopting E-diplomacy in Kenya, it was necessary to query the respondents further on the specific challenges they faced in adopting ICT to conduct diplomacy. There are a number of strategies employed by various government departments, some specific to particular public diplomacy tools and some general, for instance, Youtube which is specific to uploading videos and audio files without any limitation to how many files can be uploaded. General strategies in conducting E-diplomacy include use of Twitter and Facebook, for instance, Government ministries and politicians in Kenya utilize these mediums to update the public on their activities. On an interview with a senior management staff at the Foreign Affairs, it was observed that the use of social media tools allowed them to reach out to international forums on the cyberspace where individuals can download media files. This strategy not only allowed users to require very limited resources in accessing the media files but also to some extent the users are able to ascertain that the contents are from a credible source.

The respondents, therefore, were queried on a number of challenges they are facing in fighting cybercrime in Nairobi. This was on a five likert-scale where Very Great Extent = 5; Great Extent = 4; neither agree nor Disagree = 3; Small Extent = 2; Very Small Extent = 1 where the higher values represented the extent to which the challenges had been overcome, on the other hand, the lower values represented the challenges that were still difficult to eradicate. The results are shown below on table 4.3.

Table 4.2 Adoption of E-diplomacy in Kenya

Challenges in E-diplomacy	Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Skill	34	133	3.91	.965
Cybercrime	34	112	3.29	1.169
Resistance	34	104	3.06	1.099
Resources	34	60	1.76	.699
Training	34	52	1.53	.706
Valid N (listwise)	34			

Source: Research Data

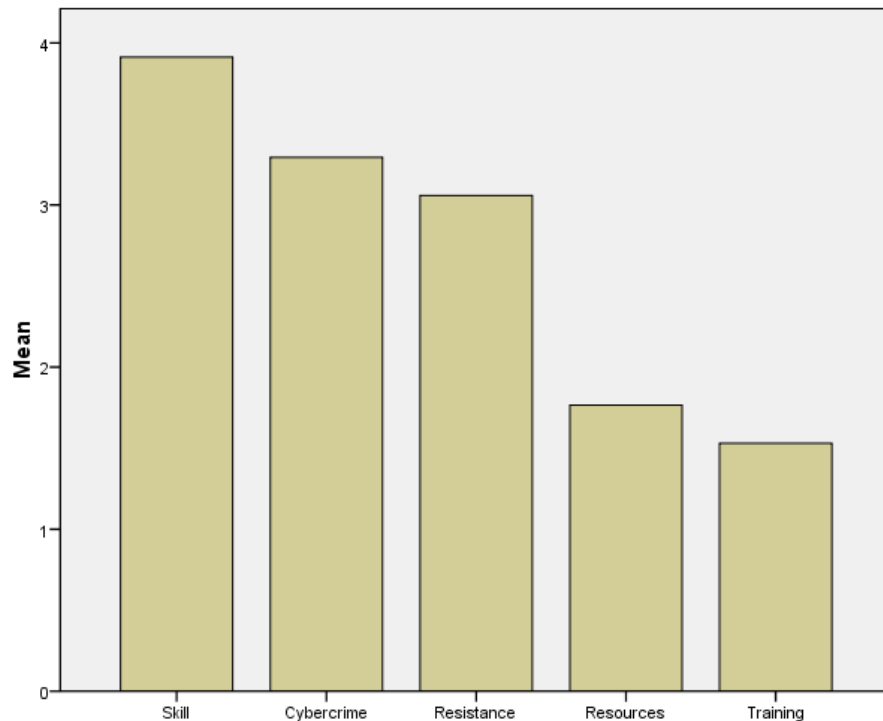
From table 4.2 it was found that to a great extent (mean=3), most of the Government departments in Nairobi and its foreign missions had employed skilled personnel who were knowledgeable in adopting E-diplomacy, also there was low resistance to change when strategic measures were being implemented, there was also satisfactory cybercrime awareness that ensured there was minimum interference in conducting diplomacy through ICT. The interference could be through virus or trojan attacks, denial of service attacks and spamming that could shut down ICT systems



and slow down the effectiveness of E-diplomacy. However it was observed that the greatest challenges while adopting E-diplomacy were resources, this included funds, human resource and availability of equipments such as computers and other ICT equipments. Thus conducting management training that presented the staff with the relevant knowledge of E-diplomacy that was constantly changing could not be undertaken effectively. On the other hand, from the table 4.3 we draw conclusions that the cost of adopting an efficient E-diplomacy tool in terms of purchasing the necessary equipments and applications, employment of skilled personnel and other strategies constituted a large portion of departmental budget.

According to a respondent from the Kenyan Embassy at the Washington DC, there are a number of challenges that have largely constituted to the poor implementation of E-diplomacy tools in Kenya, these are largely attacks through Cybercrime.

Table 4.3 Adoption of E-diplomacy in Kenya



Source: Research Data

According to table 4.3 an emerging challenge to E-diplomacy is Cybercrime. Poor legislations in Kenya that are essential in combating cyberspace crime, have rendered authorities ineffective as they try to obtain permission to search and prosecute offenders of this crime without proper laws that will enforce them, for this reason, cybercriminals do not have the fear of being apprehended.

The issue of jurisdiction also makes on one country irrelevant for instance, a crime committed in Uganda where cybercrime laws are ineffective or non-existent makes apprehension almost impossible. The lack of sufficient resources for instance funds which would enable authorities purchase equipments and applications, necessary to collect evidence and also applications and instruments to detect and prevent such crime from happening are quite limited. Finally, lack of awareness to this type of crime and also lack of relevant skills constitute to the remainder of these challenges, where legislators who are responsible for enacting laws cannot enforce into law what they do not understand. Authorities on the other hand, lack necessary skills that afford them the capacity to employ efficient strategies in detecting and in collecting digital evidence crucial in prosecuting cyberspace offenders. With the above in view, it is the position of some governmental departments in Kenya to shy from ICT while adopting public diplomacy since their systems cannot be guaranteed to always be protected.

#### **4.2.1 Specific Cases**

On 12th January 2012, an Indonesian hacker known as "direxer" took down 103 government of Kenya websites overnight. The hacker was part of an online Indonesian security forum known as Forum Code Security. The government moved to take the affected websites offline through a

Cyber Incidence Response Team (CIRT) based at the Communications Commission of Kenya. The CIRT was formed to handle such situations and ensure Kenya's security in cyber space. Kenya government websites are normally hosted in one server at The Treasury thus compromising the server may expose several websites to a hacker.

A recent event, on 20th July 2013, the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) attacked by hackers claiming to be from Gaza. The hackers targeted the exchange rates section of the site which was flooded with messages in both English and French in a marquee that scrolled through the site.

The *Gaza hacker Team* posted a message that could be interpreted as threatening the security of an unspecified addressee. The hacking blocked many visitors from around the world who use the site to access exchange rates information for business or travel purposes.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In line with the general objectives of the study, the following conclusions were arrived at which were further used to model the impact of cybercrime on security in Nairobi.

### **5.1. Conclusions**

Based on the results from data analysis and findings of the research, the study has revealed that E-diplomacy is an emerging tool in enhancing Public Diplomacy in developing countries like Kenya and the following conclusions were arrived at, based on the objective of the study; Firstly, it was observed that a number of E-diplomacy tools through the use of ICT most notably Blogs, Twitter, and Youtube, were prevalent in use by the Kenya Government. These ultimately enhanced citizen participation especially with the emergence of the submarine optic fibre which promise faster internet speeds through higher bandwidth and most importantly at cheaper and affordable rates, giving low and middle income level earners an opportunity to effectively participate in public opinion. However, the National Security risk posed through hacking, and cyber-espionage and other cyber-space attacks poses great risks to government in losing vital information or having their websites denied access for instance, through denial of service bombs.

Secondly, the major focus on E-diplomacy employed by governmental departments in Kenya was on providing means of implementing Public diplomacy through ICT rather than finding

ways of preventing attacks through cybercrime that may hinder effectiveness and reliability. As observed, currently spamming and hacking are at the forefront as common forms of cybercrime employed by cyber criminals. ISP's especially, are purchasing expensive antivirus applications and firewalls to remove virus infections while ignoring preventive solutions such as, blacklisting specific IP's that are related to crime. In some first world countries, torrent sites that proliferate the piracy of copyrighted material are blacklisted as a government directive, through tough legislations. First world governments have also learnt to invest heavily on training and security precautions rather than just implementations and maintenance.

Thirdly, the Communications Commission of Kenya needs to intensify exercises to educate consumers on use of social media and its vulnerabilities especially with the increase in Internet usage as a result of cheaper bandwidth. Expensive connectivity has limited the region's Internet penetration and electronic commerce is nonexistent, so citizen participation in government decision making have had been limited. The lack of awareness, ignorance and poor legislations has greatly contributed to slow progress against Effective Public Diplomacy which is coupled by cybercrime.

Furthermore, in the event that E-diplomacy tools have been sabotaged, it is hard to convict cyber criminals because of two major reasons. Firstly, few countries have enacted e-laws and the existing ones are not sufficient in convicting culprits because of jurisdiction anomalies especially when the investigation transcends international borders. Secondly, obtaining evidence of computer crime that would stand in courts of law is lacking in many countries since the field of computer forensics is still relatively new and lacks sufficient literature and expertise.

From the above it is clear, beyond reasonable doubt that if proper strategies are put in place to adopt E-diplomacy tools effectively in Kenya then the recent internet development provides an excellent opportunity to enhance Public diplomacy not only in Kenya but the rest of Africa.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

Through the CCK the government could launch a program that will educate citizens on the potential of not only viewing their mobile phones as devices to receive calls and messages but also as mediums that can allow them to participate in government policies. This can be done through initiating development of applications that can be installed on mobile phones and personal computers to constantly update users on government initiatives.

### **5.2.1. Sensitization**

With the emergence of ICT there is a growing concern of users falling prey to fake websites that may still important information that could ultimately hinder effective E-diplomacy. The public need a lot of sensitization and training on what computer crimes are, in which forms they can manifest, how to detect them, what to do after detection and how to prevent and minimize them. The Police should also endeavor to build trust and confidence in the population by using the media and otherwise, so that more such incidents are reported to them for proper and unified record keeping.

### **5.2.2. Initiate forums and participation groups**

Countries and its citizens can participate in forums that would allow brainstorming sessions on how to effectively integrate ICT technologies in order to not only reach to citizens of one's own country but also international citizens effectively. The forum would require developing strategies and measures that will be able to operate effectively despite challenges that could arise from the varying internet speeds in different countries and also the dangers of cybercrime and cyber-espionage.

### **5.2.3. Amendment of Laws**

Enacting global cyber laws that deal with harmonization and standardization of computer crime would bring us closer to attaining effective adoption and implementation of E-diplomacy structures. Although a number of countries have enacted cyber laws and have punished criminals within their jurisdiction, they are dominated by the developed countries. Most developing countries have not yet enacted e-laws. Harsh punishments should be given to defaulters so that people fear to commit these acts and victims motivated to report them. This would prevent escalation of cases and further loss of money, time, data and equipment.

On the other hand, countries Third World countries like Kenya which already have laws related to cybercrime should have their legislations revised to keep up with the emerging cyberspace threats, as criminals are coming up with new tricks to evade the law and process of prosecution.

#### **5.2.4. Limitations and Suggestion for Further Research**

The greatest constraint in carrying out the research was time factor. Some of the respondents had little information hence giving out data which was not satisfactory and needed more input. Due to poor means of communication it took long to visit all branches and this led to arriving when some of the staff officials had left for meetings and others home, again because of shortage in time the research had to rely on telephone and email interviews. It also took a while when collecting the questionnaires because some of the respondents kept them or even failed to reply to the questionnaire sent via email. There was also poor coordination and assistance from government departments that were critical to this study, especially the CCK (Communications Commission of Kenya) and also the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) who failed to present the research with vital statistics on cybercrime, the organizations insisted on a letter signed by the Commissioner of Police in order to access the materials which time could not allow.

Areas of further research that were identified include a similar study to be carried out on other sectors of the ICT sector, for instance digital advertising campaigns by the government to sensitize citizens. This can be done through sourcing digital advertising companies and the government is saved the agony of developing and implementing their own systems to conduct E-diplomacy. Other areas of study should include law enforcement and the fight against cybercrime that hinders E-diplomacy, a vivid statistical data is vital in order to understand the dynamics of cybercrime and its threat on digital governance. Crucially further research should be done to



explore new techniques and procedures that will enhance the process of E-diplomacy such as dedicated internet speeds that will ensure reliability and efficiency.

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## ***Appendix 1: Questionnaire***

Dear Respondent

Am a Masters student of the University of Nairobi undertaking a Project on E-diplomacy in Nairobi, as part of partial fulfilment of Masters of Arts in diplomacy Degree. This is therefore to request you to assist me in filling this questionnaire. The information collected will be used for academic purpose only and all confidentiality will be kept. Thanks for your cooperation.

Christopher Jilo

### **Part A: RESPONDENT PROFILE**

<b>Respondent Name (Optional)</b> _____										
<b>1. (a) Gender (Please tick)</b>		Male						Female		
<b>(b) Department (Please tick your Department)</b>										
ICT		Others(name)		Name of the Section						
<b>(d) Grade (Please tick in the blank box next to your category )</b>										
Senior Management							Junior level management			
<b>(e) Age Bracket (Please tick in the blank box next to your category )</b>										
Below 25			25-35			36-45			46-55	
<b>(e) What is your level of your Education? (Please tick)</b>										
Primary			Secondary			College certificate			Diploma	
<b>(f) For how long have you been in working in your organization? (Please tick)</b>										
Less than 5 yrs			5-10 yrs			11-15 yrs			16-20yrs	

**Part B: Use of ICT in your Department**

- a) Are you aware of E-diplomacy? (1) Yes (2) No
- b) Do you participate in conducting public diplomacy through the use of ICT ?  
1) Yes (2) No, if yes (on which systems?)

	Requirement definition	System Analysis	System design	System implementation	System maintenance
Which stages did you participate?					

- c) How is your organization performing in the implementation of E-diplomacy?  
(1) Very Satisfactory(2) Satisfactory (3)Dissatisfactory (4)Very Dissatisfied (5) Don't Know
- d) Can your organization implement E-diplomacy structures with the available resources?  
(1) Yes (2) No (3) not sure....
- e) Are the E-diplomacy policies in your organization consistent with the cyber-space demands from internal and external environment? (1) Yes (2) No (3) not sure....
- f) Are the cyber-space strategies in your organization consistent with the expectations of the CCK? (1) Yes (2) No (3) not sure....

g) Rank the types of E-diplomacy tools and strategies in your organization ( <b>Please tick</b> )					
<b>E-diplomacy Tools</b>	Very Frequent	Frequent	Average	Rare	Never
i.) Anti - Spam mail/Junk mail					
ii.) Anti - Denial of Service attacks (DOS)					
iii.) Staff Training					
iv.) Management Training					
v.) Twitter					
vi.) Anti-Hacking					
vii.) Facebook					
viii.) Youtube					
ix.) Blogs					
x.) Others (Specify )					

Other E-diplomacy types (Please add below)

.....

.....

.....

**h)** Do you think any support is required for effective implementations of E-diplomacy? (1) Yes (2) No (3) not sure....

**i)** If yes to Q 1 above, Please fill the following table on supportive action required for efficient implementation of IT system in the strategy.

<b>Project</b>	<b>What will be done</b>	<b>By who</b>	<b>When</b>	<b>How Much</b>

**j)** Are users given prior notification from ICT about any new and emerging E-diplomacy trends? (1) Yes (2) No (3) Not sure..



k) What strategies have you employed to curb challenges against E-diplomacy? (Tick appropriate).

	<b>Measures</b>	Yes	No	Dont Know
i.	Antivirus			
ii.	Software Firewalls			
iii.	Antispam Blockers			
iv.	Data encryption			
v.	Data recovery strategies.			
vi.	Research on new and emerging tools			
vii.	Staff training awareness on Cyber threats			
viii.	Do you offer Parental Control Software			
ix.	Penetration testing/ Ethical Hacking performed			
x.	Bandwidth Management e.g. Sandvine			
xi.	Hardware Firewall e.g. Cisco			

l) Your overall level of satisfaction with E-diplomacy in your department (Tick one)

<b>Very Satisfied</b>	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	<b>Very Dissatisfied</b>
1	2	3	4

**Part C: INFORMATION SYSTEMS IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES**

	<b>1. To what extent do you agree with the following attributes in E-diplomacy implementation and Security in your organization (please tick as appropriate)</b>	<b>Very Great Extent</b>	<b>Great Extent</b>	<b>Very Some Extent</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>	<b>Least extent</b>
i.)	Your organization has adequate and sufficiently skilled personnel for E-diplomacy security management.					
ii.)	Users are given adequate skills and awareness to benefit from E-diplomacy tools and services.					
iii.)	Resistance to change is not experienced in adopting ICT to further diplomacy in the organization.					
iv.)	During security implementations staff sometimes ignore or refuse to stay on track to fulfill their responsibilities.					
v.)	Your organization lacks adequate staff in order for E-diplomacy capacity to be successful implemented.					
vi.)	Refusal to use the security strategies is experienced e.g. limited user account rather than administrator.					
vii.)	Change management training is conducted successfully during the process.					
viii.)	Security softwares e.g. antiviruses are sufficiently evaluated during purchase, hence product works as planned.					
ix.)	The implementation team always has sufficient experience and are able to set up the E-diplomacy system effectively.					
x.)	The security strategies and training are conducted without affecting business process in line with the budgeted cost and timeline.					
xi.)	Compatibility issues during installation e.g.					

	<b>1. To what extent do you agree with the following attributes in E-diplomacy implementation and Security in your organization (please tick as appropriate)</b>	<b>Very Great Extent</b>	<b>Great Extent</b>	<b>Very Some Extent</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>	<b>Least extent</b>
	hardware firewalls					
xii.)	Cost of ICT and security implementation towards E-diplomacy overruns the budget.					

Other Implementation issues (please explain)

.....  
 .....

m) What challenges have been experienced by your particular area of business in the implementation of E-diplomacy process so far?

.....

n) What factors do you think hindered the implementation process?

.....

o) Do you agree or disagree with the chosen method of security implementations to ensure effective E-diplomacy. And why?

.....

p) What future challenges do you expect to arise especially with the emergence of the fibre?

.....

q) In your opinion are the current laws on cybercrime in Kenya sufficient?

.....

r) In your opinion, what can the government do to aid in the prevention of cyberspace crime and ensure processes such as E-diplomacy that rely on ICT remain effective?

.....

**Thank you for filling this questionnaire**