Political Communication for Sustainable Development in Kenya

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Abstract
In Africa, most events are crowned by political overtones. If these forums can be used to communicate information for development purposes, the continent could be far in terms of development. A number of mass media scholars (Bennett, 2003; Diamond, 2004; Graber, 2010) have noted that democratization and the processes of achieving it must be tailored towards increasing domestic and global awareness and developing sophisticated citizenry. More than ever before, African governments have consistently indicated their commitment to political and economic development, but this laudable objective seems far-fetched as a result of the minimal role of the media in educating the public and encouraging effective participation and responsiveness. This paper is geared towards investigating how political communication and messages can be utilized for development purposes. With the globalization of economies over the past two decades, there has been an increasing surge in Africa for strategic political and economic relationships. Unfortunately, the political systems in the continent present serious challenges to the rest of the world which views African countries as politically and economically unsustainable.

Keywords: Political communication, politics, economic development, participation, media, globalization, sustainable development, democracy

1. Introduction
The word of a strong minded man which reaches to cries of thousands orators and as long as there is only one public place where one speaks freely, it is as if one had spoken publicly in each village (Toqueville, 1969).

Political communications is an interactive process that concerns the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public. It can create relations or even crisis of interests, goals and ambitions between individuals, groups, and political structures in the process of attaining power and keeping it. Swanson and Nimmo (1990) define political communication as “the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters.” They emphasize the strategic nature of political communication, highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse. McNair (2011) on the other hand, provides a similar definition that political communication is "purposeful communication about politics.” That is, that this not only covers verbal or written statements, but also visual representations such as dress, make-up, hairstyle or logo design.

Political communications has always been central to the electoral and policymaking process in the society. IDS report (June 2005) argue that development involves not just the expansion of resources, skills and power in any given state but also the political processes of ‘state/society bargaining’ over their distribution that occur within it. Therefore, development is fundamentally political. It involves enabling those who are excluded to gain a greater and more just share of power and resources, through participation in political, policy and decision-making processes at every level. The important aspect is how politics is communicated to the citizens and how they opinionate on the messages given to them. World Bank, (2006) agrees that the impact of communication and information processes on societies of every kind is going to increase rapidly in the coming decades. The volume and speed of information flows, and the number of people who have access to them, is rising fast.

This is due to certain important structural developments which fundamentally alter this process, particularly postwar and propaganda trends in the mass media moving from the traditional world of newspapers, radio and television broadcasting towards the Internet. Political messages play a major role in the interpretations of the nature of these trends and reflect on their consequences for the process of socioeconomic and political development around the globe.

Political communication takes on different shapes. Sometimes it can be laced with overtones that encourage the use of physical force while at other times it will be both structural and systemic. In most African countries, this occurs in the form of snatching the ballot boxes and other sensitive and non-sensitive electoral materials, which are then used to move their preferred candidates into the seat of power. Rigging equally reaches its crescendo during the time of elections (Owuor, 2012). For instance those who never contested for the party primaries as well as those who never campaigned for votes turn-out as election winners (Kadima, 2006). The political parties also communicate through such acts as the kidnapping and killing of political opponents. The
message communicated is clear both to the public and the political opponents (Amnesty International 2008). The whole process of campaigning, voter-registration, and elections, constitutes the different levels of political communication. Violent political communication leads to loss of lives as early as during voter-registration. From the word go the process used tends to give unfair advantage to dominant players in the political arena (Tronvoll, 2001 p 104-105).

Wanyande (2002) observes that “political communication from politicians is often clothed with violence overtones especially where there is power struggle. There are often wrangles within the political class that often involve the manipulation of the people, who are inevitably less informed about the struggles.”

2. Legal Framework and Political Communication
Political communication in Kenya is governed by four acts of parliament. These are the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the political parties’ act 2011, the elections act 2011 and the electoral campaign finance act 2013. Besides these four there exist a set of laws that even though not enacted directly deal with election and political communication. The purpose of this is to guide both elected and appointed leaders, the media, and public citizens in the everyday use of messages to construct meaning about political practices. Parties rely heavily on the media to propagate their policies. When people exercise power in support of public interests, their messages and interactions are a strategic means for influencing public policies.

The constitution of Kenya 2010 is the most important law governing political parties in Kenya. It has given Kenya multi-party status. Article 91 makes provision on basic requirements on political parties and article 92 mandates the parliament to enact legislation to govern political parties in the country. The media act is the law that governs the code of conduct and discipline of journalists and media and connected purposes. The Kenya Broadcasting Act that deals with operations of the main broadcaster is such an example. Conceptualizations of who has power and how they exercise it are prevalent in political communication. This consists of political actors’ abilities to acquire, maintain, and exercise authority in governmental affairs and to influence relationships and policies. The journalists are expected to write fairly objectively and unbiased stories on matters of public interest. Political elites (elected officials, party leaders, legislators, and agency directors) possess the power to influence large populations because they create laws and sanction behaviors, convey and withhold social and economic benefits to citizens, and influence mass media sources. The power, rights, knowledge of political communication, ability and willingness to engage in deliberations about public policies of citizens are derived from the legal framework.

3. Access to the Electorate and use of public resources
There have been incidents where opponents have been denied licenses. by the incumbents to hold campaign rallies, and limitations to media access by competitors as well as disruption of campaign rallies in order to limit the ability of the competitors to reach the electorate. Sometimes public resources are used to induce voters to vote in a particular way (Calingert 2006, p 138, 140-141). Equally, in the course of political campaigns, the choice of language by party members communicates violence which encourages supporters to attack and even kill opponents. This is because many people do not have access to information that will enable them understand their political rights.

The systemic political communication includes the excessive use of the media and public funds from the incumbents and their executive counter-parts. These include hiding under immunity clauses to commit political crimes, bribery and corruption. Propaganda has also been used extensively to ensure the political opponents are painted in the worst of images while the incumbent through the use of state machinery such as the controlled airwaves paints himself as the best alternative (Wanyande, 2001).

In Mexico, propaganda has been used by the ruling party to portray the opposition as being bent on propagating violence and blamed it for the economic woes of the nation (Anderson, 1993-1994). Further, it is suggested that the opposition is responsible for the capital flight from the country. This adverse approach has been witnessed in countries like Zimbabwe where parties like ZANU -PF always portrayed the opposition as traitors and sellers to the imperialists who should not be allowed to take over power (Cheeseman 2010, p 210). These have all become systemic forms of political violence that permeates all spheres of our national life.

Unfortunately, in most African states, the opposition which is given the sovereign-will to act as the watchdog of the society to these types of crimes, have become basically the ‘ uncontrollable’ segment of the society, where bribery and corruption thrives (Suberu, 2007). There is need for majority of the African states to find ways to address the waste in their National Assemblies. There are huge political holes, which successive occupants of political seats have failed to plug because of politics” (Daniels, 2011, 64). A Human Rights lawyer, Alice Bitutu added a new dimension to the argument on how corruption has become systemic in governments across the continent (Bitutu 2015). She further argues that political violence goes beyond physical force as often misconstrued ….One issue on which she was not happy about was the arbitrary misuse of devolved funds at the county levels which leave the deserving cases such as the vulnerable children.
4. Political communication and structural violence

The structural violence manifested lies in the nature of our liberal democracy and the political communication of the politicians. The county government system has become the extension of the offices of the national government instead of being an independent branch of the executive arm. Structural political violence is equally manifested in the undemocratic party policies found amongst the registered political parties in Kenya (Wanjala, 2002). Our political parties are merely tribal outfits that misuse political communication and the media to spew viral on the opponents. Kenya has been described as a nation that is in perpetual mood of campaign. At all functions from funerals to fundraisings to church functions the misuse of communication and the media by the political elites has been witnessed (Gitonga, 1991). It is clear that most political parties in Kenya are guilty of not having sound manifestos and thus the misuse of the media during the electoral process to cover-up.

5. Misdemeanor of Political Parties

The ‘powers that be’ in the different parties have a way of planting their candidates of choice or using monetary and other forms of political power to push out or push-down better political aspirants (Abuya 2008). The height of this crime is the constant change of names of party primary winners to the names of the candidates of their choice. This has brought untold hardship to the electorate and the short-changed candidates.

In some countries, where such injustice was executed, it has seen retardation of development while generating stagnated leadership and waste of tax-payers resources. The implication becomes the general spatial effect of that violent action on the citizenry of that county and its development. The process of the violent financial struggle between the governor-elect and the senator creates multiply hardships which cripple or better still, stagnate good governance and any type of development in the counties. Salaries are delayed and sometimes unpaid, while contracts are issued to undeserving bidders, creating negative developmental impact. Similarly, the excessive economic drain and resource wastage of Wanjikus’ hard earned resources. The commissioner for salaries and remuneration Sarah Serem has been fighting to reduce the gigantic allowances and emoluments of the legislators which are excessive (Daily Nation January 8th 2015). This process operates down-wards from governing institutions to citizens.

6. Awareness on Political Communication of the Citizenry

Most of the political communication in Kenya has been tribal focusing on political opponents instead of development agenda. More often than not the political communication has been so distorted that the public or particular sub-groups, like women or undecided voters have become prey to their propaganda, thus creating negative impact on the citizens and development (Wanyande, 2002). The potential danger here lies in the impact of exposure to different types of mediated messages to the citizens, which is based on the delivered political knowledge and opinions (such as awareness about issues, civic information, or recognition of political leaders), political attitudes and values (such as support for a particular party or issue), and political behavior [such as voter turnout] (Aborisade, 2006).

Political communication has therefore been central to the electoral and policymaking process but in the last decade certain important structural developments have altered this process, mainly in the mass media moving from the traditional world of newspapers, radio and television broadcasting to the Internet (Abdi and Daene, 2008).

7. Political communication and technology

Technology has changed the world of politics where every political figure relies on techniques and systems of infrastructure to reach his/her voters. Technology is the fast-growing range of digital techniques which allow people and organizations to communicate and share information digitally. Jones and Williams (2005) comment that Information and communication processes and technologies lie at the heart of every state’s capacity to perform these vital functions. ICTs offer huge potential in improving the capabilities and performance of state bodies as they serve their citizens, making their use of information more effective and leading to better availability of public information, a more responsive civil service and increased quality of service delivery. (Reporters without Borders, 2003).

Access for all citizens to information that is held by governments and the private sector is an essential component of accountability. It enables citizens to understand policies and processes so that they can question them and enter into informed dialogue (Juan, 2006; Banisar, 2006). In 2006 nearly 70 countries around the world had adopted comprehensive freedom of information legislation to facilitate access to records held by government bodies, and another 50 were in the process of doing so, though frequently this process is very prolonged.

The electronic media has therefore increased the choice and diversity of news outlets and formats. Given the growing educational levels and affluence characteristic of young generation, the consumption of news
has changed tremendously. Nevertheless it must be recognized that there is need to go beyond any single media sector to establish the harmful political effects of negative communication.

Today consumers like never before have access to multiple sources of news and information, from newspapers to radio, television and the Internet. There is a belief from the recent past that traditional standards of television news and public affairs have come under threat from technological and economic developments. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Africa. The media has been used mainly to vilify the opposition and not for the promotion of development agenda. Despite the proliferation of channels on terrestrial, cable, satellite, digital and now broadband services, that fragment the mass audience across the globe, the crisis faced by Kenyans has been the blatant misuse of the media that has seen the breaking down of the traditional boundaries in all spheres.

In the last decade the most important change to the political communication process has been the rise of the Internet such as the birth of the World Wide Web in 1990, the launch of popular browsers to access materials such as the Mosaic (1993), Netscape Navigator (1994), and Microsoft Internet Explorer (1995). Subsequent technological applications, like the easy transfer of mp3 music files and video formats, and WAP-enabled digital telephony have also emerged in the world of communication. Despite all these advances, the African political elites have failed to embrace the above technology for the good of the continent’s development. Instead the continent has failed dismally to utilize technological innovations leading to retardation of development (African Media Development Initiative, 2006).

The Internet is truly global phenomenon as more and more users come on board from around the world. Today, if the political class in Kenya made good use of the available technological innovations there could be hope that the Internet would provide multiple opportunities for socioeconomic and democratic development. Digital networks have the potential to broaden and enhance access to information and communication for remote rural areas and poorer neighborhoods, to strengthen the process of democratization under transitional regimes, and to change the endemic problems of poverty in the developing world.

With such connectivity as this, there is hope that the Internet will eventually serve multiple functions such as being the public world’s largest library, school classroom and medical database, post office and telephone, marketplace and shopping mall, channel for entertainment, culture and music, daily news resource for headlines, stocks and weather. This could in turn lead to achieving goals of creating sustainable economic growth, enhancing the public welfare, and fostering social cohesion, and work to fully realize its potential to strengthen democracy, increase transparency and accountability in governance, promote human rights, enhance cultural diversity, and foster international peace and stability. The Internet encourages market globalization while offering the promise for the delivery of basic social services across the globe. Progress has been slower in Africa and overcoming many of the current problems of the inadequate telephony infrastructure insurmountable given the high-speed backbone, and market liberalization of telecommunication services.

The political communication has evolved in Kenya recording multidimensional groups of political-minded individuals out to attain state power and keep it. The media could be used to educate, transform and reinforce the mindset of the electorate towards peace political communication as a roadmap for sustainable national democracy. The media could also be used by the political elite, multi-media systems, non-governmental Organizations and the electoral at all state levels to promote peaceful communication as a panacea for sustainable national democracy in Kenya. Unlike all physical forces, the power of thought is often increased by the small number of those expressing it.

8. Political actors as key players in political communication

Political actors are individuals or organizations that have vested interests and influence the political policy change and decisions. These are individuals who aspire through organisational and institutional means to influence the decision making process through attaining political power in government or constitutional assemblies through which preferred policies can be implemented. They include the civil society, media, religious leaders, political parties, political analysts, legal experts, political scientists, opinion makers, public relations practitioners, among others. In general, political action is undertaken by organizations (or, at times, individuals), not sectors. For any political strategy to work, you will probably be required to direct activities toward specific actors whose support you want or whose opposition you wish to undermine. It has been The more specific you are about whom these actors are, the more focused and useful your strategy of communication can be.

Political actors are individuals who play roles in the practice of diplomacy, and influence public opinion through their interest in political processes. This can be viewed as both constraints and opportunities to open up pockets of influence within which citizens are able to press their issues. These changes are the rise of civil society and the idea of public diplomacy, expanding communications technologies and the prominence of new state powers and summit diplomacy (Lloyd, 2013).

According to Patterson (1997) politics is more a question of values than of information. To act on their interests, citizens must arrive at an understanding of the relationship between their values and those at stake in public
8.1 Political communication and media

Media refers to links such as mass media, broadcast media and the web media. The word media means carrier which is derived from the Latin word *medium*. Media denotes a link specifically designed to reach many viewers. This huge variety of media includes television and radio which are considered as broadcast media while newspapers, magazines and journals are formatted as print media. The internet news are called web media (Dwivedi & Pandey, 2013).

Communications and media support elections by helping political parties’ campaign and ‘get out the vote’, informing voters of the location of their polling stations and how to vote at them. Broadcast media, radio and interpersonal communication (‘working the phones’) are all well-established tools in the political activist’s toolkit, and mobile phones and text messaging are increasingly used for campaigning (MacNair, 2003).

It is very crucial that before elections are held, politicians and people have to engage in communication processes regarding politics. Meaningful choice by citizens depends, among other things, on their having knowledge of candidates’ and parties’ programmes, promises and performance; and the opportunity to debate these and relate them to their own concerns. Political parties have to be formed, agendas developed and support sought from the public. People need to develop the habit of political debate around content and issues rather than just personalities. All rely on effective communication channels, and opinion polls, assemblies and public debates, face-to-face canvassing and many other types of communication are critical to the quality of the political process (Newell and Wheeler, 2006).

8.1.1 The role of media as a tool in political communication

The developmental media practice sees the media as a vehicle for societal transformation. The role of media cannot be downplayed as a communication tool in the society. Most information is disseminated to the public through the different types of media. Evidently, in the media dominated and controlled environment of the 21st century, radio, newspapers, television, and the internet are playing an increasing role in political development by constantly informing and validating the views of the citizens, and by providing the information needed to shape their political thoughts and evaluations. Political trends in developing worlds would be difficult without the media moving or disseminating information speedily around urban and rural communities, interpreting and analyzing issues affecting all stakeholders, informing the citizens about the outcomes of current debates, and influencing their decisions with appropriate data sources. Diamond (2004) holds that political development occurs in an environment in which the citizens are well educated with political news, activities, and processes, and in which they are allowed and encouraged to participate equally and to play critical roles. Its fundamental functions include: flow of information, interpretation and acting as the watchdog for the society.

8.1.2 Flow of information

Individuals and society can only advance if there is flow of communication as people are introduced to new ideas and views. With press freedom, we then know what the differing views in society are, opening the flow to debate, discussion, all of which are healthy functions of a democratic society. This enables the masses to interact and acquire new skills leading to their development. Unfortunately for the Kenyans, the fact that political offices become the basis for the rise of some yesterday’s paupers into financial giants today and shakers of the nation tomorrow; the media has been abused by the large number of the political elite class and their petty collaborators out to acquire state power at any level and keep it perpetually. This has not only created different forms of violence amongst the competitors for power positions but has equally turned the electorates and the masses at large, into the proverbial political cows that are continuously milked to death or worst still, slaughtered on a regular basis, to ensure that power is captured and sustained.

8.1.3 Interpretation

The media is used to interpret the information to the masses. Media communicators not only provide pages of facts and statistics that an average person might understand but sometimes weed out important issues and points in collaboration with Some of the desperate politicians who may consciously or unconsciously chase their opponents and critics into existential tombs or valleys of grumbling, where they can remain for some time or permanently, if they must stay alive.

8.1.4 Watchdogs

The media keeps vigil on the government actions while empowering people to hold the government accountable. This promotes democracy in a country and encourages development. As a nation, there are many events happening around us which may escape our attention if it were not for the media’s focus on such issues as the sugar saga, Karen land saga, Lang’ata Road primary school saga among others. The media must be relevant in the whole process of national development, in order to help in the democratic transformation. For the media to
be responsible for the process of sustainable national democracy, it should promote peace while ensuring that it creates a peaceful body polity in the state McQuail (2005). There is a call on the media and the government to work together and ensure that they assist in planned and beneficial development of the country. By the press assisting and supporting the government, the media is indirectly developing democracy and society at large. Meyer (2009) argued that politics is nothing but communications. It is this political communication that shapes the political behaviour of the citizenry of any country. “In democracies, the media has a complex relationship with sources of power and political system.

8.1.5 Campaign

The media plays an instrumental role during the campaign periods. The opinion of the masses is majorly influenced by it. During campaigns, the media guarantees citizens their freedom and safety. Besides influencing the public views, it has the following functions during campaigns:

(a) Articulating policies

In democratic theory, elections are the source of power for the public, but in order to exercise its power effectively, it has to know the candidates’ and political parties’ stand on public policies, as Folarin (1998) has argued, the media must contribute to the socioeconomic development of the nation in which they exist. One cannot forget that political development of a state is often enhanced through critical media reportage and especially at the time of campaign.

(b) Press Freedom, Democratic Governance, and Political Development

The public broadcaster is mandated to give equitable media access to the candidates. This has not always been the case as the perceived stronger candidates receive more airtime than weak once e.g. the Zimbabwean 2000 referendum where both radio and television run by Zimbabwean broadcasting cooperation gave unbalanced coverage to the Zimbabwean ruling party. A quantitative study conducted by the media monitoring project in Zimbabwe revealed that the ruling party and government received 53% constitutional commissioners: 18% other ‘yes’ voices, another 18% news readers: 6% members of the public 4% and opposition 1%. The media offers service to their audiences, to whom they provide information and views. In order to perform this service, they need to be independent of the state and of powerful interests” (McQuail, 2005).

Many candidates and their staff are of the view that the media should be used mainly to promote and advertise campaigns and not to inform or educate the electorates. If any law of politics is true, it is that unmanaged news is the politicians’ worst enemy.

The media report politics or campaigns as the professionals want them reported. The media has been known to concentrate on candidates they presume bring in good ratings. Kenya had its first presidential debate in 2012 which contributed to the public’s perception of the individuals. Other democracies even though they have had debates, transmitted for a long time, it is argued that the candidates deal in placards, symbols and images to avoid controversies and contradictions. The overriding objective is to sell oneself and not one’s programme.

In Nigeria’s 2007 elections, there was significant state ownership and control over the state media which negatively influenced the coverage in favour of the incumbent party. Numerous complaints were received by the opposition candidates who claimed they were denied airtime. (Report on Nigeria election 2007, Common Wealth observer group)

8.2 Civil Society and Political Communication

Theoretical and academic discourses on civil society can be traced back to the 17th and 18th Century enlightenment ideas. In particular, the grounding premise as spelt out by John Lock, Rousseau, and later Adam Smith and John Stewart Mill, presupposes the existence of an unrepresentative monarchy, an emergent bureaucracy and an incipient middle class that is conversant with interest articulation and pressure group politics. Others who have contributed to the literature on the concept of civil society include Hegel and Marx. (Wanyande, 2001)

Taking a different approach, Alfred Stepan looks at civil society not as emerging from any particular class but as the arena where manifold social movements and civic organizations from all classes attempt to constitute themselves in an ensemble of arrangements so that they can express themselves and advance their interests (Quoted in Nyang'oro, 1993:54-55)

Bayart on the other hand quotes Fossaert (1981) as having defined civil society as "society in its relation with the state... in so far as it is in confrontation with the state" (Bayart, 1986: 111). It is true in all the above theoretical debate that there is a conceptual distance between the state and a politically relevant elite, the educated middle class who, in most developing societies, constitute the core of civil associations. It is unfortunate that of these early writings on civil society, there is the tendency to regard civil society and its relation to the state as always conflictual. (Wanyande, 2001)

While not being an integral part of the state, these associations non-the-less interact with the state in the course of advancing their interests. The civil society may focuses on political empowerment of the citizenry or improvement in the material well being of the populace. Some of their interactions may indeed combine these
functions and interests. Citizens make sense of the political world and their role in it through their activity in community and interest groups (Wanyande, 2001).

9. Recommendations
The word media should be elaborately defined to include the different types of media: that is, local language stations, mainstream media, community media, government media international media, sms messages and social media. The law should be clear on the definition of media so that information is filtered before it goes to the public.

KBC as a state broadcaster has a duty to ensure equitable broadcasting during elections. This is through allocation of equal airtime to all candidates (Report on Nigeria election 2007, Common Wealth observer group). It has also to ensure that it remains objective in its communication and does not take sides with any of the political parties or candidates. Since the law provides that the media should report objectively and without bias, the actors ought to ensure strict supervision of all the media houses and strict implementation of the law if political communication is to achieve its objective. Private media on the other hand is not bound to give equitable coverage. Theirs is a business and hence the main focus is making profits rather than equitable coverage. They sell airtime to the highest bidder or to the most viewers. Where politicians own media houses they decline to broadcast on their competitors. The private media owners publicise their biases to the public and campaign their preferred party candidates (Tracy, 2013).

Communication is very essential at the policy level in both developed and developing countries as the provision of services involves choices on how to allocate resources and deliver services most efficiently and equitably. These choices and ‘reforms’ cannot be possible if information and channels of communication are not clear and effectively provided. It is therefore, key that Irrespective of the rights and wrongs of different approaches, consultation with and participation of the public in the decision making process is essential to ensure that the needs of all are addressed and to help gain consent to and ownership of whatever policies are chosen by any government. This is in line that political offices are meant to serve the citizens and therefore, appropriate and rightful to provide needed information to all and sundry.

It is also important that politicians know that communication is a service delivery element. Without communication, the delivery of public services will not be more efficient and users will not have the opportunity to provide feedback and input on the design of service delivery. That is why it is proper to use mobile phones to provide public service information, e-complaint centres to track service-user satisfaction, and online waiting lists to measure satisfaction of the citizens on service delivery.

The use of political communication and information requires civic education. Enabling participation requires the education and mobilisation of service users through different communication, monitoring and feedback processes. Publication of statistical research and independent impact assessments, Citizen Report systems, telephone ‘hotlines’ and independent ombudsmen can give service users the capacity and tools they need. Lobbyists and advocates can also play important role in capacity building and creating awareness among citizens to enable them understand and gain knowledge about politics and the connection it has to development.

Conclusion
Where there is proper and effective political communication, definitely sustainable development will be realized. Kenya being in the global verge, she will not afford to be left behind when other countries are moving towards political communication for sustainable development. A sustainable political development environment in Kenya is critical and can be achieved through empowering the media with tools of objectivity and integrity, a position that has been supported by many scholars over decades of political independence and democratic governance in the global world. It is only about realizing her citizens’ needs and interests as well as allowing the media to play their role.

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