

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**The role of public diplomacy in influencing foreign relations in East Africa: A  
case study of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work, and it has not been submitted in any other institution for examination purposes.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family members, friends, diplomacy students the class of 2018, and my lectures in the institute of diplomacy and international studies for the support they have given me.

To my parents, thank you for the love you have shown me, by believing in my potential, may God bless them abundantly. To my younger brother Joshua, thank you for being there for me during my studies. And encouraging me to explore my potential and focus on my purpose as the future. To my elder brother Dino, I thank God for you being part of our family and showing me the value of securing priorities and opportunities in life through your life experiences. May God protect and guide you.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CGTV	China Global Communication Television
CNN	Central News Network
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FP	Foreign Policy
IR	International Relations
KTN	Kenya Television Network
NACOST I	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NOCFL	National Office of Chinese Foreign Languages
NTV	National Television Network
PD	Public Diplomacy
PRC	People's Republic of China
T.V	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UK	United Kingdom
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
USAID	United States Agency of International Development
USA	United States of America
USIA	United States Information Agency



## **ABSTRACT**

This study analyses the role of public diplomacy in influencing foreign relations in East Africa; a case study of Kenya. This research study will be guided by the following objectives; 1) To assess the role of Kenya's public diplomacy in East Africa's Region. 2) To examine strategies used by Kenya at influencing its public diplomacy in East Africa Region. 3) To find out the challenges Kenya is facing when implementing its public diplomacy in the East Africa region. As a case study, this research is designed to examine and determine the role and impact of public diplomacy in influencing the outcome of Kenya engaging in foreign relations with the East Africa Community at both the regional level and international arena. This study applies International Liberalism theory and Realism theory to evaluate the relation between the public diplomacy and foreign relations, as the study relates the liberal standards enlightening the objectives of foreign relations in different states, both developing and developed states. The realism theory argues that people prefer peace to war, while the theory of liberalism indicates on how different states have decided to use soft power to influence and attract other states in engaging with them in foreign relations. The media facilitate the public opinion of the targeted foreign audience and hence the media is important in policy decision making. The data will be collected at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as selected foreign diplomatic missions based in Nairobi. It is proven how public diplomacy plays a harmonizing function of influencing foreign relations. The study hence recommends that Kenya should launch a strong regional media network, an effective diplomacy strategy to bridge the gaps in foreign relations process and train diplomats on effective public relations. The study further recommends research into the new tactics applied in public diplomacy to impact on diplomatic engagements and an inquiry into the effective ways of strategic requirements needed to integrate public diplomacy as a tool of influencing foreign relations by governments in Africa.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 Background to the Study

### 1.1 Introduction

The evolution of public diplomacy began in the United States of America way back in the 1950s; it was later joined by the United States former diplomat Mr. Edmund Gullion, who was also the Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in the 1960s. Until the mid-1990s, public diplomacy started being practiced outside the United States, and other superpowers adopted it.<sup>1</sup> For instance Western Europe, Soviet Union, Canada, East Asia. There was a huge critique throughout the Cold war period about the role of public diplomacy. Until the terror attack that occurred on 11 September 2001 in the United States from the Middle East that triggered a huge debate that saw the change in the perception of public diplomacy, hence is being referred to as the new public diplomacy.<sup>2</sup>

Different scholars define public diplomacy in a manner in which they comprehend their roles. Paul Sharp, he defines public diplomacy as a process of persuasion used by a nation to directly gain relations to improve the interests and spread out the morals of those being represented, hence indicating the ripe moment is at hand<sup>3</sup>. Gregory, defined public diplomacy as a mechanism that is being used by non-state actors, state actors, some sub-nations and organizations of government to get a better comprehension about cultures, attitudes, and characters; to build and

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<sup>1</sup>The Cato Handbook for Congress.1994.The Cato Institute: Washington DC

<sup>2</sup> Cull,N,J.2009.Public Diplomacy:Lessons from the Past,CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy.Figueroa Press:Los Angeles ,CA.

<sup>3</sup>Margret D. Tutwiler, 'US Image Abroad will take years to Repair, Official Testifies,' The New York Times,5 February; and the US Government's attempts to coordinate public diplomacy, first through the State Department(1999)and more recently through the White House Office of Global Communications, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ogc/aboutogc.html>.

accomplish relations to impact opinions and mobilize activities to improve their interests and morals.<sup>4</sup>

During the cold war era, the superpowers, the United States of America, the former Soviet Union, and Europe's three main powers capitalized immensely in communication to the entire globe. International politics involved conventional diplomatic actions, and public diplomacy was influenced on a parallel track. It was at this juncture that public diplomacy was seen as an essential tool of soft power.<sup>5</sup> The strength and weaknesses of public diplomacy are easily learned by other states looking at how the United States has used Public diplomacy in international relations in the current globe. The United States' aim in public diplomacy is to win the hearts and minds of foreigners.

It is easy to tell from the United States that a nation cannot attain its public diplomacy goals if it is varying with a state's foreign policy or military action. This is well demonstrated by the United States having its military troops in the Middle East; this has raised several questions on the integrity of the United States public diplomacy.<sup>6</sup> A state should develop its public diplomacy concerning medium-term objectives and long-term goals, establishing trust and reliability. By this, it is recommended for the state to aim at mobilizing the locale dynamics, which involve the psychological and political surroundings where other nations hold debates about attitudes and policies.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Gregory, B. (2011), 'American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation,' *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*(6:3/4):353

<sup>5</sup>Hans, N. Tuch , 1990. *communicating with the world: US Public Diplomacy Overseas* (New York: St Martin's Press);and Wilson, P. Dizard,2004. *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of US Information Agency* (Boulder CO and Lynne Reinner:London..

<sup>6</sup>See, for instance, reports on public diplomacy by the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institution, the United States Institute of Peace, the Centre for Security and International Studies, the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and various US Congressional reports.

<sup>7</sup>Mellisen, J. 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy; Soft Power in International Relations*. Public Affairs ; New York.

It is through the United States Information Agency that the United States made a massive step in the use of public diplomacy, which is between the 1950s and 1990s. In contrast, from Europe, Germany used Goethe cultural institute to influence its public diplomacy internationally. The United Kingdom used the British Council as a medium of public diplomacy with other states. As the new European concept was being created, Germany saw the urge to establish its public diplomacy after the Federal Republic's foundation even though it was being practiced under a different name. Germany's relationship with its neighbors like France and the Netherlands presaged the later significance of public diplomacy in the European Union. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Europe showed a lot of interest in public diplomacy practices from economic, social and political devotions. According to the report in 2002 from the German Foreign ministry, it quotes about public diplomacy, “*in Europe Public Diplomacy is viewed the number one priority over the whole spectrum of issues*”.<sup>8</sup>

The main reason for having public diplomacy in Europe was to create a huge impact on persuading bigger opinions in foreign societies. At this point, the Netherlands begin to focus on ethical matters like euthanasia and homosexuality, which were perceived by many foreigners as trademarks in their societies. Spain started engaging in international relations after it transitioned to democracy, as it viewed democracy as its modernity. Public diplomacy in Europe was mostly state motivated; they had social concerns like ethical matters, immigration, integration, and cross-border environmental and public health matters. Though, the traditional idea of states using public diplomacy as a state brand project and promotion in trade promotion and tourism sectors is still used, mostly by governments that have less experience in public diplomacy<sup>9</sup>The Swedish

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<sup>8</sup>Ambassador K.T.2002.Paschke,Report on the Special Inspection of 14 German Embassies in the Countries of the European Union. Auswartiges amt: Berlin.

<sup>9</sup>Anholt, S. 2007. Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities, and Regions, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Armsterdam.

state perceives public diplomacy as an effort that is sustained in developing Sweden's brand uniqueness, brand Sweden which has outstanding advances, like the virtual meeting places.<sup>10</sup>

Looking at East Asia, the People's Republic of China has played its public diplomacy massively to Africa states to the point of causing a threat to the West. In this 21<sup>st</sup> Century, China is leading to central coordination in public diplomacy. Examining most states' public diplomacy from the global south, they are using public diplomacy to serve their vital interest in the regional and international arena. Many have strong economic aims. At the time of the cold war, in most global south states, public diplomacy was not an essential matter in the poverty-stricken part of the globe. Still, the contribution of nation branding to a state's development was a concern. There is a slow-growing interest in public diplomacy by the global south states.

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<sup>10</sup>Pamment , J. 2011a. Innovations in Public Diplomacy and National Brands: Inside the House of Sweden,' Place Branding and Public Diplomacy: Sweden.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Practicing and trained diplomats do put into practice the tools and strategies of international relations in specific diplomacy and public relations to propel dialogues on acknowledged and mutual objectives which are projecting in relationship building so as to connect with the public at both mass and elite levels.<sup>11</sup> One of the major roles of public diplomacy is to influence foreign policy, developed states like the United States and United Kingdom have conducted several research studies on the role and the kind of influence public diplomacy has globally, comparing to the research done by developing or under developed states. This has left little or minimal research on public diplomacy in the developing countries leading to many issues cropping up on the effectiveness of the concept of public diplomacy in developing and underdeveloped states<sup>12</sup>.

Due to globalization, the advancement in communication technology has brought about numerous issues on news analysis, news dissemination, problems regarding to public opinions, how to access information and how state-owned media channels switch and broadcast information bring along confusion to the public. Many are a time when the citizens do not trust the information that the regime shares out to the public both at local, national, regional and international level. This is because the citizens tend to believe that state owned media, air or print biased information to sell their reputation on international plat forms; and the public that is not keen to listen and understand the value of the information being shared.

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<sup>11</sup>Ayuma, Lucia S.2014.Role of Public Diplomacy in pursuit of Kenyans National Interest. Phd Idis...Univerristy of Nairobi:Nairobi.

<sup>12</sup>Zahama R,S. 2004. "From propaganda to public diplomacy in the information age." War, media and propaganda .A global perspective.

### **1.3 Research questions**

- i. What role does Kenya's public diplomacy have in the East Africa region?
- ii. What are the strategies that Kenya's public diplomacy is using at influencing the East Africa region?
- iii. What are the challenges that Kenya is facing when implementing its public diplomacy in the East Africa region?

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.4.1 The study is guided by the following objectives**

- i. To assess the role of Kenya's public diplomacy in East Africa's Region.
- ii. To examine strategies used by Kenya at influencing its public diplomacy in the East Africa Region.
- iii. To find out the challenges, Kenya is facing when implementing its public diplomacy in the East Africa region.

### **1.5.0 Literature Review**

#### **1.5.1 Related concepts to public diplomacy**

When discussing public diplomacy, some concepts need attention, namely; propaganda, nation-branding, media and the three layers of public diplomacy (monologue, dialogue and collaboration).

#### **1.5.2 Propaganda and Public diplomacy**

Welch defines propaganda as an attempt done intentionally to influence the listeners via the transmission of ideas and values for the intended aim, which is intentionally planned to serve the importance of the propagandist and their political leaders, either directly or

indirectly.<sup>13</sup> Differences of both propaganda and public diplomacy do lie between the modes of communication that is being used. Students of traditional diplomacy interpret diplomacy as a corrupted useful form of diplomatic communication, hence not necessitated to be anti-diplomatic. In the writings of Richard Holbrooke, he states, “ Call it public diplomacy, call it public affairs, psychological warfare, if you really want to be blunt, propaganda”.<sup>14</sup> Propaganda has two main characteristics that are; its historical baggage and the prominent comprehension in the manner in which propaganda manipulates and deceits the foreign publics. The concept of propaganda is considered to be having a negative meaning, which was encouraged by memories of Nazi and the communist propaganda, the strategies of the cold war and the recent mental acts in post-Cold war dispute.

For propaganda to be considered to be a useful concept Nick Cull's argument will have to be considered; he states that it first has to be divested of its pejorative connotations. About this view, propaganda is used as a broad range and a political action used to neutralize ethical matters, for it to be differentiated from information and education. The difference among propaganda and education and information is; propaganda tells people what to think, whereas, the main aim of education and information is widening the people's views and opening their minds, contrary to propaganda which tends to brainwash and narrow their minds.<sup>15</sup> States have really tried their best at fooling the foreign public via public diplomacy, for instance when governments are conveying formal information via campaigns which are directed to other states' citizens, mostly it is done in a one way messaging, where numerous states which pay lip-service

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<sup>13</sup>Welch,D.1999. 'Powers of Persuasion', History Today,49.Discussion Papers in Diplomacy no.95, Netherlands Institute of International Relations. The Hague: Clingendael.

<sup>14</sup>Holbrooke,R.2001. 'Get the Messenge Out'. Washington Post.

<sup>15</sup>Cull,J.N.,Culbert,D., and Welch,D.2003.Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia,1500 to the present.Oxford and Santa Barbara :CA.



to public diplomacy do possess a superior track record in the manipulative arena of the opinion given by citizens.

When looking at modern public diplomacy, there is a realization that it is a 'two way street', considering that the practicing diplomat will have to put the interest of his or her state first and the goals and objectives of the state's foreign policy. By this, public diplomacy is viewed as the persuasion by the use of dialogue, basing it on a liberal concept of communication with the foreign communities. According to this text, it refers to public diplomacy as a mode of persuasion used as dialogue at basing it on a liberal view of communicating with the foreign communities. Unlike propaganda, public diplomacy tries to give an ear to the opinion of the public. In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, the new public diplomacy is developing at a high rate, hence a realization that public diplomacy is not a one-way messaging model. During a British Council conference, one senior diplomat stated that *the world is fed up with hearing us talk: what it actually wants is for us to shut up and listen.*<sup>16</sup>

### **1.5.3 Public diplomacy and nation branding**

When a state is branding itself, it requires a lot of coordination from the head of state to the political leaders from both the ruling party and the opposition party, and organizations that are involved in making political and public policies in that country, in order to promote the state's image internationally. The concept of nation-branding or rebranding is what attracts other foreign states to enter into a foreign relation with the state. The foreign states do look at the economic powers of that state, military power and geographical position at the international arena.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>I owe this quotation to Martin Rose from counterpoint, and the cultural relations think tank of the British Council.

<sup>17</sup>Mellisen, J. 2004. 'Where is Place Branding Heading,' Place Branding. Palgrave: New York

There are two distinct conceptions between public diplomacy and nation-branding. Whereby nation-branding emphasizes on a state's recognition, and it mirrors its aims, but it does not go any extra on a state's social realities. Branding an art that makes a state unique in the eye of the foreign public; hence it reshapes a state's self-perception. It is crucial to state that, the new public diplomacy is not trying to outsmart nation branding anywhere, this is evident when observing most states, which are putting extra efforts at branding and marketing their foreign policies from economic, cultural, diplomatic, social, and political and education systems. National-branding is all about selling and projection of a state's recognition internationally. Public diplomacy and branding are inseparable because they both have similar aims of targeting the foreign communities but do entail essential significance of domestic element. Both public diplomacy and nation-branding are seen to be successful if they settle on long term goals and techniques by other states.<sup>18</sup>

The slight difference from branding is, public diplomacy aims at supporting and sustaining cordial relations globally. In Laurie Wilson's writings on the creation of strategic cooperative communities, which also applies to public diplomacy; she concludes by saying, *it is important for practionnaiers to devote some to me to identifying and building relationships, or they will forever be caught in the reactive mode of addressing immediate problems with no long-term vision or coordination of strategic efforts. It is like being trapped in a leaky boat: If you spend all your time bailing and none of it rowing, you will never get to shore.*<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Mellisen,J. 2004. 'Publieksdiplomatie: eengeode tandem met branding' ,in H. H .Duijvestijn et.al., Branding NL: Nedeland alsmek (Den Haag: Stichting Maatshappij en Oudememing ).

<sup>19</sup>Wilson,J,L. 1996. Strategic Cooperative Communities: A synthesis of Strategic, Issue-Management, and Relationship-Building Approaches in Public Relations,' in Hung M. Culbertson and Ni Chen(eds),International Public Relations: A Comparative Analysis. Lawrence Erlbaum: Mahwah NJ.

The other conceptual difference between public diplomacy and nation branding is played out when states are doing their campaigns; this is well played by the level of branding which bypasses the restricted objectives and modernity of most public diplomacy.

#### **1.5.4 Public diplomacy and the three layers of public diplomacy**

Due to public diplomacy involving communication between and among involved parties and conveying information to the public, the involved actors may decide on which model of communication they may want to use. By this, they will have to look at the circumstances leading to the information to be given out, time, the embattled addressees and the features of the orator. This is because any information being given out by a state will attract its citizens, the foreign community and the aggressive global arena; hence, its interpretation will rely on the listeners too<sup>20</sup>. In the past decade, many scholars and practitioners have urged on the urgency of public diplomacy is practiced from a monologue point of communication to a dialogue centered public diplomacy and later to collaboration between parties and states being involved.<sup>21</sup>

Monologue mode of communication, dialogue mode of communication and collaborative mode of communication are all crucial tools of public diplomacy. When a state concentrates on relationship building with its neighbors at all levels, is what is considered to differentiate public diplomacy from propaganda, lobbying, and public relations. How states distribute their global outreach campaigns and initiatives, public diplomacy activities even if when they are in the short term or long term, these are viewed to be operative by establishing meaningful relations by the foreign publics.<sup>22</sup>The analysis of how a state or an orator can use a speech to motivate his or her or its public and the international arena in championing for peace, war, and reconciliation is well

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<sup>20</sup>Mellisen, J, ed. 2005b. The New Public Diplomacy. Palgrave: New York.

<sup>21</sup>Shaun, R. 2004. Dialogue-based public diplomacy; A new foreign policy paradigm? Discussion papers in Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, The Hague.

<sup>22</sup>Mellisen, J, ed. 2005b. The New Public Diplomacy: Between theory and practice The New Public Diplomacy ,edp..New Yoek: Palgrave.

elaborated since the times of philosophers like Aristotle and scholars of rhetoric and communication.<sup>23</sup>

### **1.5.5 Monologue as a tool of public diplomacy**

Monologue is a one-way mode of communication that is characterized by one person or state giving out orders or information by not allowing his listeners to respond or challenge the kind of information delivered to the audience, hence it is sometimes viewed as a closed container form of communication.<sup>24</sup> There are different forms of monologues, namely; vocalizations; articles; decrees; press releases and cultural works for example; movies, books, poetry and works of virtual art. They all have an aim at the end of it, and its purpose is to deliver a message, an idea, a vision or perspective to be presented powerfully and evidently. These kinds of monologues may end up leading to a dialogue after entering the marketplace of ideologies and eventually leading to forming collaboration. Most states issue out a government address or document for clarification purposes so as the global community may know where it stands for some cases, for example the American Declaration of Independence.

The reputation of state can be defined by popular entertainment products, international news flow, and the circulation of private information or misinformation about the local domain. With the current technology advancement, a state may design information for its local intake, but this information may end up reaching the global viewers who may misinterpret the information in relation to their own experiences, cultures and political needs. The international communications surrounding may make it certain that sometimes worse or better, for one way information are conducted trans-nationally on a daily, hourly, and even minute-to-minute base, and this may take

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<sup>23</sup>Lnadtsheer , Christ's de, and Ofer Feldman.2000.Beyond public speech and symbols: Explorations in the rhetoric of politicians and the media. Westport, CT: Praeger.

<sup>24</sup>Katz,Elihu, and Tamar Liebes.1985.Mutual aid in the decoding of Dallas: Preliminary notes from a cross-cultural study. In Television in Transition ,ed. P. Drummond and R.Paterson,187-98.London:BFI

place internal and external borders of official state initiated or sponsored public diplomacy. Due to globalization, public diplomacy is conducted by private groups and actors, this has made many states to be extra keen on the kind of information and issues they do address in order to maintain and improve the nation image. Governments should be well informed of and respond to any kind of information shared by these private actors to maintain a positive image internationally. Most diplomats do rely on self-contained form of communication in many situations.

### **1.5.6 Dialogue as a tool of public diplomacy**

Dialogue; is defined as a multidirectional process via which concepts and information are transmitted in a reciprocal way.<sup>25</sup> These ideas are conveyed in different forms of modes of dialogue like formal summits which are attended by elites, academic conferences, in call-in talk shows, on interactive Web sites, and via public participation in cross-cultural sports, cinema and arts projects. In Martin Buber writings on theories of dialogic communication, makes distinct definitions between technical dialogue and true dialogue. These two dialogues can be used to boost the goals of public diplomacy, because they sometimes lay a ground for deeper connection. He defines technical dialogue as a process via which thoughts and information are substituted while true dialogue refers to a form of communication that parties involved engage in willingly and flexibly in order to establish a true relationship by sharing information, in that emotions are controlled and dominance is reduced.<sup>26</sup>

When parties are engaging in a dialogue, there must be mutual respect for each other, ready and willing to listen to each other's views concerning the matter on the table and they must have a mutual goal of establishing a long lasting relationship. Hence, they should view dialogue as an approach used to improve relationships and increasing comprehension, without having an aim of

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<sup>25</sup>Ellionor, Linda, and Glenna Gerard.1998.Dialogue: Rediscover the transforming power of conversation. New York: John Wiley.

<sup>26</sup>Buber,M.1958.I and Thou .New York: Scribner.

arriving an agreement or winning a dispute. A reciprocal form of conversation is essential in that, it should aim at establishing a long lasting relationship between people; this is aimed at those political leaders who listen to the public's views and opinions more than to their personal perspective of viewing issues in the society. According to (Dolinski, Nawrat and Rudak), when a request is made, people tend to reply, mostly when they are involved.<sup>27</sup>

Due to technology advancement, the radio and television shows like the Voice of America announced its intention to move from monologue to dialogue in the year 1994. This is because they were able to incorporate call-in talk show programs. It did so because it believed that people listened a lot to the ongoing conversations/debates and even made it more interesting when they realized that other people from different regions were listening to their views and contributing their ideas. It is via these call-in talk shows that public diplomacy is able to broaden from a monologue level to a dialogue level. Citizens feel good when their voices are heard by political leaders and the state at large. After the bold move the Voice of America did, these led to panic around the listeners who were worried about the call-in shows because you will never know who was calling and if the caller's comments were to be provocative and lead to a conflict of interest in any area which was being debated. Later on, the Voice of America, started airing over a dozen different languages so as to reach its different fan base internationally.<sup>28</sup>

The World Bank did a survey on the Voices of the poor at an international arena without discrimination. They picked on sixty thousand people who lived below the poverty line; the main aim of the survey targeted the need to be heard as an essential human nature. The outcome of this survey was that, all participants were united by their desire for a 'voice'. Most public diplomacy

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<sup>27</sup>Dolinski,Dariusz,Magdalene,Nawrat,and Izabela Rudak.2001.Dialogue involvement as a social influence technique.Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

<sup>28</sup>Kurt,A.A.1999.Leading through communication,conversation and dialogue.Leadership and Organization Development Journal 20(5):231-41

scholars and practitioners have urged for the importance of a rise for an intra-national exchange of ideas, the establishment of a 'global public diplomacy' and a 'talk of culture'.<sup>29</sup>

Dialogue is viewed as a symbolic tool used at emphasizing about a reasonable public engaging in a debate on a certain matter to find a sensible tactic to disagree and as a device of overcoming stereotypes and duplicating affairs across social boundaries. It is evident that when parties engage in a dialogue in the required conditions, may play a role of bridging social obstacles and nurturing concern across groups.<sup>30</sup>

United States of America is the only international superpower in the globe. This has led people from different states wanting to interact with people living there and all states wanting a share in signing treaties with it either bilateral or multilateral agreements. This has led many people developing their own websites to secure space for their voices to be heard; for example Theworldvotes.org, www.sorryeverybody.com, My Letters to America. Most states face the same challenges regardless of their economic powers either industrialized or not, matters like trade, terrorism attacks, military conflicts to human rights, such matters do lead to debates, this leads to people and states having the same desire of their voices to be heard by other states, political leaders from different states and citizens from the foreign states and regional powers. The main reason for doing so is, to find a way for their voices to be heard, listened to, this makes the citizens have a sense of belonging.

When a state gives an ear to the public opinion, these opinions may help a state find a better way of articulating their policies. Dialogue may or may not lead to changing a state's foreign policy. According to Allport's research results on dialogue, he came up with a hypothesis outlining the value of engaging in an interaction. For parties to engage in a dialogue they have to follow some

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<sup>29</sup>Marc,L.,2000.The dialogue of civilizations and international public sphere. Millennium Journal of International Studies 29(2):307-30.

<sup>30</sup>Bathany, B. H.2000.Guided evolution of society: A systems view. Kluwer Academic/Plenum:New York.

conditions, which are; i) There must be equality in both parties participating in the dialogue; ii) Both parties should have a common goal for engaging in a coalition; iii) The parties involved in the dialogue should not see it as a race to achieve a specific interest favoring only one party; iv) Social norms should guide the dialogue.<sup>31</sup>

### **1.5.7 Collaboration as a tool of public diplomacy**

Collaboration refers to inventiveness molded by parties from different states are involved in a long term or short-term projects together in order to attain a specific goal. Short term projects can be like scripting a movie, being a content creator by writing music so as to convey a message to the foreign public or its citizens, while long term projects are like a side by side involvement in natural disaster reconstruction attempts. Collaboration is figured out in different forms: some may concentrate on solving a shared issue or dispute by a community or states, some focus on improving shared visions, and some on completing a physical project.<sup>32</sup> Ever since the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002 terrorist attack on the United States of America, most states started to advocate on the need of collaborating with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) conducting public diplomacy campaigns.<sup>33</sup>

Collaboration between states brings out many benefits including : team building, business cooperation, social capital, conflict prevention, democracy building, and development. All these activities are performed when parties involved build trust between and among

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<sup>31</sup>Gordon, A. W. 1954. The nature of prejudice. Addison-Wesley: Cambridge. MA.

<sup>32</sup>Lodgod, J. 1991. Interests and interdependence in the formation of social problem solving collaborations: Journal of Applied Behavioral Science.

<sup>33</sup>Government Accountability Office. 2006. U.S. public diplomacy State Department efforts to engage Muslim audiences lack certain communication elements and face significant challenges. GAO-06-535. Report on the chairman, subcommittee on Science, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and Related Agencies. Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, May. Washington. DC: Government Printing Office.



themselves.<sup>34</sup> When parties decide to engage in collaboration, activity they do end up gaining respect for each other, respect from their supporters, and their constituents. Social capital is one of the most looked upon benefits of collaboration between states. According to Coleman and Putnam, they define social capital as an essential significance in plans, networks and partnerships that take place both within and between groups, simply because their value is based on social trust, encouraging norms of interchange, hence establishing stores of goodwill that do attest invaluable during the times of crisis.<sup>35</sup>

The World Bank is one of the most recognized organizations that is supporting developments in different states and between and among states that show interest in those projects. Over the past twenty years, different states have embraced social capital related plans in their states. For instance, projects like, establishing democracy, global development and community building. There is clear evidence when states cooperate in collaborating in a certain project leading to them bonding and building trust among and between them. When states bridge racial, social, ethnic, gender and state divides and collaborate in a project, they lead to initiate activities such as democracy building, they increase social and political trust, they help in amending social, political, and ethnic dispute.<sup>36</sup> When states have strong system of connection, and cooperative organizations this leads to a reduction of corruption.<sup>37</sup>

For exchange states can use culture and sports as a tool to engage into collaboration or regional partnership. For example, South Africa has experienced a tremendous success and collaboration within and outside the African continent after the post-apartheid era, when it launched the

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<sup>34</sup> Mark, L. and Small, A., 2005. British Public Diplomacy in the "age of schisms". Foreign Policy Centre: London.

<sup>35</sup> Coleman, J.S. 1988. Social Capital in the creation of human capital. American Journal of Sociology 94: S95-S120 <sup>36</sup> Ashutosh, V. 2003. Ethnic conflict and civil life: Hindus and Muslims in India. University Press: New Haven, CT: Yale.

<sup>37</sup> Colleta, N.J. 2000. Violent conflict and the transformation of social capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia. World Bank: Washington DC.

African Renaissance Campaign, which supported pan-African economic liberalization and integration, democratization, and peace building.<sup>38</sup> Sports as a form of culture bring states together even when there is tension between the two states leading to relationship building. For example when Aisam-UL-Haq, Qureshi, a Pakistani, and Amir Hada, formed a double team to play during the 2002 U.S.A Open. The fact that they faced domestic and international criticism. In conclusion, When a state is in a position of employing the appropriate tool to use in public diplomacy it will result in boosting the relationship that it is trying to build, these three tools of public diplomacy are very essential in promoting diplomacy, in that there is a realization in a well drafted dialogue leading to establishing a mutual comprehension, while a sensible collaboration leads to creation of trust and mutual respect between and among parties involved.<sup>39</sup>

### **1.5.8 Public diplomacy and media**

Most states use mass media and international broadcasting channels to initiate and engage the foreign public in public diplomacy, by doing so they do create a direct impact to the general public basing their relations on current affairs happening in their states. States do use mass media to win thoughts of other foreign states that are ruled by dictators. Mass media helps to build a better image of the country's policies, activities, social, economic and political system of the state. The public opinion of the targeted state is considered to help the persuading state to know what the foreign state is thinking about them by using public diplomacy as an instrument. The states do use public diplomacy to convey balanced information to the targeted state to meet the local propaganda of the targeted foreign community.

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<sup>38</sup> Mandela, N. 1994. Statement of the president of the Republic of South Africa. June 13. Organization of the African Unity Meeting, Tunis, Tunisia, June 15. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdoes/history/mandela/1994/sp940613.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Melissen, J., ed. 2005a. The new public diplomacy. Palgrave: New York.

## **1.6 Literature gap**

One of the major roles of public diplomacy is to influence foreign policy and foreign relations, in developed states like the United States and United Kingdom. They have conducted several research studies on the role and the kind of influence public diplomacy has globally, comparing to the research done by developing or under developed states. This has left little or minimal research on public diplomacy in the developing countries ,leading to many issues cropping up on the effectiveness of the concept of public diplomacy in developing and underdeveloped states.

There is a gap that is experienced in public diplomacy when it comes to the targeted public not comprehending the kind of information a state is sharing out, more so to the semi-elite public and the public that is not keen to listen and understand the value of the information being shared, they do perceive the information differently. This makes the concept of public diplomacy hard to apprehend. This leads to the main goals and objectives of public diplomacy not achieved.

It is against this knowledge gap that this study pursued to scrutinize public diplomacy as a tool of foreign relations precisely investigating the prospects and challenges for Kenya<sup>40</sup>. Globalization has made a domain where the public, governments, associations all depend on the means for communications like, daily papers, radio, TV, and the web.

The continent of Africa faces a lot of challenges when it comes to implementation of foreign policies and foreign relations<sup>41</sup>. For example, African states have difficulties when reuniting political principles with applied implementation of foreign policy. This has led to insecurity issues and peace globally, ever since most African States attained independence. Hence, there is

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<sup>40</sup>John, D. and Ospina,E. 2017. The coverage of China in the Latin American Press: Media framing study.

<sup>41</sup>Sule.A.2012.Challenges of foreign policy making and implementation in Nigeria: an insider's perspective.

a continuation of human rights being violated in various African states such as DRC, Somalia, South Sudan and CAR. In the horn of Africa, a lot of population is facing hunger and poverty issues.

This has led to many African states to be on toes to implement foreign policies and have good relations with their neighbors so as these goals are achieved. Due to globalization of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is an easy and effective spread of information among and between states by the use of media and social media. There is complication of activities that are negatively affecting implementation and influence of foreign relations and foreign policy. Public diplomacy is one of the forms. Previous studies have failed to fill that gap by not demonstrate holistic and comprehensive tactic on how states can utilize public diplomacy as a positive tool for diplomatic practice and influencing foreign relations.

## **1.7.0 Justification**

### **1.7.1 Academic justification**

From the literature review, a lot of research has been conducted on the role of public diplomacy, more so in the developed states. The accessible academic dissertation entails on topics such as terrorism, international communication, national branding and soft power. However, the existing research feedback has wide-ranging gaps on the role of public diplomacy. This study will add to the presented literature by giving intuitive assistance PD can influence foreign relations in East Africa. This research study will consequently enhance a good reputation towards appointment of PD in this course of action. Lastly, the study is supplementary vindicated by the fact that it brings up to date an already continuing influencing practice and possibly will offer a framework for further investigative interested in the field of public diplomacy.

### **1.7.2 Policy Justification**

The choice to influence will of course have important penalties for economic activities, employment, education, conflict management etc. at local, regional and international levels.

This research study will clarify on the role played by Public diplomacy, its strategies and policies spawn by it, this will supplement and enlighten policy makers on how to best carry out Public Diplomacy to lessen uncertainties of the unconstructive penalties of influencing. In the same span, findings and recommendations shall inform policy makers on ways to deal with existing and future challenges. Through the research findings, policy makers will be in a point to value the positive role that PD plays in influencing the region of East Africa. Justification

### **1.7.3 Research Hypotheses**

The study tested the following hypotheses

H1: Examination on the role of public diplomacy

H2: Application of strategies used in public diplomacy

H3: Investigation of challenges that face the practice of public diplomacy

### **1.8.0 Theoretical framework**

This research project was guided by two theories: the realism theory and the international liberalism theory of public diplomacy.

#### **1.8.1 Realism theory**

The theory of realism well defines the source and ancient advancement of public diplomacy. The two main assumptions that the realists base their agendas about public diplomacy are;1) the state is viewed as the core actor in international politics;2) the realist take national security matters

and political power as the chief concerns to be given the priority.<sup>42</sup> These two assumptions are that vital non-state communicators face challenges when they want to air their issues because the state controls most of the information being broadcasted to the international targeted public. Hence, *realpolitik* is played on the targeted foreign public by states. According to traditional realist public diplomacy, they state that the end communicator is the state and not the targeted foreign public; for example, this is applied when a state tries to change a foreign state's policy. Such a situation is done in a two-step process, where the public opinion is the major consideration used in determining molding the foreign policy of a state. The realists assume that the main objective of the two-step process is to influence the character of the foreign country to influence the attitude of its populaces.<sup>43</sup>

According to the perception that realist does have about the globe being ruled by an anarchy system of power, realist does believe that it is due to lack of trust between a neighboring state that states do find themselves exposed to 'security dilemmas'. Realists do champion for national security issues, by capitalizing on power hence finding public diplomacy in line with international power politics and state security.<sup>44</sup> Realist believes that public diplomacy emerged from war propaganda, by the Western states after world war I and II, where the two antagonizing states that are the United States of America and the Soviet Union engaged in a cold war. They did so that they can reduce the morale of enemy soldiers and citizens.<sup>45</sup>

Public diplomacy has its roots from the United States of America; hence, the realist intertwines their beliefs in alignment with the United States. The theme of the United States public

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<sup>42</sup>Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (1999). *International relations theory*. Allyn & Bacon: Boston.

<sup>43</sup>Malone, G. D. (1988). *Political advocacy and cultural communication: Organizing the nation's public diplomacy*. University of Press of America: Boston.

<sup>44</sup>Ninkovich, F. A. (1996). *U.S. information policy and cultural diplomacy*. Foreign

<sup>45</sup>Kunczik, M. (1997). *Images of nations and international public relations*. Lawrence Erlbaum: Mahwah, NJ

diplomacy was to win the hearts and minds of the foreign public, this is well adopted and applied by developing and underdeveloped states populace who have interacted with the American realist public diplomacy, by getting strategic aid through trade, economic, social, military and political. Due to the United States being a developed state, the developing and underdeveloped states faced challenges in implementing the Americans public diplomacy on a full scale. These led states from South America to use lobbying and public relations firms to outsource the American public diplomacy, later the term strategic public diplomacy emerged.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, the realist theory has the upper hand in public diplomacy because its focal points are the national security and states power at the international arena to the state's economic power, military strength. When states show interest when engaging in a foreign relation, they do look at areas such as the national security of the foreign state, geographical position of the state relying on trade policies, economic power and military power.

### **1.8.2 International Liberalism theory of public diplomacy**

Liberalism theory does view the state to be among the significant actors in public diplomacy and not the chief principal actor. Although it recognizes the state's behavior and influence at international politics.<sup>47</sup> Due to advancement in technology, liberalist does perceive national security and national interest from a broad perspective due to globalization; hence the world is being controlled by a state's soft power objectives and not military or hard power as the currency of the new world order.<sup>48</sup> Joseph Nye coined the term soft power in the mid-1980s, this term refers to a state's capability of using its culture, policies and ideals to appeal the international

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<sup>46</sup>Manheim, J. B. (1994). Strategic public diplomacy and American foreign policy: The evolution of influence. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>47</sup>Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (1999). International relations theory. Allyn & Bacon. Boston. <sup>48</sup>Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. (1977). Power and interdependence: World politics in transition. Little, Brown: Boston.

system to get what it wants, hence the state gets its interest.<sup>49</sup> The role of soft power before the eyes of liberalist with a complex working environment via which states use to convey a message.

The legitimacy and credibility of a state's soft power is what concerns public diplomacy liberalist because it is via a state's soft power resources that states do translate it to soft power. For example, the beauty of the United States relies on soft power resources such as its culture, political values such as democracy and human rights and policies.<sup>50</sup> Public diplomacy liberalist does share the same acknowledgement on the channels of communication used in communicating. They relate them to the four dimensions of globalization, namely; free flow of capital, trade, people and information all these are beyond the control of states.<sup>51</sup>

In conclusion, this paper envisions us on the importance of soft power of different states in this modern era. Soft power public diplomacy has been used for a commercial form by states. These states do use the targeted foreign public as the end partner of their communication in a one-step communication process as consumers of export, tourism and investors abroad. Most countries have launched different nation branding strategies to attract the international system by using their soft power resources. For example, "cool Britannia" "Think Canada" and "Dynamic Korea" during the 1990s and 2000, these states used these slogans to market their soft power resources.

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<sup>49</sup>Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power. The means to succeed in world politics.* Public Affairs: New York. <sup>50</sup>Nye, J. (2003). *The velvet hegemony.* Foreign Policy. Public Affairs: New York.

<sup>51</sup>Jeffe, E. D., & Nebenzahl, I. D. (2001). *National image and competitive advantage: The theory and practice of the country-of-origin effect.* Copenhagen Business School Press: Denmark.



## **1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section presents information on the research design, study site, target population, sampling techniques and sample size, research instruments, data collection methods, validity and reliability of data collection, data analysis as well as logistical and ethical considerations.

### **1.9.1 Research Methodology**

This refers to a scientific and systematic manner in which the researcher will solve the research problem. In this study, the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research methods.<sup>52</sup>The qualitative research provided typical narrative data gathered via Interviews. While, data gathered via questionnaires and interviews provided numerical data that quantified observations and instruments used during the research. Both qualitative and quantitative research models used in gathering appropriate data on the role of public diplomacy in influencing foreign relations in East Africa, a case study of Kenya.

### **1.9.2 Research Design**

The study adopted a descriptive case study research design to establish the role of public diplomacy at implementing foreign relations in Kenya. The purpose of descriptive research design is to secure evidence concerning all existing situations or concurrent conditions, identifies standards or norms with which to compare present conditions in order to plan how to take the next step and also where we are and where we are headed. Since the design is educational, descriptive case study design is more ideal for gathering data from the respondents in its natural form without manipulating the respondent to give irrelevant information. By this, the researcher asked all the respondents same questions to obtain valid data by considering the frequencies of their responses.

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<sup>52</sup>Cooper,D.R. and P.S. Schindler, Research Methods. (7<sup>th</sup> ed.)Irwin/McGraw-Hill:New York.

### 1.9.3 Study site

The research took place at three different embassies based in Nairobi, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two Media Houses based in Nairobi, embassies of East Africa, members and the Ministry of Communication. Being a cosmopolitan, the county comprises of people from different diversity, ethnically, linguistically and culturally, all representing the forty-four tribes of Kenya as a country. Kenya has already secured an international and regional position, and being a hub of the offices of the United Nations it has secured itself a strategic point of good diplomatic ties abroad.

### 1.9.4 Target Population

The target population is the theoretical lay down of objects, measures or personnel who the investigator desires to simplify the domino effect of the research.<sup>53</sup> The target population comprised of; one cabinet minister of foreign affairs, three policy makers, one minister for communication, three ambassadors, and two political journalists The researcher used this target population for data collection.

**Table 1**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Population</b>
Cabinet Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1
Policy makers	3
Minister for Communication	1
Ambassadors	3
Political journalist	2
Total population	10

**Source: Researcher**

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<sup>53</sup>Mugenda, O., and A.Mugenda.2003. 'Research methods: Quantitative and Qualitative methods.' Revised in Nairobi.

## **1.9.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size**

### **1.9.5.1 Sampling Techniques**

The sampling standard lies on the reality that the information acquired from the sample is hypothetical to be very sensible so as it would mirror the whole populace.<sup>54</sup> The researcher of this study used purposive sampling to select the various actors who play different roles in implementing foreign policy in Kenya.

### **1.9.5.2 Sample size**

The researcher used strategic sampling technique in choosing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Embassies and Kenyan Media Houses for conducting the research. The study sample size included; one Cabinet secretary of foreign affairs, one minister of communication, two political journalist, three ambassadors, and three policy makers. The total number of respondents was 10.

### **1.9.5.3.0 Data collection methods**

#### **1.9.5.3.1 Instruments for Data Collection**

The instruments to be used for data collection were well-constructed questionnaires, interview guides, and observation checklist. The development of the research tool was guided by the objectives of the study, sample population, and nature of research items.

#### **1.9.5.3.2. Questionnaires**

In this study, questionnaires were used to collect data within the shortest time period. They consisted of open-ended query to assemble feedback on the nature of the role of public diplomacy in implementing foreign policy, involvement of policy makers in implementation process of foreign policy, the strategies used by various actors in implementing foreign policy and barriers to timely implementation of foreign policy. The researcher used three sets of

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<sup>54</sup>Marshall,M. 1996. “ Sampling for qualitative research.” Family practice 13,no.6:522-526..

questionnaires for this study; one set was administered to the Cabinet Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the second set to an ambassador and third set to political journalist who is well up-dated on the Kenyan relations with foreign countries abroad.

#### **1.9.5.3.4 Interviews**

Interviews are regarded as an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest.<sup>55</sup> Through interviews, the interviewees can discuss their perception and interpretation in regards to the way they understand how Kenyan media helps public diplomacy in implementing foreign policy in Kenya, and selling of our national interest abroad.

#### **1.9.5.3.5 Observation Checklist**

To complement the questionnaires and interviews, an observation checklist was used to monitor the strategies used by various actors in influencing foreign policy in Kenya. This observation checklist is preferred, as it will verify the truth made by the respondents in the questionnaires.

#### **1.9.6 Validity and reliability of the Data Collection Instruments**

To ensure content validity, the research instruments were reviewed to ascertain their accuracy in capturing the purpose of the study. The researcher examined each item concerning its relevance to the variables under investigation and the research objectives. The various respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ambassadors from different embassies based in Kenya, were asked to read via the items on the questionnaires and give their comments on each item. To establish further validity, the researcher discussed instrumental validity with her supervisors and other experts at the University of Nairobi.

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<sup>55</sup>Kyale,S.2006. "Dominance through interviews and dialogues."Qualitative inquiry 12,no.3:280-500.

### **1.9.7 Data Collection Techniques**

The researcher used the observation checklist, interview guides and questionnaires in collecting data from the respondents, by this she first booked an appointment with the Cabinet Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign affairs in Kenya, so that she can get an accessibility to various respondents who undertake the exercise of implementing foreign policy and head of Mass Media Houses in Kenya, who help in selling out the national reputation to attract foreign countries in partnering with the Kenyan government. This was done during the first week. On the second week, the researcher went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to visit the target population and to administer questionnaires to the chosen civil servants, who are used as actors in implementing foreign policy, and also visit different embassies based in Kenya and administer the questionnaires to the head of missions in Kenya.

The respondents were given enough time to complete the filling of the questionnaires. On the third week, she conducted one on one interview guides with the minister of foreign affairs and permanent secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs and political journalist, and ambassadors from different countries. Noting down all their responses, after which she collected the filled questionnaires from various actors who play a role in influencing foreign policy in Kenya, and store the data well for data analysis.

### **1.9.8 Data Analysis and presentation**

The data was scrutinized qualitatively and quantitatively based on the research objectives. Qualitative data resulting from the open-ended questions of the interviews was analyzed thematically according to the research objectives, while the quantitative data collected from the questionnaires was coded, edited, organized and analyzed with the support of statistical package for social sciences (SPSS)(IBM statistics version 21). Several reversion analysis was used to show the relationship between the role of public diplomacy and strategies used by involved

actors in influencing foreign relations in Kenya. Definite goals attained by numerous factors influencing foreign relations were rated in order to get explicit graphic illustration. Then the data was presented in frequency, tables, charts, and graphs.

### **1.9.9 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher first pursued authorization to carry out this study. A preliminary letter was acquired from the University of Nairobi, and a license was required from the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI). To involve the acknowledged patrons in the study, an approval was sought after them, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and some Diplomatic Missions based in Nairobi.

The researcher guaranteed and curtailed the participants that all their responses would be preserved with the extreme privacy and only be used for the study. To augment the confidentiality of information given, names of participants were not included in the research tool.

### **1.20 Scope and limitation of the study**

The research study, took place at the premises of Nairobi city, since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Communication, and embassies are all based within and around the city.

The researcher experienced both financial and time challenges, since she did not have a one on one encounter with some actors.

#### **1.20.1 Chapter outline**

This research project is presented in five chapters;

Chapter 1: this is the proposal document

Chapter 2: discusses specific objective 1

Chapter 3: discusses specific objective 2

Chapter 4: discusses specific objective 3

Chapter 5: Has the summary of the research study, the conclusion and recommendations

## Chapter Two

### THE ROLE OF KENYA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN INFLUENCING THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY

#### 2.1 Introduction

PD is a terminology that is used frequently and put into practice by different states either the state is democratic or not. Most studies done on PD are focusing on the West, but due to technology advancement, scholars are diverting their research on PD to other states like Russia, East Asia and Africa.<sup>56</sup> PD is a tool of International Relations that is used by different states to communicate to the foreign publics, in order to sell their ideas and policies. The roles played by public diplomacy are: increasing awareness about the state, managing a good reputation of the state, changing attitudes of foreign publics, making a state attractive in front of the international arena.<sup>57</sup>

The first role that PD plays is to make the state attractive to the foreign community. Thus, the foreign citizens will get an opportunity of being familiar with their state's functions from the political system, economic system and social system of the state. When the foreign public is familiar with the states system they are able to be influenced and attracted to your states development hence leading to them being appreciative of your foreign policies thus starting to do foreign direct investments.<sup>58</sup> This role is well demonstrated when a state offers to give a cultural

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<sup>56</sup>Simons, G.(2011).Attempting to rebrand the branded: Russia's international image in the 21st century.Russia journal of communication,4(3/4).322-350.Summer/Fall.

<sup>57</sup>Coombs,W.T.,& Holladay,S.J.(2010).PR strategy and application: Managing influence. Wiley-Blackwell:Singapore.

<sup>58</sup>Stead,M.L., & Smewing, C. (2002).Public diplomacy. The Foreign Policy Centre: London.

funds targeting countries so as to generate friendliness with the youth of the state, for instance when the U.S.A will donate some money to empower innovative youths in Africa or Kenya.<sup>59</sup>

The second role of PD in a state is to promote the reputation of a state hence managing it via mass media communication. Due to advanced technology, states are able to afford to have their own satellites established in a foreign state hence enabling the foreign public being able to follow their activities via broadcasting either regional broadcasting or international broadcasting. This reduces the chances of the government information being distorted. The manner in which mass media covers a nation is very vital at this digitalized international arena. When a state has a good reputation mostly on human rights and security it attracts many foreigners to come live and invest there.<sup>60</sup>

It is through the advanced communication technology that the world is able to interact easily, hence leading to building relations internationally because of the increase in the speed of spreading information. When defining PD we do realize that PD is a communication approach used by states to entice the foreign public via their ideas, policies and innovations to support the state by migrating there or banking in that state. This sentence is supported by the Obama administration, which stated the value of the American public diplomacy policy to be the type of diplomacy that people are able to connect with, listens to and builds long-term relationships with stakeholders.<sup>61</sup> Public diplomacy plays a role of relationship building from regional level to

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<sup>59</sup>L'Etang, J. (2011).Public relations: Concepts, practice and critique. Sage Publishing: London.

<sup>60</sup>Coombs,W.T.,& Holladay,S.J.(2010).PR strategy and application: Managing influence, Singapore: Wiley-Blackwell

<sup>61</sup>Craig,H.2011."Beyond the "Obama effect": Refining the instruments of engagement through US public diplomacy." American Behavioral Scientist.



international level.<sup>62</sup> According to Gallon's integrated theory of public diplomacy, he emphasized on the significance of relationship in the three elements of public diplomacy. I) short to medium mediated public diplomacy, (ii) the medium to long term state building and state reputation,(iii)the long term relational public diplomacy. When states are integrating all this three components in their relationship building with other states the end-results are long term.<sup>63</sup>The major role of the appointed public diplomats is to maintain and enforce good relationship between states and citizens who are abroad.

The kind of relationship that is being fostered by public diplomacy is organization-public relationship, which is defined as a design of interaction, which is illustrated via the exchange, transaction, and linkage between an organization and its public, whereby the activities done by either parties can be lead to creating an impact on either the political, social, economic or cultural Welfare.<sup>64</sup> Ledingham and Bruning, classified relationships into three groups namely: professional, personal and community relationships came up with a relationship dimension which entailed trust, commitment, satisfaction and control mutuality/power balance. <sup>65</sup>These relationship dimensions play a role of determining the features of a relationship. In relation to these four-relationship dimension, several studies have been carried out by different scholar in application in a cross-cultural setup to measure the validity and reliability of the dimensions and

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<sup>62</sup>Signitzer, B. & Wamser, C. (2006). Public diplomacy: A specific governmental public relations function. In C. H. Botan & V. Hazleton (Eds.), *Public Relations Theory II*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc: Mahwah, NJ.

<sup>63</sup>Golan, G. J. (2013). An integrated approach to public diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*.

<sup>64</sup>Broom,G.,Casey,S and Ritchey,J.2000.Toward a concept and theory of organization-public relationships: An update.In J.A Ledingham and S.D Bruning (eds),.Public relations as relationship management:A relational approach to public relations.Lawrence Erlbaum Associates:Mahwah, NJ

<sup>65</sup>Hon.L.C and Gruning .J.E.1999. Guidelines for measuring relationships in public relations. Institute for public relations: Gainesville,FI.

Trust, satisfaction and commitment to be vital relationship indicators, hence viewed as international measures.<sup>66</sup>

Public diplomacy has three elements in a state-public relationship building, namely: antecedent, which indicates the main reasons as to why the state and the foreign public engage in a relationship; cultivation strategies; this, is the mode of communication and character portrayed when a state and the foreign public engage in cultivating a relationship; relationship outcomes.

## **2.2 The following discussion is about the four relationship dimensions on public diplomacy in relationship building.**

### **2.2.1 Control mutuality:**

In relation to public diplomacy control mutuality and power balance are similar, hence the connotation of power balance is referred to be a specific time in international relations when there is equality between competing parties. This dimension is well applied in PD when parties have a meeting concerning a certain issue and both parties are given a share during the decision making process, and the opinion of each party is weighed at the end of the meeting.<sup>67</sup> Even though sometimes, one of the parties involved during the meeting may feel power imbalance, the party chairpersons or spokesman should make sure that both parties involved should feel to be in charge of the meeting and superior. When using this dimension, studies found out that the relational cultivation approaches of access, positivity, assurances and shared task are used in foretelling the outcome of control mutuality.<sup>68</sup> Mostly this dimension is being used between high

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<sup>66</sup> Huang, Y.H.2001a. 'Opra: A cross cultural, multi-item scale for measuring organization public relations.' Journal of public relations research,13,61-90.

<sup>67</sup> Hon.L.C and Gruning.J.E.1999.Guidelines for measuring relationships in public relations. Institute for public relations:Gainesville,FI.

<sup>68</sup> Ki, Hyun-Jung.2018. "Strategic Relationships." *The International Encyclopedia of Strategic Communication*: 1-8.

ranked political engagements.<sup>69</sup> and its role is to make sure that no state feels superior or down plays the decisions or opinions suggested by the other party. In conflict management matters, control mutuality may play a role of influencing the opposition party to recognize an innovative and mutual beneficial resolution to deal with.

### **2.2.2 Commitment**

This is a relationship dimension used to indicate the length in which states decide to go in order to initiate or engage the public in a dialogue, interpretation, and comprehension. This makes the parties involved to be in a long term and prosperous relationship. When states commit to each other to build a relationship they feel attached leading to them having the desire to maintain the relationship. Commitment has two types, continuance commitment and affective commitment. In the studies done by different scholars, commitment dimension has been a catalyst in encouraging a certain character towards a state or organization. Public diplomacy has six pillars namely; dialogue and exchange, credibility, context, alliance, partnership, and policy advocacy. States do committee a foreign public into a dialogue in order to boost its government's culture and society. States do use relational commitment when engaging foreign publics in a dialogue. States do commit the foreign publics for different reasons like; states avoiding criticism and yielding a suitable ground for feedback when it talks about its policies. Another reason for governments engaging in commitment with the foreign public is to establish a long-term relationship with the foreign public to give room for state policies.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Huang, Y.H.2001b. 'Value of public relations :Effects on organization-public relations mediating conflict resolutions.' *Journal of Public Relations Research*,13,265-301.

<sup>70</sup> Nye, J. S., Jr. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New edition). Public Affairs:Cambridge,MA.

### **2.2.3 Trust/credibility**

This is a pillar of public diplomacy and a dimension of relationship, that refers to the level of confidence that states which are engaging in a dialogue in order to build a relationship do have towards each other, hence they are ready to be open and submit without any hidden motive, to the other state via symmetrical, open and ethical communication. The importance of trust in public diplomacy relationship building is to paint a good reputation and positive image of a state at the international arena. When relating the concept of credibility to public relations, credibility is further broken down into three primary dimensions in public diplomacy, namely: expertise/qualifications/competence; which refers to the source of information which can be the head of state and media, (ii) trustworthiness of the source that carries the information,(iii) The goodwill of the international actors that were engaged during the process of relationship building.

### **2.2.4 Satisfaction**

This is a relationship dimension that parties involved in building a relationship use to consider each other by appreciating their participation in the process hence they are satisfied. In relation to public diplomacy, one state strives to maintain a positive relationship while the other state works on having a relational satisfaction. Satisfaction is a pillar of public diplomacy between a state and foreign public that it is trying to attract and build a relationship with . The degree of satisfaction between two states engaging in building a relationship is measured by the purpose of building the relationship and the trust. When a state assures the foreign citizens that it is going to put into consideration their views and opinions by giving them a listening ear, the foreign community will be happy to take part in the exercise.

The above dimensions are targeting the states that are engaging the foreign public in building relationships with them. Scholars have done studies on the effects of these relationships on the perceptions the foreign public will have. The attitude and behavior of the foreign public is considered, because public diplomacy's intentions are to influence the character of the foreign state by influencing the attitude of their foreign citizens. This research study will consider the attitude and behavior of the targeted foreign public.

### **2.3 Attitude of the foreign public**

It is advisable to assess the foreign public's attitude in public diplomacy because it determines the outcome and perception of their opinions to the state that is trying to build a positive relationship with them. This may lead to creating an impact at the global political arena. When relating the attitude of the foreign public-to-public diplomacy, the definition of PD according to Delaney as the direct and indirect influence a state may have on the attitude and opinion of the foreign public, which may create an impact on the other states decision-making process on their foreign policy. Public diplomacy is used by different states to interact with the foreign public to evoke their attitude and it's the attitude of this foreign citizens that will determine the kind of relationship to be built, the foreign public will have a negative attitude or maintain a positive attitude so as to strengthen their relationship with the other state.<sup>71</sup>

### **2.4 Behavior of the foreign public**

The behavior of the foreign public towards a state when engaging them in building a relationship with their state should be considered. If the character of the foreign public is aggressive, it may affect the states foreign policy. Character is a determinant of the foreign public's, goals, opinion

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<sup>71</sup>Signitzer, B., & Wamser, C. (2006). Public diplomacy: A specific governmental public relations function. In C. H. Botan & V. Hazleton (Eds.), *Public relations theory II*. Erlbaum:Mahwah NJ

and intentions towards foreign state; this may affect the states reputation.<sup>72</sup> The theory of hierarchy is used to measure the attitude and behavior of the citizens in public diplomacy, this theory moves from cognition to attitude and later behavior .The kind of attitude that a foreign public may possess will lead to influencing the other foreign publics to support the state's foreign policies leading to building a long lasting relationship.

### **2.5 Conclusion:**

Further research on the linkage between relationship building, attitude of the targeted public and the behavior of the foreign citizen, across the board in both developed and developing states.

### **2.6 Public diplomacy plays a role in issue management and crisis management; at national level, regional level and globally.**

Public diplomacy deals with communicating with the foreign public and intending to evoke their attitudes to know their opinions towards the states foreign policy. Communication is the key element in public diplomacy, the attitude and character of the foreign public influences the outcome and purpose of using public diplomacy. States do face different types of issues and crisis depending on the aptitude of the issue or crisis. Public diplomacy plays a role in issue and crisis management at national, regional and international level. The integrated model of public diplomacy categorizes PD in three forms, namely: mediated public diplomacy, which ranges from short term to medium; State branding and country's reputation that ranges from medium term to long term and lastly relational public diplomacy, which is long term. The mediated public diplomacy is where issue management and crisis management lie, because they deal with matters that are current and want urgent concentration and follow-ups.

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<sup>72</sup>Signitzer, B., & Wamser, C. (2006). Public diplomacy: A specific governmental public relations function. In C. H. Botan & V. Hazleton (Eds.), *Public relations theory II*. Erlbaum:Mahwah,NJ

## **2.7 The role of public diplomacy in Issue management**

Issue management refers to a strategy applied in recognizing, emerging issues in a state by the national government among the world of nations, in which this issue recognized may end up causing a calamity to the nation in the near future, hence it may be solved, and prevent major crisis from occurring. this strategy is considered to be forward looking and symmetric. When a state is using public diplomacy to settle down an issue it targets both the general public and specific citizens in targeted states, and the foreigners in the host state. Issue management has five levels, when a state faces an issue, the experts must follow a certain procedure to handle the matter at hand. As a state, the government should recognize an issue via a keen scanned environment, the issue should be analyzed appropriately, developed a strategy that will enable experts to handle the matter appropriately, and lastly develop a program to guide the process.<sup>73</sup> Issue do crop up from different sections in a state, for example, economic sector, education sector, sports sector, security sector, agriculture, transport, technology sector and communication sector.

The targeted publics in public diplomacy are categorized into different groups depending on the knowledge level and the involvement level, there is the active public which have a high involvement and high knowledge when an issue occurs, the aware public have a high knowledge and low involvement, the inactive public have low knowledge and low involvement, aroused public have a high involvement and low knowledge and non-publics.<sup>74</sup> The aware publics, is managed with the education based approach for alliance building, media advocacy and lobbying,

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<sup>73</sup>Wilcox, D. L., Glen T. C, Ault, H.P, and Agee.K.W. 2009."Public Relations: Strategies and Tactics (9. baskı)."

<sup>74</sup>Kirk.,H. 2001"The dynamics of issues activation and response: An issues processes model." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 13, no. 1: 27-59.

the active public is managed by the negotiated based approach to indicate avoidance, acknowledgement, agreement and bargaining. The inactive public is guided by prevention-based approach, which is used in market monitoring, poll taking, performance, quality assurance, supportive reputation. The aroused public is guided by intervention-based approach, monitoring outreach, containment, inquiry handling and co-optation. The environment on which all these matters happen and the kind of issue a state is facing may trigger the attitude of the different publics to change.<sup>75</sup>

For example: the issue democracy among Arab states was soon crucial between the citizens and their government. This led to the Arab spring that occurred in 2004, in the MENA states, it started from Tunisia when the citizens took to the street to demonstrate, due to advanced communication technology, it rapidly spread to Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Syria and Bahrain. Most states were caught unaware of such an issue hence different governments learnt on the value of being prepared for any issue to occur and be ready to tackle it. Hence, have a pending issue management program. When a state's issue gets out of control, it develops into a crisis.

## **2.8 The role of public diplomacy in crisis management**

A crisis is a dominant incident that affects a state's reputation negatively at a national level, regionally and internationally. When a state faces a crisis, it is the role of the state and non-state actors to develop a sketched crisis management program to settle down the crisis. Crisis management refers to a procedure used in arranging how the crisis is handled to prevent the negative effects by sidelining the risks that will face the state hence paving way for the government of that country to take charge of the situation. It is the role of the government to

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<sup>75</sup>Kirk. H 2001 "The dynamics of issues activation and response: An issues processes model." Journal of Public Relations Research 13, no. 1: 27-59.



initiate a communication plan with other states to get help, this leads them to establish a crisis communication channel so as to get help on how to handle the crisis so as to prevent it from reoccurring or getting out of control. A crisis communication is a form of discourse that is initiated between a government of a state facing a crisis and its foreign public, before, during and after the crisis has happened. This conversation will give information about the plan the states have and the kind of techniques they will use to maintain a positive image of the state and its government and protect the country's reputation.<sup>76</sup>

Once a state has encountered a crisis and developed an elaborative crisis management program, the strategies applied to manage the crisis are monitored in order to know the kind of response the country's government will have. The crisis response plan is grouped into response on form and response on content. Research on form deals with 'what should be done' prior to, during and after, while research on content deals with 'the kind of information that is conveyed'.<sup>77</sup> When the government decides to respond to the crisis it should be quick to act, be consistent and open, these are three principles of research on form.

Due to advanced communication technology, once a state is facing a crisis it is via social media networks that such information is transmitted. This has made many states to respond quickly in time This makes the state to announce its position in time and the steps they have taken to control the situation on the ground. For example, when the American soldiers who went to fight the Taliban in the Middle East provoked the nation public by burning the Quran, it was the role

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<sup>76</sup>Coombs, W. T, and Sherry J. H. (2002)"Helping crisis managers protect reputational assets: Initial tests of the situational crisis communication theory." Management Communication Quarterly.

<sup>77</sup>Coombs, W. T. 2006.Code red in the boardroom: Crisis management as organizational DNA. Greenwood Publishing Group.

of the government of the United States to respond quickly and apologize to the citizens but it did not do so. It is the role of the state's spokesperson to be releasing information to the globe every time via twitter, Face book and media briefs. This information conveyed must be consistent and accurate.<sup>78</sup>By this, all public diplomats representing the state in the receiving states should be aware and updated too. The kind of information released to the public should be credible; all the actors involved should be open about the cause of the crisis and the way forward on the matter. It is the state to make decision on either to release full information or partial.

Under crisis response research on content, the affected state has two things to decide in. The decision of accepting to have caused the crisis to happen, apologize, and compensate the victims or to deny causing the crisis to have happened in relation to the level of the responsibility. In some cases , states have denied to have committed an offense and yet they did. For example, the Japanese military uses force to take women from their colonies and had them as their sex slaves, this happened during the 20th century.<sup>79</sup>The Japanese government defended its position by saying that the women offered to do so voluntarily, despite the Japanese government wining this case internally its international image is still negative the fact that it entertained such unethical act.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Coombs, W.T. (2010). 'Parameters for crisis communication' in Handbook of Crisis Communication. W.T. Coombs and S.J. Holladay (eds).Black-well Publishing:Malden,MA.

<sup>79</sup>Mikyoung,K. 2015.ed. Routledge handbook of memory and reconciliation in East Asia. Routledge.

<sup>80</sup> Mikyoung,K. 2014."Memorializing Comfort Women: Memory and Human Rights in Korea-Japan Relations," Asian Politics & Policy .

## CHAPTER THREE

### STRATEGIES USED IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

#### 3.0 Introduction

A strategy is a tactic used to attain a certain target. In the history of public diplomacy, Mr. Nicholas Cull designed a taxonomy that defines PD in five activities used in tackling matters in public diplomacy. He listed them as follows. Listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting.<sup>81</sup> States do apply different forms of Public diplomacy strategies, namely; Communication strategy that applies International broadcasting, the second strategy is networking, which relies on listening, and advocacy. This strategy applies new advanced technology that is a modern form of conveying information and engaging foreign publics. These new networks are the use of Face book, Twitter, and Instagram. A relational strategy is the third form of the approach used by public diplomacy; this approach applies both cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy as strategic plans in building good relationships with foreign publics.<sup>82</sup>

#### 3.1 The strategy of listening

This refers to how an actor tries to control the global arena by collecting and gathering data from the foreign public opinion on foreign policy or current matters arising from their state. Most states do not use this strategy, but Sweden has tried it out. This component is used mostly when a foreign state has its opinion counted in other states' foreign policy implementation or evaluation. The actor in place from that state will have to research, analyze the public's opinion, and give out the results. This information will be useful in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and policymakers, scholars, and diplomatic practitioners of that state and globally.

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<sup>81</sup> Cull, N.(2008).The Cold War and the United States Information Agency:American Propaganda and public diplomacy,1945-1989.Cambridge University Press. New York.

<sup>82</sup> Jowett, G.S., & O'Donnell, V.(2012). Propaganda and persuasion (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, Sage:CA.

### **3.2 The strategy of Advocacy**

Advocacy is an approach used by an actor who is trying to manage the international arena by promoting and advertising its state's ideas, policies, and new laws to create and build good relations and comprehension with other states. This strategy is well demonstrated when an embassy holds a press conference.

### **3.3 The strategy of Exchange diplomacy**

This refers to an actor's effort to influence the global environment by engaging the foreign state in an educational exchange program to promote their education system. This is done for equal gain for both states. When students get government, sponsorship to study in a foreign state or sometimes, a state may send its officials to learn in a foreign state college or university.

### **3.4 The strategy of Cultural Diplomacy**

This strategy is functional when an actor tries to control the international public by promoting its culture to attract the foreign public in economic or social activity. As a state, France has used this strategy to the maximum by promoting the learning of the French language in different learning institutions in different colleges internationally. This is illustrated in soft power diplomacy.

#### **3.4.1 Cultural-exchange diplomacy strategy**

Many states have established cultural institutions in foreign states to promote their foreign policies. For example, China has established the China Confucius institute, which has its headquarter in Beijing. China's National Office funds it for teaching the Chinese Language as a Foreign Language in the host state. (NOCFL). This activity is done in partnership with a public higher learning education institution where both institutions have a well-built stakeholder engagement. There is a massive increase in the number of institutions China has established globally from one institution in 2004 to two hundred and fifty-six institutes in more than eighty-

one states by May 2009.<sup>83</sup> All the institutes established in foreign states are associated with Beijing headquarters; this is because it is via the headquarter that these institutes can collaborate and coordinate effectively on all international platforms. For example, in Britain, the London School of Economics accommodates the China Confucius Institute, and it coordinates with Qinghai University in Beijing.<sup>84</sup>

In 2006, China Confucius Institute began to host yearly conferences held at the headquarters in Beijing. The main goal of doing so was to create prospects for their learners to meet and share their experiences about the Chinese culture and education system, switch their thoughts and opinions. Hence, the international stakeholder engagement process experienced direct interpersonal communication. For instance, Sheng Ding and Robert Saunders caught the attention of many when they brought up an online debate based on political philosophy between the Western liberal democracies (US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand France, Italy, German, Sweden, Belgium) and the East, in 20006.<sup>85</sup>

Domestic and international students learning Chinese as a second language have capitalized on the advancement of communication technology and launched platforms for learning via Face book pages and sites, making it easy for them to coordinate with their institutes. An online Confucius Institute was established by the Beijing headquarter in English and Chinese

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<sup>83</sup>“Ministry of Education, Hanban talking about the development of the Confucius Institute.” March 15,2009.<http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2009-03/15/content-1260011.htm>

<sup>84</sup>Purnendra,J and Groot,G.2006. "Beijing's 'soft power' Offensive," Asia Times Online, May. <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/HE17Ad01.html>

<sup>85</sup>Sheng. D., and Saunders.R.2006. “Talking Up China: An analysis of China’s Rising Cultural Power and Global Promotion of the Chinese Language,” East Asia.

languages. The site gives information about the number of institutes globally, the region found, the state, and what the institutes offer on academic grounds.<sup>86</sup>

### **3.5 The strategy of International broadcasting**

This form of strategy is useful when an actor attempt to direct the global arena by using electronic media like the radio and television, by engaging foreign publics in their foreign policy by updating the international public on current matters arising in their states and new inventions to convey information<sup>87</sup>. This is used to attract the foreign states to sign agreements, promote and foster good relations, and promote trust-building between states. Radio was the first international broadcasting mechanism used for political purposes by Russia in 1926 when Russia was demanding Bessarabia's return from Romania. Radio Moscow was established as an international tool for communication in the year 1929. For the purpose of foreign policy, it impacted the people for the value of a revolution on the communist. When Radio Moscow got its fame via broadcasting in the English language. Mr. Hugh Dalton received a letter in the year 1930 claiming about Radio Moscow broadcasting in English; he was at the British Foreign Office. This led to establishing the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Empire service in 1932<sup>88</sup>. In 1927, Holland followed with its Empire Service, in 1928 China developed its first radio naming it Central Broadcasting System, later in 1941 it renamed it Radio China International, Germany developed its first radio station in 1929, France in 1931, Japan in 1934, the United States of America established the Voice of America in 1942<sup>89</sup>. This art of radio development and

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<sup>86</sup>Confucius Institute Online <http://www.confuciusinstitute.net/>

<sup>87</sup>Price, M. (2003). Public diplomacy and the transformation of international broadcasting. *Cardoza Arts and Entertainment Law Journal*, 21(1), 51-57

<sup>88</sup>West, W. J. (1987). *Truth betrayed*. Duckworth: London.

<sup>89</sup>Browne, D. R. (1982). *International radio broadcasting: The limits of the limitless medium*. Praeger: New York.

establishment led to listening and international broadcasting, according to Cull's 2008 typology.<sup>90</sup> All these are used for political communication.

Mr. Price posted a query on the kind of relationship between international broadcasting and public diplomacy.<sup>91</sup> In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, most states have decided to invest heavily in international broadcasting to attract the foreign public to their states and also promote or sell their policies leading to nation branding. This is evident in the government of Australia.<sup>92</sup> Different states have developed different international broadcasting channels and established different satellites in different states or continents to spread information about their states. International broadcasting refers mostly to radio and television because of radio. A state has to look at some features before engaging in using international broadcasting as a strategy in public diplomacy. These factors include; the language to be used in broadcasting, the states' geographical position in the regional and global arena, which helps in reflecting the kind of objectives and strategies to be used when broadcasting, and the populace of the state.

In 1991, the U.S.A led 34 different states to form a coalition to expel Iraq from Kuwait, using combat operations. This led to the establishment of the Central News Network (CNN), which televised what was happening in the Gulf war. This emphasized the significance of CNN as a major player in emerging global television news.<sup>93</sup>

For example, the UK has been linked to BBC has its official radio and television with the British Public diplomacy, While German has Deutsche Welle has its government international

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<sup>90</sup>Cull,N.(2008).The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and public diplomacy,1945-1989.Cambridge University Press: New York.

<sup>91</sup>Price .M.E., (2003), "Public Diplomacy and Transformation of International Broadcasting," Comparative media law journal.1,71-91

<sup>92</sup>O'keeffe, A and Oliver, A (2009), International Broadcasting and its contribution to public diplomacy. Lowy Institute papers and reports,9, September.

<sup>93</sup>Taylor, P.M.(1992).War and the Media: Propaganda and persuasion in the Gulf War.Manchester University Press: London.

broadcaster linked to the German Foreign culture policy acting as a go-between, from the Middle East they have established a communication cable hence developed Al-Jazeera, East Asia China has established China Global Communication Television(CGTV), the Pan African Channel S24, France government has France 24, and lastly from Kenya, Kenya has established its channels of communication via international broadcasting via National television(NTV), Kenya television networks(KTN) and Citizen television.

All these three Kenyan communication channels have boosters across East Africa. All these international broadcasters are recognized by the state and used to create a positive image internationally. Hence, they are government-sponsored and are to follow instructions from the government. By this, they are to communicate what the government wants and not propagate government actions. They are to promote the state's ideas and policies abroad. The language of choice used to broadcast in English and Kiswahili. Most East African states are using Kiswahili to communicate with their foreign neighbors. Radio is the most used form of international broadcasting.

Due to globalization, new advanced technologies have led to speeding the spreading of information invented like the internet and social media. The internet offers a practical alternative platform to air information while offline without having to wait for print media like magazines or newspapers or wait for a certain time to listen to the radio or watch television.<sup>94</sup> This has led to a huge renovation of diplomatic practices globally.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Michailidou, A.(2008), "Democracy and the new media in European Union; Communication or Participation Deficit?" *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol.4, no.4 346-368.

<sup>95</sup>Seib, P.(2012). *Real-time diplomacy: Politics and power in the social media era*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.



	Type of PD Approach	Sample Activities	Countries in which this kind of PD has been significant
I	Listening	Target polling	Switzerland
ii	Advocacy	Press relations held by an embassy	USA
iii	Cultural diplomacy	Government-sponsored global art tour	France
iv	Exchange diplomacy	States engaging in an academic exchange that is two ways, benefiting both states.	Japan
V	International broadcasting	A foreign language being broadcasted in a radio short wave	Britain

**Fig 2. Researcher**

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CHALLENGES FACING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

As a tool of international relations, public diplomacy is used by different states in communicating its agendas to the targeted foreign public. Public diplomacy is currently facing challenges because of improved technology. Most states have adopted social media as a platform for reaching out to their targeted audience. The strategic engagement of public diplomacy stakeholders has caused a challenge to detect the strategic stakeholders in public diplomacy and what constitutes public diplomacy? These two challenges have posed a conflict of interest among scholars, public diplomacy practitioners, and the audience. Those who have a share in public diplomacy are either domestic agents or audiences. Most domestic agents share the same aims about a political entity and do accelerate initiatives used in public diplomacy to be effective when applied.

Different states have different agents of public diplomacy as their agents. For instance, the United States of America and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office public diplomacy domestic agents is made of religious groups, think tanks, trade unions, regional outreach champions, and businesses.<sup>96</sup> Practicing public diplomats face a challenge of recognizing genuine and potential stakeholders in public diplomacy because majority of these stakeholders may or may not share parallel administrative sponsored objectives. Hence, the public diplomats are

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<sup>96</sup>FCO, 2008 "Working with Stakeholder Groups," accessed July 6, 2009, <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-the-fco/what-we-do/building-strong-relationships-ol/stakeholder-groups/> See, also, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Stakeholder Survey 2008, Overview Report," prepared by Jigsaw Research, London: The 2008 British FCO'S survey of "stakeholders" involved individuals as a "very senior level" and who appeared to share the goal of "representing the UK position and interest well.

forced to identify those stakeholders whose interests and objectives traverse within public diplomacy's inventiveness.

The second challenge that public diplomacy is facing is, what encompasses the strategic engagement in public diplomacy? In public diplomacy, the term engagement refers to strategies used in public diplomacy in functions of relationship building by the involvement of the audience.<sup>97</sup>

#### **4.1 Stakeholder engagement - the who and what**

In public diplomacy, the term stakeholder emanates from the communication cycle where the message rotates from the sender to the receivers, who are two different correspondents. The main objectives were how the message would reach the targeted person. This is well applicable in public diplomacy from the sending nation to the receiving nation. Many scholars from different fields have come up with different names; they refer to the message's receivers. For example, from public relations and marketing, they are referred to as consumers, audiences, and the 'public.' In political science, scholars refer to the message's receivers being communicated as the public. This field of political science deals with persuasion, which is one of the diplomatic methods used by practicing diplomats. Political science also focuses on changing the attitude of the audience and public opinion. Jon Anderson is a well-known scholar in communication; he points out the effects social media has on the targeted public by saying that the mass media has few senders with many receivers or the people who produce this information circulating online and who are the consumers?<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Kelley, J.R. 2008. "Between "Take-offs" and "Crash Landings," Situational Aspects of Public Diplomacy", in N. Snow and P. Taylor, Routledge Handbook of public Diplomacy, (Routledge: New York),; also, Kathy R. Fitzpatrick, 2010. The Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy: Uncertain Fate. Brill: Boston.

<sup>98</sup> Anderson, J. 2003. "New media, New publics: Reconfiguring the public sphere of Islam," Social Research.

Due to the advancement of communication technology, the message's senders have empowered the receivers via social media.<sup>99</sup> This contradiction led to Jon Anderson questioning what kind of public is this, which cannot be thought of being a mass opinion or audience? Relating this question to public diplomacy, Anderson further questions what are the opinion leaders and influential elites? In his book titled 'Relationship Imperative,' Richard Edelman noted a big shift from a passive audience to more active stakeholders. Edelman came up with a sphere of influence that supports how information should be shared and circulated by stakeholders. Edelman suggests that the organization should be at the center; this sphere involves NGOs, media, employees, and consumers. Whereas public diplomacy views the organization as the influencer and not the controller, it should also include domestic public, political friends on a conflict or an issue, political adversaries on an issue or conflict, and international organizations.

When states involve themselves in social matters and development projects such as health, education, and environment, they tend to adopt two approaches: social marketing and participatory communication, to communicate to their targeted publics. Participatory communicated stakeholders are participants who are interested in beneficial purposes when engaging in the program. The salient features of participatory communication do favor stakeholders; for instance, participatory communication employs horizontal communication, the communication procedures are given priority other than the process's results, capacity building is done in a long-term manner versus short term that corresponds to external results framework. Using a precise scale rather than a big scale, when scheming information versus for stakeholders

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<sup>99</sup> Rian van der Merwe, Leyland F. Pitt, and Abratt, R., 2005. "Stakeholder Strength: PR Survival Strategies for the Internet Age," *Public Relations Quarterly*.

and lastly raising awareness on matters affecting social lives and their possible solutions versus conviction of characters that are tamable in a short-term way via consistent campaigns.<sup>100</sup>

The multi-stakeholder partnership does define stakeholders as actors who have a certain engrossment in a specific inventiveness.<sup>101</sup> Brian Hockings is a diplomatic scholar who has distinguished the term stakeholder and partner in public diplomacy by defining stakeholders as targets and consumers found in bilateral diplomacy. In contrast, in collaborative public diplomacy, stakeholders are referred to as partners and consumers. According to Hockings practicing diplomats have a big role in deciding the rank, testimonials, and competence assumptions of future stakeholders and the attentiveness and required authentic stakeholders.<sup>102</sup>

This work has given insightful information on how challenging it is to identify stakeholders and what constitutes stakeholders in public diplomacy.

#### **4.2 Information initiatives**

There are different types of stakeholder engagement in information initiatives used in spreading information and scheming. The remarkable aspects of information initiatives are sponsor control, information strategies, dependency on mass media channels, the ambitious and strict engagement between the political sponsor and the targeted citizen.<sup>103</sup> The level of stakeholder engagement varies with information initiatives. This is well noticeable when an initiative tends to spread a message to create awareness about a certain matter. This may end up having a low level of

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<sup>100</sup>Dagron.D.A.,2001. Making Waves. The Rockefeller Foundation: New York.

<sup>101</sup>Crichley,W., Verburg,M and Laurens van Velhuizen.2006.Facilitating Multi-stakeholder Partnerships: Lessons from PROLINNOVA,"International Institute of Rural Reconstruction:Netherlands.

<sup>102</sup>Hocking,B. 2005 "Multi-stakeholder Diplomacy: Foundations, Forms, Functions and Frustrations," International Conference on Multi-stakeholder Diplomacy, Malta; and Hocking,B.2008."Reconfiguring during Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration," in Engagement.Foreign and Commonwealth Office:London.

stakeholder engagement turn out.<sup>104</sup> Whereas those initiatives that are to be used to impact people's attitudes on a certain issue will need a higher engagement level. Initiatives that will require character modification will need an in-depth and supportive engagement. The lower the level of engagement of stakeholders the initiative has, this initiative will also have low persuasive powers. Still, the more the power of control and initiative has, the more the stakeholder engagement is influential. When a polity has control over an investigation scheme in an application initiative, the fewer space stakeholders have engaged at important initiatives.

#### **4.3 Information Dissemination-Print, Internet, Radio and Television**

This refers to ways to spread the message from the source, which is the sender to the receiver. In public diplomacy, states send their message to the targeted public by using different forms: television, radio, print publication, podcast, Twitter, and internet websites. In traditional public diplomacy, the mass media channels were limited to information output and the public targeted. Hence, the stakeholder engagement was low. When a political sponsor acts as the founder and is in charge of communication, it is the responsibility of the political sponsor to create the content, commentary, and message programming and spread it over to news channels that are in partnership with the sponsor control.

In public diplomacy, the stakeholder engagement level does not predict the number of the targeted public; this is because, in some cases, a certain public diplomacy initiative may attract a large audience, but finally, the audience may disagree with the message being conveyed. Mass media controls a passive audience, while social media controls an active audience. Some public diplomacy initiatives have gone the extra mile of involving their targeted population by cooperating with the use of emails, chat rooms, and live phone calls during their programs during

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<sup>104</sup>Wilkins, K. G. 2003. "Japanese Approaches to. Development Communication," Keico Communication Review (online).

mass media use. During their time, the targeted audience engages and airs their views about the issue being discussed, and their opinion counts hence end up influencing the content on the table. As the public uses this initiative measures, in some cases, their opinion supports their feedback, ending up changing the public diplomacy program. When an issue reaches the point of directly aiming to change or influence the political policy, the stakeholder engagement may stop there.

#### **4.4 Information Campaigns**

This is another form of spreading information in public diplomacy. This requires a specified procedure to take root first. It is designed to attract a targeted public to change the public's attitude and characters towards the message being conveyed. This form of the public initiative has four stages: information gathering from the primary sources, communication surrounding the targeted public, and strategies used during the communication process. The second stage is the planning stages, which involve scheming main objectives, recognizing the targeted population, and defining plans and techniques used during the whole procedure. The third stage is the implementation stage that involves establishing and message delivered to the targeted public. The fourth stage is the assessment stage, where the entire process's evaluation is done on the effectiveness and impact of the campaign initiative.

In 2003, a United States agency launched an online campaign on international development named 'Telling Our Stories.' This initiative was about real-life stories of people who had benefited from the USAID fund. The United States took advantage and made these stories theirs by collaborating with the agency and online stakeholders to get more views hence attracting its' targeted public. The challenge that faces these testimonials is, the personal testimonials are framed to represent the entire beneficiaries. The sponsor controls the program, the USAID, who chooses which story to be aired and how and which language to persuade the audience and polity

for more funds. The main agenda of posting the stories online is to shape the public's view other than telling the stories to motivate the public and significantly not as a public diplomacy initiative.<sup>105</sup>

#### **4.5 National branding initiative**

National branding is a public diplomacy initiative used in the line of persuasive information Campaigns to boost the nation's image in a positive way to attract foreign direct investors, tourists from within and outside the country. Domestic stakeholders are the domestic public of that state and not foreign stakeholders. They normally dominate this form of initiative. Colombia is one of the few states that have used domestic stakeholder engagement in public diplomacy national branding initiative to emerge a success.<sup>106</sup> Colombia's private and public sectors came together to boost its' economy both domestically and on international platforms by supporting different sectors like the tourism sector, export sector, investment promotion agency, and pro-export. The main agenda was to create a good image for Colombia; this campaign was termed *Colombia is passion*.

After this campaign was launched, this logo was adopted by all social, political, and economic sectors of the Colombian states. For example, Colombian airlines, Colombian companies, and trade unions.<sup>107</sup> The citizens of Colombia also supported this domestic initiative and started to invest in their states and foreign states and the public.<sup>108</sup> There was a massive increase in the

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<sup>105</sup> Rivazi, Z. 2007. "Telling Our Stories," Unpublished Masters Capstone Project, American University: New York.

<sup>106</sup> <http://www.colombiaespasion.com/VBeContent/home.asp>

<sup>107</sup> Simon Jenkins, 2007. "Passion Alone Won't Rescue Colombia from its Narco-Economy Stigma," The Guardian,; and Moffett, M., 2008. "Colombia Wants The World to Recognize Its Passion: Latin American Nation Trots Out a New Slogan, Seeking to Rehabilitate Its Brand After Years of Violence and Corruption," Wall Street Journal, October 27.

<sup>108</sup> Silvia Marquine, 2009. "Nation Branding Campaigns in Latin America," Unpublished Masters Capstone Project. American University; and Margarita, A., 2008. "Colombian National Branding Campaign: "Colombian is Passion," Unpublished Masters Capstone Project, American University: New York.



number of foreign investors in Colombia when Colombia published its' slogan outside Colombia.

In contrast to this, when a state has a weak domestic stakeholder, the national branding initiative will weaken badly, and the domestic public may incur economic expenses. In 2005, Uganda launched a campaign named 'Gifted by Nature,' and it failed. This initiative was sponsored by the United States Agency of International Development and Schemed by a public relations firm based in the United Kingdom.<sup>109</sup>The significance of having domestic stakeholders in both public and private sectors is to secure a 'policy-based branding' which a country will use to concentrate on changing and implementing policies that can boost a positive image of the state.<sup>110</sup>

#### **4.6 Media relations**

The new public diplomacy had adopted the use of social media and international broadcasting to approach its targeted public to engage them in communication. This initiative is another form of public diplomacy information dissemination. Both the media and polity are termed to be strong and powerful stakeholders. This is because the media has the power to spread, control, and access information. By this, you find that the political entity has crucial content that can brand a nation, but it must share with the media houses to broadcast. Some media houses are owned by states, hence finding it easy to control what to be told to the targeted public to get a massive outreach. In some circumstances, due to power wrangles between media stakeholders and political polity leadership wrangles, the media sometimes may exaggerate information; hence, the stakeholders are losing control of information. This is mostly witnessed in states where there is freedom of news anchoring (press).

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<sup>109</sup>“Tourism Promoters Reject Uganda’s “Gifted By Nature” Brand.” All African.com, March 17, 2009, (<http://www.eturbonews.com>); Western PR Company to Sell Uganda, BBC News, May 19, 2005 (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4563909.stm>)

<sup>110</sup>Anholt,S.2008. “The Importance of National Reputation,” Engagement: Public Diplomacy.Foreign Common Wealth Office: UK..

Holding press briefings, writing and issuing press releases have a low level of stakeholder engagement. Stakeholder engagement between the media houses and a polity is maintained via lunch dates, social functions, providing access to information, and giving out appropriate and timely information to foster personal relations. A state with good relations and powerful friendship with a foreign media house has greater chances of being broadcast in its news timeline; hence, the stakeholder engagement is strong. Different states have different media relations. For any media house to broadcast favorable news about a certain polity to reach its targeted audience a monetary exchange or gifts are given out; this is a form of corruption.<sup>111</sup>

Some states like the United States have limited code of ethics and professionalism in journalism; practicing diplomats must be aware of such limits whenever they are posted to work in a receiving state. Diplomats should be conscious of the rules of news anchoring of different nations and the consequences of breaking the rules. The media can have a great positive or negative impact on the targeted public's attitude or behavior with the level of stakeholder engagement. For instance, when a radio station is new, it tends to have a low turnout of the public reach out; compared to the familiar radio station, the public is used to, leading to a lower level of stakeholder engagement.

#### **4.7 Relational initiative**

This is a form of public diplomacy initiative that centers on strategies used at relationship building, harmonization, relations with the targeted population, interactive and interpersonal communication medium, and sustainability. This initiative emphasizes the significance of parties involved in stakeholder engagement to participate effectively other than presenting themselves.

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<sup>111</sup>Katerina Tsetsura and Dean Kruckeberg, *Transparency, Public Relations, and Mass Media: Combating Media: Bribery WorldWide* (Routledge,forthcoming)

In relationship building, the intensity of participation of stakeholders' ranges from a limited number of pre-selected participants with an unlimited period to institutional contribution to an unrestricted time horizon. When a state leader adopts a relational approach, this initiative involves participants from institutions, leaders, officials, to expertise in a specific field, to the public. In such activities, the stakeholders at the leadership level are known as partners, while the public is referred to as participants. In a relational initiative of public diplomacy, the funders and stakeholders do share the decision-making process outcome. However, the stakeholders who have a big share or have invested heavily in the program feel like they possess the program more. Domestic stakeholders' importance in a relational initiative is they provide a rich knowledge of the culture of their state and local links, unlike foreign stakeholders or sponsors.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Summary**

The chapter entails the summary of the research proposal, conclusions made from the literature review, and the recommendations made from the data collected (data analysis).

From the research study, public diplomacy is a tool of international relations used by states as a model of communicating its ideas and policies to the targeted audience. The targeted audience is mostly the foreign public, which the state is selling or branding its foreign policies, to attract the public to invest in their state by using soft power initiatives. The term public diplomacy emerged from the United States of America, it was coined by the United States former diplomat Mr Edmund Gullion in 1950s. Public diplomacy started being practiced outside the United States, after the terror attack that occurred 11 September 2001, which triggered the popularity of public diplomacy internationally.

The research study is guided by two theories, the realism theory, which proposes how national security and political power control a state's public diplomacy, and international liberalism theory, which supports the value of soft power in public diplomacy so as to attain the objectives of public diplomacy. The research proposal is guided by three objectives; (i) To assess the role of Kenya's public diplomacy in East Africa's Region. (ii) To examine strategies used by Kenya at influencing its public diplomacy in the East Africa Region. (iii) To find out the challenges, Kenya is facing when implementing its public diplomacy in the East Africa region. When discussing public diplomacy, some concepts need attention, namely; propaganda, nation-branding, media and the three layers of public diplomacy (monologue, dialogue and collaboration).

The first role that PD plays is to make the state attractive to the foreign community. Thus, the foreign citizens will get familiar with their state's functions from the state's political system, economic system, and social system. The second role of PD in a state is to promote a state's reputation, hence managing it via mass media communication. Through advanced communication technology, the world can interact easily, hence leading to building relations internationally because of the increase in the speed of spreading information. Public diplomacy deals with communicating with the foreign public and intending to evoke their attitudes to know their opinions towards foreign policy. Public diplomacy plays a role in crisis management at the national, regional, and international levels.

The integrated model of public diplomacy categorizes PD in three forms, namely: mediated public diplomacy, which ranges from short term to medium; State branding and country's reputation, which ranges from medium term to long term and lastly relational public diplomacy, which is long term. The mediated public diplomacy is where issue management and crisis management lie because they deal with current and want urgent concentration and follow-ups. When a state uses public diplomacy to settle down an issue, it targets both the general public and specific citizens in targeted states and the foreigners in the host state. Issue management has five levels. When a state faces an issue, the experts must follow a certain procedure to handle the matter. As a state, the government should recognize an issue via a keen scanned environment. The issue should be analyzed appropriately, developed a strategy that will enable experts to handle the matter appropriately, and develop a program to guide the process. Issues do crop up from different sections: the economic sector, the education sector, sports sector, security sector, agriculture, transport, the technology sector, and the communication sector.

A strategy is defined as a tactic used to attain a certain target. In the history of public diplomacy, Mr. Nicholas Cull designed a taxonomy that defines PD in five activities used in tackling matters in public diplomacy. He listed them as follows. Listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting. States do apply different forms of Public diplomacy strategies, namely; Communication strategy that applies International broadcasting, the second strategy is networking, which relies on listening, and advocacy. This strategy applies new advanced technology that is a modern form of conveying information and engaging foreign publics. These new networks are the use of Face book, Twitter, and Instagram. A relational strategy is the third form of the approach used by public diplomacy; this approach applies both cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy as strategic plans in building good relationships with foreign publics.

Public diplomacy is currently facing challenges because of improved technology. Most states have adopted social media as a platform for reaching out to their targeted audience. The strategic engagement of public diplomacy stakeholders has caused a challenge to detect the strategic stakeholders in public diplomacy and what public diplomacy is made of ? These two challenges have posed a conflict of interest among scholars, public diplomacy practitioners, and the audience.

### **5.1 Conclusion**

Respective to the role of public diplomacy in influencing foreign relations in East Africa, public diplomacy helps states in building good relationship with its neighbors. More so, on economic, political and social levels. Public diplomacy helps in managing crisis and issues between states like border issues. Public diplomacy has helps states in national branding at local, regional and

international arenas. This role has attracted tourist and foreign investors, this has led to immigration of foreign citizens' from the region to settle in a foreign state and start investing.

The five strategies of public diplomacy are applied by states in public diplomacy. For instance, the exchange-cultural diplomacy has led to students being able to access any level of education from around the region and at international levels. For example, China as a state has attracted many states in engaging it via the Confucius institutes to learn Chinese as a foreign language. Through the strategy of Advocacy, many states are able to implement foreign policy by relying on the targeted public's opinion. International broadcasting is the most influential strategy that states have used to attract its foreign audience when implementing its foreign policies. For example, Kenya has a satellite of Kenya television network, National television network, Citizen Television in Uganda and Tanzania to broadcast its news, this is because of the good relationship between these states.

In conclusion, of the research study, public diplomacy faces challenges both at local, regional and international level. The two main challenges are identification of public diplomacy stakeholders, this has given public diplomats a challenge and the second challenge is recognition of what public diplomacy constitutes. Public diplomats need to be informed about their political, social and economic ground so as it can be easy for them to identify prospective stakeholders within a specific state. It is the role of public diplomats to evaluate the intensity and nature of engagement of each stakeholder involved, and also be more inventive in selecting appropriate channel for engagement, for example local social institution and not foreign. The public diplomat has powers to decide on an initiative that has a lower level of engagement to inspire the interest for commencing a stakeholder engagement. The intensity of stakeholder engagement must match

with the goals of the public diplomacy initiative. There is a variation on the amount of power a sponsor has over an initiative.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

The researcher recommends that, all state and non-state actors must foster public diplomacy. By doing so, there will be a balance between and among domestic and foreign sponsors. It is important for states to strengthen its military because of the frequent terror attacks. By doing so, states will create a good reputation at regional and international level. For a state to be a home of most diplomatic agencies across East Africa, it must make sure it has good relationship with its neighbors. States are expected to use diplomatic tactics and strategies appropriately to maintain cordial relationship across regional levels and international levels. States should embrace the technological advancement on communication system, be vibrant on using twitter, and face book in engaging its targeted public. States should give more freedom on its media houses to air matters that are not taken to be propaganda related, so as not to mislead the audience on which way to follow. The head of State should not dictate on what to be aired and what not to be aired because most audiences need to have primary information to be aware on what is happening at local and international arenas.



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**APPENDIX I**  
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## APPENDIX II

### BURGET PLAN FOR DATA COLLECTION

<b>ITEM</b>	<b>AMOUNT</b>
Transport and food	10,000
Printing	10,000
Stationery	5,000
Internet	10,000
binding	3,000
Editing and proof reading	5,000
Preparation for questionnaires	10,000
Nacosti lincense	1,000
Miscellaneous	10,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>64,000</b>

## **APPENDIX III**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS**

- 1) What are the best strategies Kenya is using in public diplomacy?
- 2) How has Kenya's public diplomacy evolved since the fourth president took over power?
- 3) How can you rank Kenya's position at the International arena?
- 4) How often does Kenya use the targeted public opinion in implementing its foreign policies?
- 5) What initiatives does Kenya use when interacting with its targeted public?
- 6) What challenges does Kenya face when influencing foreign relations in East Africa?
- 7) What role has media played as an initiative in Kenya's public diplomacy?
- 8) What percentage does Kenya's public diplomat play in public diplomacy?
- 9) International broadcasting is a public diplomacy strategy, what challenges does it face in influencing Kenya's public diplomacy?
- 10) What challenges does Kenya's public diplomacy face?
- 11) How has Cultural-exchange diplomacy influenced foreign relations in East Africa?
- 12) How does one identify the stakeholder engagement in Kenya's public diplomacy?
- 13) Donor control is a major challenge in public diplomacy, what solution does Kenya's public diplomacy has to cab the gap?

## APPENDIX IV

### TIME FRAME

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Time in months</b>
Proposal preparations	April
Literature review	May to September
Administration of instruments	October
Data analysis	October
Report writing	October to November
Submission	December