THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN ADVANCING NATIONAL SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA.

NAME: JACINTA WANJIKU NJOROGE

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my family (Mum & Dad) for their relentless support and seeing me through to the very end, financially and morally. Be Blessed.

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ACRONYMS

AFRICOM: United States Africa Command

AMISON: African Union Mission in Somalia

COIN: Counterinsurgency Operations

DOD: Department of Defence

DOS: (United States) Department of State

DSPD: Defence Support to Public Diplomacy

GWOT: Global War on Terrorism

IMET: International Military Education and Training

IO: Information Operations

IPK: Islamic Party of Kenya

KDF: Kenya Defence Forces

OPSEC: Operations Security

PD: Public Diplomacy

PFLP: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PSYOPS: Psychological Operations

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

In an environment characterized by international multi-actor engagements, the practice of traditional diplomacy is ever becoming untenable to meet the demands and the complexity of security issues in the global environment. In the 21st Century, matters of a country's security and interests abroad are not left only to the diplomat. This is because their traditional roles are now increasingly being undertaken by largely non-diplomatic actors. The range of actors involved in public diplomacy is increasing and the issues are becoming complexly interconnected, not to mention the proliferation of the utilization of social media. The focus on relations is intensifying along with the need for more sophisticated strategies. These shifts in the international sphere require a greater understanding of the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security. The purpose of this study was to analyse the role of public diplomacy in advancing National Security, using Kenya as a case study. The researcher identified a gap in Kenya's communication strategy which is fundamentally problematic given its passivity in relations to security given the imprecision of what is meant by security and the secrecy culture that engulfs international diplomacy and domestic security. The research used mixed research method with emphasis on the qualitative case study. Using the network theory, the study found that public diplomacy has a role to play in advancing national security even though it has been formally integrated as a tool for engaging foreign publics. The findings of this study will help policy makers in the field of foreign affairs to design public diplomacy policies focused towards national and international security interests and also contribute to the public diplomacy literature apart from highlighting areas of further research.

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1.0.   CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The notion of "public diplomacy" was implemented about a hundred years ago as an exclusively civilian dimension of diplomacy which focused on informing foreign citizens and populations concerning the goals of a particular country's foreign policy through the utilization of information and cultural programs. Together with the transformations that the past several decades have witnessed in the composition of the international realm, especially with regard to the new assemblage of alliances, reviewed foreign policy goals, and altered assumptions about threats, there has been transformation in the content of public diplomacy together with the expansion of its targeted programs. Similarly, perceptions and definition of security concept has also changed ever since the Cold War ended and communism collapsed. Today, the definition of security is pegged on the concept of comprehensive approach, being viewed as a set of interrelatedness between military and civilian means and approaches as the utilization of military force has remained in the background, in most cases being the last resort. This paper aims at analyzing public diplomacy's role in advancing national security. As the initial step, this chapter will present a general overview and background of the idea of public diplomacy, its definitions and concepts. It will further provide the study's problem statement, objectives, research questions, and significance of the study.

1.1.   Background

Emmanuel Kant, a renowned philosopher in the later part of the 18th century once observed that "nations remain in such established links to each other that none can afford any compromise in its way of life without losing influence and power in connection to the others.[1] This statement reigns true three centuries later. From East to West, North to South, countries continuously endeavour to improve their images abroad.

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[1] Emmanuel Kant, 1871. Retrieved from https//www.culturaldiplomacy.org/ on September 3, 2018

According to Melissen[2], the cultivation of professional image across national borders took place at the time of World War I. After the hostilities, it was inevitable that the emerging scholarly field of international politics would be alive to the significance of what is today referred to as 'soft power'. During the period of escalating hostilities between the two global conflicts, Carr observed that 'power over opinion' was as significant to politics as economic and military force with the three being very closely related.[3] The implication is that a close association exists between what has been referred to as soft and hard power, to use Joseph Nye's terms. Soft power has increasingly become critical in the global information age even though there are a number of matter-of-fact questions concerning the attraction power within the global realm that remains to be addressed. As argued by Nye, nations that are more likely to be attractive today are those that help in framing issues whose ideas and culture resonate well with the established global norm, and whose standing overseas is strengthened by their policies and values.[4]

Among the key instruments of soft power is public diplomacy and the recognition of this within the diplomatic realm occurred way back prior to present contest about public diplomacy. During the Cold War, around the time Kenya was gaining its independence, Britain, United States, France and the Soviet Union particularly invested heavily in their communication with the rest of the world. While the ordinary diplomatic activities and public diplomacy were in most cases conducted parallel to each other, it became increasingly challenging to conceptualize the manner in which conventional diplomacy could be successful in the absence of public diplomacy.

At the very basic level, the practice of public diplomacy especially during the contemporary world characterized by information technology and media saturation is

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[2] Melissen
[3] Carr
[4] Nye

fundamentally different from the way it was practiced in previous eras. The concepts that have infiltrated contemporary public diplomacy are fairly different from those that lie beneath earlier efforts at global engagements and communication.

Public diplomacy is a critical element of national security. A greater part of national security strategy relies on winning and guaranteeing the collaboration of other countries which is also strongly dependent on the degree to which a country's activities overseas is seen to be legitimate by the public. Whether a country is reinforcing traditional alliances, curving new collaborations to achieve intricate international challenges, involvement with the civil society and the citizens, or curving new strategies, a country's national interests relies on impactful involvement with other countries and creative public diplomacy. Even in societies considered autocratic, there is need for leaders to be sensitive to the views and aspirations of their citizenry. This has enormous repercussions on national security and foreign policy. Nations that support the policies of other states are likely to pull back if there is no support from the public.

In Kenya, the finalization of the Foreign Policy in 2014 ushered in the first time in its post-independent history that it the country had a formal foreign policy. It is within the policy that Kenya's foreign relations and diplomatic engagement is defined. Kenya's foreign policy outlines how the country's international relations and involvement with its allies since independence has evolved apart from setting the nation's future direction strategically of ensuring the realization of Kenyan's collective aspirations taking into consideration the important role played by foreign policy in achieving the priorities of the country.[5]

The Foreign Policy of Kenya is propelled by a vision of building a country that is not only peaceful but is also competitive globally and prosperous. This vision is supported by the mission of projecting, promoting and protecting the interests of Kenya and her image globally

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[5] Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, (2014). Kenya Foreign Policy Document. Nairobi.

through innovative diplomacy. Kenya's engagement with other countries hinges on the quest of promoting and protecting state, regional and global security and peace and to safeguard the sovereignty and the country's territorial integrity.[6] Through the country's foreign policy, it aims to position as a nation committed to supporting regional and global organizations in seeking sustainable solutions to activities that lead to terror and conflict.

In a study published on the University of Nairobi website, the researchers found that foreign policy decisions are used to counter threats to security in the country apart from realizing an environment that curbs the threat of terrorism.[7] Understanding the contemporary world requires the capacity to reduce the dangers, threats and vulnerability. There is a growing push within the global commune to establish an agreement especially on issues touching on global security that states commonly share particularly those emanating from shared threats. Within the past decade, a common consciousness which urges common behaviours has developed leading to common actions. From countries uniting to fight the growth of terrorist groups in the Middle East, West Africa and the Horn of Africa, there appears to be a mutual understanding and cooperation in tackling the security challenges facing countries today. These initiatives have been developing in public diplomacy field.

In assessing the role of public diplomacy in the contemporary world, particularly its purpose, relevance and modes of operation, the initial starting point should be to seek its basic definition. Fundamental comprehension of the meaning of public diplomacy should further provide guidance in addressing issues regarding the potential and expectations on public diplomacy particularly with regard to mitigating the challenges of security. Unfortunately, there is no universal agreement as to the definition of the concept. Blitz observes that public diplomacy has been introduced into the entered the list of words within

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[6] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya (2014)
[7] "Terrorism, Foreign Policy and National Security in Kenya." Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies: University of Nairobi (2013).

the twenty-first century diplomacy albeit with lack of an unambiguous definition of what it constitutes and the manner in which its framework and tools it provides can be best utilized.[8]

The somehow illusive term was introduced into the realm of foreign affairs as a way of describing those dimensions of international relations not associated with the long-established diplomacy.[9] Given that public diplomacy does not have any officially accepted principle that governs its operations, the utilization of the term has been divergent. It has been coexisting in an uneasy way with other equally ambiguous terms such as "international communication" or "international information". This apparent difficulty in clarifying and distinguishing what constitutes public diplomacy remains the fact that there is lack of theoretical infrastructure in public diplomacy literature.[10] Nonetheless, the concept can be located within the wider field of diplomacy.

1.2. Defining Public Diplomacy

Diplomacy in a broader sense is concerned with the formulation and implementation of foreign politics and the techniques therein including negotiations with other states and professional activity.[11] It can simply be viewed as the basic method of achieving foreign politics and as a way in which international relations is communicated. According to Olson[12], the aspect of foreign politics is not only a formulation but also a bearing while the aspect of diplomacy is communication and achievement. Diplomacy plays a critical role in managing the relationship between nations and other players via support in the areas of advice, planning and achievement of foreign politics, collaborating and guaranteeing particular and broad interests. An activity deemed diplomatic is intended to advance national interests through persuasion.

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[8] Blitz, M. (2013). Public diplomacy and the Private Sector. Stanford, CA.
[9] Leonard, M. (2002) Public Diplomacy, The Foreign Policy Centre: London

[10] Entman R. (2008) Theorizing Mediated Public Diplomacy, The U.S. case. International Journal of Press/Politics.
[11] Kristina Plavšak Krajnc, Public Diplomacy: Basic Concepts and Trends.
[12] Willian C. Olson (2011).The Theory and Practice of International Relations. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

The concept of public diplomacy can be located within the above understanding. Signitzer and Coombs provides a starting point for understanding the concept, viewing it as a route with which the state and the private citizens and associations can directly or indirectly impact those popular sentiments and stances, which specifically influences the decisions made by citizens of foreign states.[13] This view widens the scope of public diplomacy beyond traditional diplomacy. Within this definition, the scope of public diplomacy encompasses the realm of the day to day domestic issues and from the unopened realm of diplomats and governments focusing on new target groups and players such as individuals, organizations and groups that are entering global and cross-cultural interactive communicative performances and have the potential of influencing political associations between states. A similar view is shared by Manheim who concludes that public diplomacy's aim is clarity and advancement of government policy apart from the representation of a nation's foreign publics.[14] According to him, public diplomacy is a diplomatic activity by the government to the people including the efforts by the government to impact on the opinions in another state. It also influences the actions of foreign policy of target states through this.

According to Melissen when the term public diplomacy was coined in 1960s, it was viewed as the activity of nations to exert influence on foreign politics. This definition clearly formulates and distinguishes public diplomacy with traditional diplomacy whose aim was to inform and influence foreign governments directly. Long-standing definitions of public diplomacy according to this definition encompass cultural, educational and informational programmes sponsored by governments. It also includes cultural exchanges broadcasts that are employed in promoting the interests of a country through information and influence of

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[13] Signitzer and Coombs (1992). Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual convergences. *Public Relations Review*, *18(2)*, 137–147.

[14] Manheim, J. B. (1990, August/September). *Democracy as international public relations*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

foreign nationals.[15] These traditional definitions exclude private activities which inevitably and purposefully influence national security and foreign policy together with tourism and trade. These private actions have a wide range of activities such as music, fashion, sports, online news and sports among others.

An often cited meaning of public diplomacy is provided Edward Murrow who views it as a field that is concerned with influencing the attitudes of people in the conduct of foreign policies. It involves aspects of global relations that transcend long-established diplomacy; the nurturing of the public opinions in other nations; the inter-linkage among private entities and interests in one country with those of another; accounts of foreign activities and its impacts on policy; correspondences among individuals whose work is communication such as among diplomats and foreign representatives; and the intercultural communication processes.[16] According to Paul Sharp it is the mechanism through which direct links with the citizens in a country are practised to further the interest and expand the values of the people who are being represented.

A more succinct definition is provided by Hans Tuch who views it as the mechanism by a government of corresponding with the public of a foreign country in an attempt to marshal deeper understanding for its country's ideals and perspectives, its structure and institutions and culture together with the promotion of its national objectives and policies.[17]

The above definitions are useful in distinguishing the realm of diplomacy and public diplomacy. According to Allen, diplomacy has not been given much attention in contemporary academic research and at times it has been considered as a less significant tool of foreign policy.[18] In most cases, it has been viewed as having little relevance especially

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[15] Jan Melissen (ed.) (2007).The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
[16] Ibid, 23
[17] Tuch, Hans. (1990). Communicating with the World: US public diplomacy overseas. New York: St. Martin's.
[18] Allen, 2009

among the wider general public given that the majority of matters it deals with appear to be considerably remote. This views seems to argue in favour of the new practice of public diplomacy which is emerging as an essential tool for promoting global interactions and making sense of the relationships of countries and their people in the international system. Given the above, it is essential to assess the role of public diplomacy in this ever dynamic world of international relations.

From the above insights, it is clear that public diplomacy is different from the long-standing practice of diplomacy in that in that it encompasses both interactions with state and non-state actors. It presumes a process of open communication founded on the values of publicity and is attempting to address the mass in contrast to traditional diplomacy which is mostly characterized by secrecy and exclusivity. Public diplomacy has been described by Gilboa in terms of activities within the scope of information, education and culture focused on foreign nations with the aim of impacting foreign countries through influencing their citizens.[19] A number of authors are in agreement with regard to the intended impacts of varied activities of public diplomacy which include making broadcasted messages being listened to heard, understood and accepted, to establish and reinforce among the targeted audience a favourable perspective towards policies that are being advanced through communication and to marshal positive imagery, reputation, recognisability and the place of the country in the international arena.

In short, public diplomacy can be viewed as a kind of persuasive correspondence with foreign governments in terms of realizing the aims of foreign politics. Fundamentally, what is being referred to is communication that is convincing and persuasive to influence the position and opinions of foreign countries so as to establish relevant pressure on policy makers.

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[19] Gilboa, E. (2008, March). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science , 616, pp. 55-77.

Through this, they influence the activities and decisions of their countries in line with their interests and goals.

1.3.   Public Diplomacy and National Reputation

Like other countries, Kenya through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs is paying attention to the reputation of the country overseas. Official communication targeting foreign countries is however not a new occurrence in the realm of international relations. Fields that can now be categorized under public diplomacy such as branding or image cultivation and propaganda are almost as old as diplomacy itself. A critical perspective on the type of communication involved in public diplomacy is provided by Constantin Hlihor and Elena Hlihor. According to them, it is the mechanism through which government actors, representatives of other agencies and members of the public together with the media share and exchange information that are mutually beneficial to them so as to sustain equilibrium, maintain peace and cooperation in every aspect and also to maintain a particular projected picture to the global public opinion.[20] This perspective provides a number of factors that directly or indirectly affects the process and phenomenon of communication in the realm of public diplomacy.

It is critical to state that the process of globalization is a decisive factor in the flow of communication in the public diplomacy field. The process of globalization has increased the interdependence among governments, organizations, regional and international entities. Consequently, public diplomatic communication is faced with a number of situations which demands that it adjusts to the present realities. Among these situations are the contemporary communication technologies which have enabled countries and other organizations to abandon conventional communication channels and technologies. Accordingly, a large array of professions has been prompted by the new communication technologies which are well integrated in the systems of the organizations.

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[20]Constantin Hlihor (2005). Geopolitics and geostrategy in the analysis of contemporary international relations, National Defence University Printing House, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 59-112

According to Bardos, it is always challenging to consider public diplomacy as a priority on the State Department agenda as the majority of careers are founded on diplomatic activities in the communication and cultural work fields.[21] In Kenya, much of the diplomatic activities in the past few years have been hinged on investments, culture and tourism. Morgenthau remarks that the aims of public diplomacy must correspond with the actions of a nation's military of foreign policy.[22]

In recent years, along with the establishment of a comprehensive approach to a new array of security threats and to transformations in the views concerning security, public diplomacy has shifted toward a greater focus on foreign relations as a strategy, cross-country interaction and a way of promoting the establishment of interdependence and hence supporting efforts aimed at maintaining and expanding peace. As such, influencing foreign policy has become a new pillar in the realm of public diplomacy. The purpose of this element is to influence foreign governments' decisions and decision-makers. Even as public diplomacy actions largely emanate from government and governmental bodies, it however does not attempt to have direct influence on foreign governments and decision-makers. By building a positive climate among foreign publics, the nations that are developing public diplomacy campaigns attempt to facilitate the objectives and goals of their own foreign policy.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

In an environment characterized by international multi-actor engagements, the practice of traditional diplomacy is ever becoming untenable to meet the demands and the complexity of security issues in the global environment. Given the current challenges,

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[21] Bardos, A. (2001). Public diplomacy: An old art, new profession. The Virginia Quarterly Review, 77(3): 424-437.

[22] Hans J. Morgenthau, (1950). The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions, The American Political Science Review, 45:243.

particularly international terrorism, there is need for a paradigm shift in advancing and securing national interests between and among multiplicity of actors.

In the 21st Century, matters of a country's security and interests abroad are not left only to the diplomat. This is because their traditional roles are now increasingly being undertaken by largely non-diplomatic actors. The range of actors involved in public diplomacy is increasing and the issues are becoming complexly interconnected, not to mention the proliferation of the utilization of social media. The focus on relations is intensifying along with the need for more sophisticated strategies. These shifts in the international sphere demands a connective mind shift from the control of information and domination to strategic management of relationship.

Under the conditions where public diplomacy in various countries is presently concerned with numerous activities with each one focused on marshalling the country's identity and position at both local and international levels, an analysis of the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security in the world is not only in order but also beneficial. Moreover, public diplomacy within any realistic approach can neither be predicted nor practiced but can be viewed as an exchange of messages and information among actors that belong to diverse groups interacting within the field of political, economic, military, cultural, economic or humanitarian relation within which rules and procedures together with criteria of contact and negotiation procedures for issues of mutual interests are established. In line with this, there is need for empirical assessment on the current status of public diplomacy and its role therein in advancing national security in a world characterized by multiplicity of actors and complexity.

If effective public diplomacy is a key component of nations' foreign policy and vital to the success of national security strategy, then it follows that ineffective public diplomacy can undermine a nation's ability to realize its foreign policy and national security objectives

further undermining global security given the porosity of borders and interconnectedness among nations.

1.4.1. Research questions

This research paper seeks to address the following questions:

1. What is the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security around the world?
2. What has been the role of public diplomacy in advancing Kenya's national security?
3. Is public diplomacy a critical tool in Kenya's engagement with foreign publics?

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this research is to establish the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security in Kenya.

1.6. Specific Objectives

i. To analyse the role of public diplomacy in advancing National security around the world.
ii. To assess the role of public diplomacy in advancing Kenya's national security.
iii. To establish whether public diplomacy is utilized as a tool in Kenya's engagement with foreign publics.

1.7. Justification of the Study

It is the responsibility of every government to protect its national interest in a volatile international environment. A country must be able to know areas of collaboration with other countries apart from making a clear division between its primary and secondary interests. This study, which seeks to assess the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security, is critical since it will uncover information that can help in conceptualizing public diplomacy in ways that are essential to promoting national security interests. The study is meant to

provide facts about the role of public diplomacy in the process of pursuing national interests in Kenya.

The findings of this study will first and foremost be important to the government of Kenya since they would be utilized as a benchmark for assessing the role of public diplomacy in the process of pursuing national and international security interests. Secondly, the finding and recommendations will help policy makers in the field of foreign affairs to design public diplomacy policies focused towards national and international security interests. Finally, the findings of the research will contribute to the public diplomacy literature apart from highlighting areas of research.

1.8.   Literature Review

While there is an abundance of literature on public diplomacy is abundant, much of it is dedicated to analysing its application in fighting terrorism and providing corrective recommendations. However, there has been an increase in conceptual analysis in more recent times. For instance, Melissen has attempted to place the subject within a more academic and conceptual framework from perfunctory opinion editorials and discourse from diplomats.[23] The basic concern of the current focus has been to reconceptualise public diplomacy within in an environment characterized by an ever growing globalized and networked context.

The idea of public diplomacy during the twentieth century emanated from the first and second world wars and was mainly shaped by the Cold War and information scene ruled by mass communication medium. Today, public diplomacy is being driven by information and communication technologies that lessen time and distance, and non-state global actor who are continuously challenging state-driven policies and debate on the subject.[24]

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[23] Melissen, J. The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice. Palgrave Macmillan. 2005
[24] Splichal, Slavko, Andrew Calabrese & Colin Sparks, eds. Information Society and Civil Society. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press. 2004.

Macharia contends that foreign relations is made up of self-intrigue systems chosen by the state for the purpose of defending its national interests and to realize objectives within its universal relations environment.[25] It takes cognizance to the fact that diplomacy is state planned to achieve its targets in the global field, and hence it is the totality of a country's focus towards diverse government and non-government actors in the global framework. According to Senarclens and Kazancigil, the major component utilized by states to comprehend their imagined interests and objectives into a concrete diplomacy to realize their goals and protect their interests is remote arrangements.[26] Accordingly, it can be said that states use foreign policy as a heap of standards and practices for managing the interaction with other states. The foreign approach of a country, similarly referred to as universal relations arrangement, is an organization of objectives roughly mapping out the way in which a country will interface with different countries socially, politically, financially and militarily, and to a smaller extent, the way in which the country will network with non-state actors. Of concern to remote arrangements are the boundaries between the external foreign environment and the internal domestic environment with its various sub-national impacts.[27]

A recurring concern in the proposals for contemporary diplomacy has often been the basic opposition of purpose at the centre of the exercise which is mainly the pressure that exists between influence and exchange. A number of proposals for the new public diplomacy have been struggling to divorce public diplomacy from its long standing link with psychological-political warfare and advocate for a change towards mutual dialogue and symmetrical exchange. This has been termed by Zaharna as shifting from battle to bridges.[28] Others like Castells have advocated for the utilization of public diplomacy to advance

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[25] Macharia Munene (2011). Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No. 1

[26] Pierre de Senarclens and Ali Kazancigi. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. New York: UN University Press, (2007), p. 107.

[27] Melissen, 213

[28] Zaharna, R. (2012). The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy. 1st ed. Figueroa Press Los Angeles.

meaning and share understanding. He notes that the purpose of the practice is to communicate and not to convince, to listen instead of declaration.[29]

A number of literatures on contemporary public diplomacy appear to identify globalization, the role of non-state actors and information and communication as the main issues to be considered. Mutual and reciprocal cross-country understanding is undoubtedly a dignified aim. Whether there is the possibility of reconciling this with the more practical concerns of governments with gain, influence and security to which public diplomacy as the action of states is inexorably tied is another issue. As underlined by Glassman, the duty of public diplomacy after all is the realization of national interest.[30] In order to advance national interest, genuine exchange is necessary. As stated by Nye, public diplomacy is not just a campaign for public relations. Rather, it encompasses establishing long-term relationships focused on building a supportive atmosphere for a country's policies.[31] Fitzpatrick attempts to differentiate the emerging field of public diplomacy from its conflict related past and the use of power, regardless of how soft, contending that instead of clarifying the fundamental purpose of public diplomacy, the concept of soft power has instead confused it.[32] Even though political power can potentially emanate from effective public diplomacy, she contends that it is an irrelevant conceptual ground for currying out effective and ethical public diplomacy.[33] Hocking has also suggested the need to re-assess the argumentation of soft power upon which much of the debate about public diplomacy has been be entangled.[34] Notably, public diplomacy has been primarily identified as a resource for soft power.

Arsenault notes that the negotiation for national reputations is mostly undertaken across multiple information and media platforms which converge into a single permeable,

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[29] Zaharna, 141
[30] Melissen, 65
[31] Joseph S. Nye, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004), p. 10.
[32] Fitzpatrick, K. Advancing the New Public Diplomacy: A Public Relations Perspective. The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 2(3): 187-211
[33] Zaharna, 31
[34] Ibid, 132

information rich and chaotic global information realm.[35] The implication is that the theory

and practice of public diplomacy in the contemporary world must deal with the convergence

of communication and technological convergence, associated difficulties in the delivery and

visibility of information and incorporation of collaborative and participatory interaction

models.[36] Even though these observations mirror a quasi-unanimous conception of the

contemporary information environment, the conclusions made from them are varied and

conflicted since their dynamic nature and freedom they raise can be counterbalanced by

fragmentation and disorder. According to Nye, the paradox of plenty –the view that when

there is a lot of information, attention becomes scarce –is the major challenge for the practice

of public diplomacy.[37] Similarly, the presence of many competing perspectives makes the

realization of persuasion difficult.[38] In general terms, communication can be made more

difficult by its improvements.[39] The complexity of the interconnectedness in the

contemporary world, while bringing significant rewards, also complicates the design and

implementation of a coordinated communication strategy. It further increases the uncertainty

of its impacts. It should be noted that the emotions of foreign audiences is often very

complicated. Just as one is not guaranteed understanding by reading, public diplomacy does

not guarantee seduction regardless of how strong the message is or how well the advertising

tactics are equipped. While misunderstandings can be cleared through increasing the amount

of communication which further improves the relationship between countries and other non-

state actors within the international scene, insufficient communication has the potential of

adding new tensions and problems to international relations.[40]

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[35] Amellia, Arsenault (2010). Towards a New Public diplomacy.
[36] Ibid, 121
[37] Nye 122
[38] Melissen, 32
[39] Carey, 21
[40] Carey, 32

Audience responses to the practice of public diplomacy are inescapably unpredictable. Given this fact, some have concluded that it is all about trial, error and experience.[41] Others on the other hand advocate for a shift towards shared goals and cultivation of multiple meanings rather than message and meaning control. The purpose is to achieve a unified diversity founded on global cooperation rather than power and dominance.[42] The need for greater cooperation nurtured by increased interconnectivity has resulted in calls for public diplomacy to shift from one-way information flows, or even beyond dialogue, to a more comprehensive kind of partnership and engagement.[43] Arsenault remarks that if at its inception the practice of public diplomacy was mainly based in the use of mass media, then a new public diplomacy predicated on one way television and radio communication seems both naïve and outdated.[44] There has been a call for the adoption of a relational model for public diplomacy which aims for an ideal two way symmetric exchange.[45] The overarching concern has been not to merely adapt public diplomacy to the increased changes brought about by the digital world, but in redefining its guiding mission in order that it becomes more of a means of enhancing human relations between sovereign countries and people to realize mutual understanding and benefits rather than becoming an instrument of power used by a state to benefit itself. [46]

Even though such a cause may be too theoretical for what is left behind after all the practice associated with the pragmatic demands of international politics, the debate concerning whether the primary concern of public diplomacy should be the control of image development relationships has actually become a critical matter. As pointed out by Zaharna, the view that public diplomacy must be effective may be a proposition that is limiting and

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[41]Melissen, 126

[42] Zaharna, 128

[43] Ibid, 129

[44] Ibid, 130

[45] Ibid, 131

[46] Melisen, 133

faulty. She instead suggests that there is need to acknowledge both information and relational frameworks.[47] A similar point is made by Arsenault. According to her, the web has not been replaced by social media just as the traditional form of diplomacy will not be replaced by public diplomacy.[48] However, it is critical to understand that such concerns, while magnified by the growth in interconnectedness and interactivity nurtured by the emerging information and communication technologies, are not in their entirety new in the domain of public diplomacy. The establishment of state transnational communication throughout the past century is closely associated to the emergence and evolution of public relations.

The advances in information and communication technologies is not the only factor that can be attributed to the increasing concern that international audiences are not simply passive and massed recipients. The mergence and rise of non-state actors in the contemporary world is also another major reason for rearticulating the concept of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy, as such, is no longer an actively solely for the state but an activity in which large and small non-state players do play critical roles. Non-state actors in this sense include NGOs, the civil society, individual and corporations who have hence introduced the issue of privatization to contemporary public diplomacy thinking.

The ever increasing role of non-government players in the global picture has critical consequences for the exercise of public diplomacy. This is because it is ever operating in a network environment instead of the more traditional bureaucratic state-centred approach to international relations.[49] More importantly, it presents a credible test to the very basis of public diplomacy as an endeavour solely meant for the government.

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[47]Ibid, 134
[48] Melissen, 135
[49] Ibid, 139

Public diplomacy has since acquired the theoretical consistency apart from obtaining actional coherence making it a preoccupation of the majority of countries.[50] According to Joseph Nye, public diplomacy is a political expression of what he refers to as soft power. Within the international politics, power is an actor's ability to exercise influence on another to perform particular activities that would otherwise not be performed. As such, the hard power is an actor's capacity to force another to perform particular activities and encompasses tactics such as coercive diplomacy, military action and sanctions. In the contrary, soft power refers to an actor's capacity to persuade or influence another to perform those actions. These two when combined leads to smart power. Smart power utilizes the most relevant strategic mechanisms of the two aspects mentioned.

Mihai-Mercel contend that public diplomacy has emerged to be an area of study and an instrument for promoting the objectives of foreign policy for states, non-state entities, multinational organizations, firms, international organizations and others. Beginning from the proposition that it is through diplomacy that civilizations are capable of discovery so as to guarantee that global interactions are not forcefully conducted, within the present global environment, public diplomacy emerges as a critical constituent of a country's foreign policy strategy. The target of public policy is social groupings, individuals, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. As such, even though traditional diplomacy organizes and manages communication relations with governments, public diplomacy considers communication with diverse audiences in other nations.

The present public diplomacy has been classified by Nicholas Cull[51] based on five major elements. These are listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, diplomacy of exchange and broadcasting of news/international programmes. Listening involves the management of

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[50] Dorin Tohănean, Public Diplomacy and Foreign Politics – PhD Thesis, (Bucharest: "Carol I" National Defence University, 2013), 99.

[51] Geoffrey Cowan and Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (2008): 32.

international environment through gathering and selecting information about the perceptions of foreign publics and the employment this information to direct the entire foreign policy.[52] Advocacy within the context of public diplomacy implies that a player is attempting the management of the sphere through engagement in an action of global communication to as to further a given ideal or interest in a foreign public perception. The aim of diplomatic advocacy is to convince the appropriate authorities of other countries to either act in a way desired by the diplomat's government or to stop doing something that they it does not want them to do.[53]

Cultural diplomacy on the other hand occurs on numerous arrangements for promoting culture and mirrors the actions through which a player attempts to control the global environment through the provision of knowledge concerning heritage or cultural prospects to the different groupings of foreign publics. Public diplomacy achieves utmost potential when it makes contribution to a country's image since it can conquer the partiality of the target population towards government communication. Exchange diplomacy is the attempt to control the global sphere through sending its people overseas and the mutual invitation and acceptance of the overseas citizens for cultural knowledge studies.[54] News broadcasting or global programmes is when there is an attempt by an actor to control global environment through radio, television and the internet in its engagement with external publics. Attention has been drawn to the fact that that foreign policy decision-making is profoundly affected by the mass media.

An attempt by a government or its representatives to influence and control the global sphere through the military without necessarily expressing the intentions to use force, fall within the scope of military public diplomacy. Among the activities that can be said to fall

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[52] Cowan and Cull (2008)

[53] Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., Arts of Power. Statecraft and Diplomacy, (Unites States Institute of Peace Press, 2007).

[54] Dorin Tohănean, cit.ed., 103.

within this form of public diplomacy are exercises conducted in international waters, joint military activities, exchanges of military officers for training exercises, demonstration activities as well as psychological operations. A wide range of actions fall within the scope of psychological operations and these are meant to influence the perception, attitudes and emotions of foreign publics according to a particular purpose. According to the US Department of Defence, psychological operations are "operations organized for the spread of information and chosen pointers to foreign populations so as to control their feelings, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately, the behaviour of states, organizations, groups and individuals, in ways favourable to the originator's objectives."[55]

Kenya, like other democracies around the world, the military is increasingly playing a significant role in public diplomacy a fact mirrored in Kenya's actions in Somalia and South Sudan and previously in Sierra Leone. Involvement in AMISON activities in Somalia demands the utilization of consistent public diplomacy campaigns both with regard to communicating with the Somali people and sending messages to forces of the nations involved. One of the major threats to national security has been the involvement of new types of actors mainly referred to as violent non-state actors who utilize violence to realize their goals without necessarily being integrated into formalized state institutions. Al Shabaab, one of the region's major security threat falls within this category. The main role of public diplomacy in the formulation of security policy is ascertained by the fact that nations, as the major actors in the international scene, balances the perceptions concerning their own power capabilities with those of their opponents in their areas of interests.

Public diplomacy serves as the tool used by countries to influence the behaviour of non-state actors. Mihai-Mercel contends that people's perceptions concerning other people directly affect the ability of states to achieve and maintain alliances in the process of pursuing

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[55] United States Department of Defence, , http://www. dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/.

common political objectives including national security. Be it propaganda, manipulation of transforming individual attitudes of beliefs, their basis rests upon representation of person, group, event, all structured I an image. They are formed either directly or indirectly and the "farther a person or a group who has an image of a country or a people is, the more diffuse and confusing his vision will be."[56]

Public diplomacy is seen to have a number of roles when it comes to national security. Public diplomacy promotes the critical national interests, being the main instrument of diplomacy of a country outside its own national territory. It does this through comprehending, informing and influencing foreign audiences so s to influence the political behaviour of target nations. Public diplomacy also plays a major role as a tool for smart power and the necessary tool of the 21st century state. According to Joseph Nye, public diplomacy is a critical tool in the arsenal of smart power even though smart public diplomacy demands an understanding of the reliability, self-criticism and the role of the civil society in generating soft power.[57] As such, public diplomacy must maintain being a process of two-way communication, especially in understanding the manner in which other people think.

Public diplomacy also plays a critical role in shaping the opinion of the target audience abroad. Particular ideas highlight the fact that the global public opinion may be related with a new type of actor in the international relations system. This fact justifies the statement that any activity of public diplomacy is founded on communication and dialogue with the target audience abroad. Within this process, listening and learning, together with opinion leaders and instructors are of major importance. The environment of public opinion abroad can be impacted upon in so far as the diplomats who make submissions on public

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[56] Ion Chiciudean and Bogdan-Alexandru Halic, National Branding in the Context of Foreign Relations, Curs universitar, (Bucharest: SNSPA Publishing House, 2001), 10.
[57] Joseph S. Nye, Smart Power Needs Smart Public Diplomacy, http://belfercentre.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/19934/smart_power_needs_smart_public_ diplomacy.html.

diplomacy have achieved credibility in the way that they associate with opinion leaders from the host country.

Public diplomacy is also a critical tool in promoting and presenting national values. Exchanges in the field of culture or education as well as with the organization of international conferences and seminars are among the unique actions that public diplomacy guarantees the promotion of national values. Public diplomacy is critical in this sense, and it is important to state that it also supports the establishment of international cooperation and alliances. Founded on the principles defined by national security strategy, the promotion of alliance-making and international cooperation is hinged on public diplomacy. As such, it ensures that national interests are pursued at the level of international affairs and domestic security of territory and population. However, Mihai-Mercel argues that any approach to public diplomacy with regard to national, regional and international security matters are highly efficient when supported by military public diplomacy actions and 21st century events. This can be confirmed by Kenya's intervention in South Sudan and Somalia.

Another critical role of public diplomacy is that it ensures that the relationship of a state with its citizens living abroad is maintained and developed. In most cases, the connection is realized through cultural exhibitions and events, diplomacy, and cultural programmes conducted in creative partnership, collaboration and scholarships for citizens abroad. Public diplomacy further supports the establishment of cultural, economic, educational and scientific exchanges through the promotion of business and investment opportunities.

1.9. Theoretical Framework

Even though there are numerous theories explaining the actions of governments within the international sphere, there is yet to be a complete independent theory for practicing

public diplomacy. There are two approaches to public diplomacy that have been identified by Hocking: traditional hierarchical approach and network-based approach.[58]

While the traditional hierarchical approach is centred on intergovernmental relations and top-down communication, the network-based approach emphasizes non-hierarchical cooperation and multidirectional flows of information. The network-based approach also provides a "fundamentally different picture of how diplomacy works in the twenty-first century." Nye also introduced the concept of soft power as a framework for analysing public diplomacy. However, the theory is mainly based on the view that countries advance their own political aims and hence the framework is only useful in assessing countries that focus on their political goals.

The most relevant theoretical basis for this study is the network-based approach or the relational framework which emphasizes on the establishment of relationships and maintaining positive social structures in solving problems of communication to advance state objectives.[59] Within this model, the establishment of relationships is the fundamental objective of public diplomacy since it necessitates the establishment of a better and more networked international environment. There are six major characteristics shared by public diplomacy within the relational framework. These are: identifying, defining and building relationships; finding mutual interests; relationship-building strategy; coordination; participation; continuity and sustainability.[60]

Activities within the relational framework are more focused on social processes keen on regulation, maintenance and enhancement of relationships rather than the actual creation or establishing relationships since some degree of relationship is assumed to already be in existence. As such, communication among individuals becomes the ideal medium. Even

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[58] Bryan Hocking (2005). Rethinking the New Public Diplomacy. Pelgrave.
[59] Zaharna 2010, p.146
[60] Zaharna 2007

though this is not the most efficient channel, it is however effective in maintaining relationships and flow of information within the society.

The network-based approach, with its focus on message exchanges, is supported with technological developments linked with the social media and the internet. According to Zaharna, advocacy nongovernmental organizations have particularly used this approach to establish soft power.[61]

1.10. Hypotheses of the study

a. Public diplomacy has a role in advancing National security around the world.

b. Public diplomacy has a role in advancing Kenya's national security.

c. Public diplomacy is a critical tool in Kenya's engagement with foreign publics.

1.10   Methodology

1.10.1. Research Design

This study used established qualitative and quantitative methods in political and social sciences as well as comparative methods of research to assess the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security. The researcher decided that the mixed method research is the most relevant for the subject under study to examine the issues and address the research questions. The combination of diverse methods and different sources is often encouraged since it is highly effective when worked out strategically. The reasons behind integrating different methods within this study was to conduct an exploration of different parts of a phenomenon and to address the same research questions from different perspectives using different methods so as to analyze them deeply. The emphasis is on the fact that qualitative and quantitative research as fundamentally different but complimentary. Additionally, units of meaning and statistics are dependent upon one another. This study, however, places more

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[61] Zaharna

emphasis on the qualitative approach with small scale quantitative measures used to mainly illustrate the results. Moreover, the emphasis on qualitative approach corresponds with the fact that it involves the realm of study that is previously unexplored and there is the possibility of the research topic being developed further or redirected during the course of data collection.

Quantitative study is fragmented in various phases while in qualitative research, the data collection process, analysis and conclusion are linked. The basis for categorising, deducing and interpreting is similar in both quantitative and qualitative studies. The purpose of the qualitative study is to provide a description of an event or a situation in order to comprehend particular activity or to offer an interpretation of an event. A summary of features unique to qualitative research is provided by Jensen. According to him, it involves the assessment of meanings in their natural setting while the researcher takes up the role of an interpretive subject.[62] The approach uses structured observations to explain and generalize an event or activity. It is very critical that the structured observation is intentional, can be replicated and is valid.

The justification for using qualitative method lies in the fact that it assesses and explores the way in which things operate in specific contexts instead of making a representation of the complete range of experience. Again, the study examines a social process that requires explanation and this is mainly the objective of a qualitative study. For this study, the main methods utilized are interviews and document analysis.

1.10.2. Research Philosophy

Relational framework, which switches public diplomacy from content of a message to exchange of information, control to coordination, and products to process was utilised as the underlying philosophical approach to the study. With an emphasis on a qualitative case study,

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[62] Jensen, 2008

the research paper will examine whether public diplomacy is utilized in advancing Kenya's national security interests. This research paper will focus on finding out tenets of relational framework to answer the research paper's question. The tenets of Zaharna's relational framework of public diplomacy will be used and these include Identifying, defining, and building relationships; Finding mutual interests; Relationship-building strategy; Coordination; Participation; Continuity and Sustainability.

1.10.3. Sampling Technique

The study utilized stratified random sampling to select foreign missions based in Nairobi. Then purposive random sampling was used to select participants of the study. They were drawn from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Missions in Kenya, the Ministry of Interior and National Coordination and Ministry of Defence. The researcher used her own judgment to select the sample population. The sampling method was chosen given that there are limited number of staff who can provide information due to the nature of the aims and objectives of the study. For instance, the study seeks to analyze the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security and hence, there are specific officers who were best placed to provide in-depth information.

1.10.4. Data Collection

The researcher used various methods to collect data. This includes interviews, questionnaires and document search. Documents related to public diplomacy were gathered for analysis. Because Merriam emphasizes the advantage to use many different sources of evidence, other data collection methods were integrated including internet research, the institutional documents and news reports. On one hand, the multiple literature sources were useful to present a holistic picture of the case under study. For example, the institutional documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided the historical events that contribute to

relationships-building. On the other hand, the diversity of data helped gain in-depth understanding of how national security issues are intertwined with foreign policy aims apart from improving accuracy of the study. To supplement the data collected from literatures, the staff employed by the various ministries and missions who handle communication were invited for an interview. Because it is intended to be an exploratory research, mostly questions in the interview were open-ended according to this paper's theoretical framework.

a) **Interview**

The interview was picked as an examination strategy in light of the fact that it is common amongst the most regularly utilized techniques in qualitative research in addition to the fact that the desired information was not accessible in some other form. As such, it was the best way to access the sort of information needed. Moreover, group interviews also help the researcher to comprehend the how the agencies are organized which was fundamental in this exploration. In most cases, and in this examination, interviews were picked in light of the fact that the exploration comprises of an unexplored region and it is challenging for the researcher to assess the course that the responses will take.

According to Mason qualitative interview refers to comprehensive, semi-structured or forms of interviews that are loosely structured. Additionally, he contends that in group interviews, the inquiries are either organized uniformly or loosely structured. Along these lines, it should be chosen whether a group interview is an interview or a discussion. In this examination the questions were planned in prior with the goal that the structure of the interview would unambiguously guide the discussion and it would be less demanding for the interviewer to take control of the interview process. In spite of the predefined interview questions the discussion was broad which supports the case that interviews have changed into conversational kind rather than customary question answer interviews.

Interview is seen as communication between the questioner and the interviewee where both parties influence one another. Mason bolsters the thought by characterizing a moderately casual style discussion and interactional discourse as the main features of an interview. A group interview is a viable method to collect data as data is simultaneously gathered from many people.

Jensen on the other hand contends that the test for interviews is that "individuals don't generally say what they think, or mean what they say" yet he notes that the researcher has an upper advantage of observing the interview climate thus being in a position to determine the validity of the data. Jyrinki likewise recognizes the adaptability of the strategy: reiteration and clarification of the questions and amendment of misinterpretations which lessen the potential absence of response.

b) Questionnaire

Since this inquiry is principally centred on the perspectives of the different organizations and agencies, prominence was given to this dimension of the exploration. The organizations are located in various areas and the questionnaire was picked in light of the fact that it is the most helpful method for gathering the required information as far as expenses and time are concerned. The benefit of e questionnaire is the way that the influence of the inquirer is removed and the respondent may feel his confidentiality is better ensured and in this manner more likely to respond to delicate issues than in an interview. Moreover, like in this examination, there is the possibility of collecting a wide range of information as the number of respondents can be high and more questions asked. In any case, the weaknesses of the questionnaire as a method of inquiry are that the response rate can be low and the researcher knows without a doubt who has responded to the inquiry. Further, it is hard to avoid false impressions and to assess how effective the responses were from the perspective of the respondent. Additionally, developing a questionnaire is tedious.

The questionnaire included distinct questions: multiple-choice questions, open questions and scale questions. The merit of open inquiries is that they do not compel the respondent to pick from particular given choices. Besides, an open question enables the respondent to talk about the issue in a way familiar to him or her.

1.10.5. Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis for this study was conducted using qualitative content analysis process. This involved recording of data on the interview responses using audio recording and taking notes to serve as backup. This was followed by verbatim transcriptions of the responses from the interviews. The notes and the transcriptions were read thoroughly to acquire the overall and detailed impression of the content and context before coding begins, where identification of units of meaning was done. The transcriptions were organized into meaningful themes and categories. The codes were then assessed for relevance with the research objectives and the theoretical framework of the study. Quantitative data was on the other hand analysed using SPSS 17 statistical software.

1.10. Chapter Outline

This research is organized as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the study. It sets the broad context for the research, problem statement, study objectives, literature review, hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, and the methodology of the study.

Chapter Two: Public Diplomacy within the Global Security Context

This chapter analyses how public diplomacy is being utilized within the global security context. It explores its relevance in the current global context and whether it has been explicitly been used to respond to security matters globally.

Chapter Three: The Role of Public Diplomacy in Advancing National Security in Kenya

This chapter analyses the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security with specific focus on how the concept has been utilized by various countries.

Chapter Four: Public Diplomacy as a Tool for Engaging Foreign Publics in Kenya

This chapter looks at how Kenya has used public diplomacy as a tool for engaging foreign publics.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the interview and questionnaire and analyses the data obtained against hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendation

The chapter provides conclusions of the study and gives recommendations on areas for further study.

2.0.   CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN ADVANCING NATIONAL SECURITY AROUND THE WORLD

2.1.   Introduction

This chapter assesses the role of diplomacy in enhancing national security around the world. It considers some of the ways that public diplomacy is being used to address national security.

2.2.   Public diplomacy and National Security

It is now globally recognized that insecurity is no longer restricted by geography. In the quest for domestic security, it is becoming common for countries to proactively address cultural and social drivers of insecurity where they take place. Among the drivers are the deep hatred towards western values held by radicalized persons in volatile regions which are struggling with social and cultural change, corruption and economic disenfranchisement. Much of this hatred is driven by perceived incoherent, unjust foreign policies of western countries with a large percentage emanating from prejudices and misperceptions. In both instances, globalization with attendant proliferation of communication, travel and technology implies that simmering hatred can pose serious threats to countries that are being targeted.

Even though the United States is the main focus of anti-western sentiment, the threats posed by extremists transcends one particular state. The wider community of western countries and their allies are also implicated. Until recently, attacks on western targets by people with strong links to volatile regions have been carried out in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, United Kingdom, Spain, the United States and other countries across the world. National security services have thwarted other similar attacks. Even though many countries are fending off these threats through contributing resources to intelligence sharing, border security and counter-terrorism units, minimal attention has been focused on establishing

favourable public opinion in regions of the world where poor public opinion provides breeding ground for threats to security.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security in the world. In recent years, public diplomacy has increasingly become prominent. The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States became the most dramatic catalyst, revealing the destructive impacts that negative public opinion can cause. Other developments have come together to place public diplomacy at the centre of foreign policy agenda. The United States is not the only country that has broadened its efforts at public diplomacy. Other countries such as the United Kingdom and Canada have also included public diplomacy as a central theme in their foreign policy agenda. Even though public diplomacy has a long history of existence, it is today gaining more attention particularly in light of recent occurrences in global security.

During the past few years, the concept of security has not only been broadened but also deepened. With the increasing involvement of non-government actors in curving nation branding projects and influencing national policies on aspects that are directly relevant to the identity of a nation, the terms used in communicating security and defence has progressed in the current context of international security. The aspect of security in nation branding has the potential of strongly influencing the construction of messages used by state authorities to communicate foreign, security and defence policies. The concept of branding has transcended the commercial realm into national branding activities, hence establishing strong relations with critical aspects of the daily lives of ordinary citizens including perspectives on safety and personal security.

Re-tuning a country's image is a critical task for many nations today for various reasons including attracting foreign investments, attraction of tourists, and mending negative image. A considerable amount of work has been dedicated to delineating the significance of a

country's image in the global arena in terms of influence, credibility and diplomacy in today's societies. Strategies of national security are among the main instruments used in guarding and protecting the identity of a country. In most cases, the guardians of national security are the authorities who act within the security and defence realm. However, nation branding campaigns gives the power of articulating national identity into the hands of private entities hence transforming the civic space into a space comprising of marketing information instead of social relations, identity and shared values. Possibly, this calculative space might transform the existing understanding and representation of the reality thus potentially generating new expectations.

The involvement of private entities in crafting national identities appears to lead to a new understanding of the nation both as a historical project and as an important player in the global space. Within the practice of nation branding, there are two critical features that are emphasized: extensive endeavor to establish key components of national identity founded on images, symbols, rituals and related practices, both traditional and modern and a communication strategy associated with the need to project these elements in a structured and cohesive way.

Currently, security issues go beyond the state's military security to encompass ecological, economic and domestic dimensions of security. With the widening of the concept of security to encompass these aspects, there has been a strategic change in understanding of security. The new framework of national security focuses on identity which is understood as the ability of a country to maintain its culture, national identity and sovereignty. Much of the security strategies have focused on the community, guarantee of freedoms, human rights and national interests. A new understanding has emerged that constructs security through communities rather than through power, building security through collaboration and common

initiatives within the international realm. The approach has transformed the messages use by national agencies in communicating issues associated with security.

National security is hence increasingly dealing with national identity and the associated political discourse. In most cases, countries are no longer focusing on domestic vulnerabilities but rather on the unconventional, asymmetrical, non-military risks and threats to national security. The focus is on the fluid relationship between security-identity and the participation of private actors in discussing the strategy and gaining public support for the actions needed by those involved in the security aspect.

2.3. Public Diplomacy and Defence: The Case of the United States of America

Public diplomacy is among the instruments used by the U.S. to implement its national security strategy and enable leaders to mobilize critical support. As such, it is among the strategic communication tools that the United States uses in communicating to publics. By prevailing upon the hearts and psyches of people within a state, public diplomacy can enable the operational officers to push a state toward more steady types of government. Understanding the foundation of soft power, support of defence for public diplomacy and strategic communication, ensures that efforts can be effectively coordinated by field officers within their areas of responsibilities. Furthermore, offices located in foreign countries must guarantee that operational messages are in sync with information endeavours of partners, companions, and former enemies. It additionally requires the integration of different agencies, services disciplines and dimensions as well as synergy and orchestration. Working under a central theme and information strategy across divergent commands and government agencies has the potential of guaranteeing that image of security, progress in collaboration and hope is instilled among people. Sadly, the coordination and collaboration required for viable public diplomacy has still not been given the required urgency and assets to be completely successful.

The US Government Accounting Office has identified various issues that need to be focused on if a government is to guard its national security. Among them is the enhancement of the country's image to foreign publics through public diplomacy and broadcasting. The end of the cold War ushered in a world in which the United States stood alone as the sole superpower. One of the real aftermaths of the apparent harmony and peace in the world established by the new world order was the perception that there was no need for the U.S. government to actively engage the rest of the countries in the world. The office entrusted with conveying messages to foreign audiences outside the United States, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) were dissolved mainly because of financial reasons. Having a conversation with, or engaging partners, enemies and adversaries is as essential today as it was before the Cold War. Within the United States, this communication is conducted by geographic commandants who direct this correspondence through military information operations (IO). The core functions of IO encompass psychological operations (PSYOPS), Military Deception, Electronic Warfare, OPSEC, and Computer Network Operations. A major capability of IO accessible to geographic combatant commanders is providing defence support public diplomacy.

2.4.   Public Diplomacy and Soft Power

When one considers sovereign state control, the main idea is likely to be that of military capacities. Be that as it may, the sovereign state has numerous instruments of power accessible to it, including diplomatic, military, informational and financial instruments. Joseph Nye gives some valuable views on power and its relationship to the sovereign state. In Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, Nye contends that power is the capacity to influence other peoples' behaviour in order to achieve what one desires. He proceeds by saying that influence can be achieved through force, or hard power, for example military action or economic sanctions. Nye further depicts a substitute wellspring of sovereign state

influence: soft power. He clarifies that soft power utilizes the power of attraction to achieve the results that one desires without the unmistakable dangers or payoffs. Nye believes that soft power is derived from three sources: foreign policy, culture and political values. The quality of the state's soft power relies upon the fascination or aversion its way of life, political qualities, and foreign policy creates in the population of the targeted nation. To make soft power work viably, a state should deliberately choose the techniques that will pull in others to its interests. Soft power cannot be substituted for hard power. Instead, it can reinforce utilizations of hard power, and it might be more affordable. Soft power can be targeted at either an enemy state or at its individual subjects.

Public diplomacy is one type of soft power utilized by the United States. The country utilized it amid the Cold War to convey American qualities to the populations of Communist nations (and to impartial nations and allies). Public diplomacy concentrates more on the capacity to impact public attitudes on the development and execution of foreign policy strategies. It incorporates aspects of international relations that transcend traditional diplomacy. Public diplomacy centers on the instilling of positive attitudes by governments of one country to citizens of another; the relations of private associations and interests in one nation with those of another; the detailing of foreign issues and its effect on policy; correspondence between those involved in communication, as among ambassadors and foreign reporters; and the procedures of inter-cultural exchanges.

According to the U.S. Department of State (DOS) Dictionary of International Relations Terms, public diplomacy alludes to government-supported projects whose intention is to inform or impact public opinion in foreign nations; its central instruments are publications, movies, cultural exchanges, radio and TV." DOS utilizes an assortment of media in its endeavours to pass on U.S. national values to foreign publics. They incorporate data exchanges, educational programs, and leaner exchange programs, partnerships with

indigenous or nongovernmental agencies, and radio and TV. Presently, almost every region in the world has access to information through the internet. The dependence on mobile phones, instant messages, social media, and the web determines the level of communication by a country to the rest of the world. It is important to note that the US through DOS has grasped the more current media, for example, the web and satellite telecom, so as to use soft power to regions that cannot be easily accessible. Public diplomacy is one of the national power instruments utilized to actualize the U.S. National Security Strategy. By prevailing upon the hearts and psyches of people within a state, public diplomacy has enabled the U.S. Government to push various countries toward more steady types of government.

The United States utilizes public diplomacy to achieve some of its National Security Strategy goals, among them, to extend its circle of development by opening up societies and establishing the infrastructure for democracy. Critical to a successful public diplomacy endeavor is an unmistakable comprehension of the extent of public diplomacy and its relationship to related disciplines. The most generally summoned terms bearing on the focal importance of public diplomacy are "information" and "communication." Information and communication fundamentally occurs through various channels. Among them are: statecraft, public undertakings, public diplomacy, military information operations, and other exercises, fortified by political, monetary, military, and different activities, to progress U.S. foreign policy objectives. These are commonly referred to as strategic communication. In most cases, the strategic dimension of the statement established a conviction that the direction of the correspondence and its establishment originates from the most elevated levels of the U.S. government. In any case, choices and circumstances on the tactical level can be rapidly likened to strategic policy choices.

According to US Secretary of Defense, Admiral Mullen, there is growing concern about the military's obsession with strategic communication. According to him, people get

stuck on the word strategic. That if there is anything to be learned about the war on terror, then is should be that there is almost no distinction between the tactical, strategic and operational lines. This is especially valid in the field of communications, where images and videos are embedded online and shared in the social media with the potential of driving decisions on national security. With the increasing technology utilization, the tactical is transformed into the instantly.

The basic mechanisms that the military officers use to speak with target populations are the IO capacities of PA and DSPD. Issues of public affairs are for the most part concerned about domestic audiences, and view the maintenance of decent press links for its agency and leaders as the most urgent priority. As such, the consideration and supply of information to the local media appear to take a greater part of its time and it seldom attempt to manipulate the news in any way considering the media's sensitivity to anything seen as attempting to be focused on control. This does not block the fact that key people and public affairs officers will surely develop and support individual journalists and seek to control how they cover their stories on a daily basis, at times through leaking or releasing privileged information. Additionally, public diplomacy exclusively handles global audiences. It is also concerned with media coverage and breaking news with more emphasis on foreign as opposed to home-grown media. In principle, it is intrigued more in the strategic effect of the news on foreign audiences than in giving news for the sake of news. Public diplomacy is in this manner is inclined toward tailoring its news to some measure on the interests, needs, and restrictions of its different audiences. Further, it gives different sorts of topical programming intended for an extended period or strategic impact.

Diplomacy, regardless of whether did publicly or in private, includes words, as well as activities structured not just to inform or impart but rather to have certain quantifiable political impacts. Public diplomacy is likewise alluded to as "political activity" when it is

particularly focused at political groupings, leaders of business, or religious leaders. Public diplomacy is frequently related to its information component. This is principally the direct relationship between different people and the establishing of links through exchange programs. There are three broad objectives of public diplomacy: information, political activity, and instruction/culture. Public diplomacy is just a piece of bigger field of statecraft utilizing the apparatuses of information or correspondences. This is the field of strategic communication. The United States communication with external populations has not had a central direction since the Unites States Information Agency was disestablished in 1999.

Public diplomacy is practically the obligation of the U.S. Department of State (DOS). DOS has consigned public diplomacy to a minor priority and viably underestimated its capacity to wield soft power to influence public opinion and values of democracy overseas. The U.S. has permitted mass communication and the 24-hour news channels not to generally depict America in the most negative way. These components are not controlled and are frequently one-sided. The adversary has taken advantage of these assets and utilized them adequately without the need for truth. Despite what might be expected, U.S. activities are exceedingly broken down and criticized. With the goal of helping DOS public diplomacy endeavours in districts where there is constrained access by DOS officers, the Defence Department (DOD) has established its own mechanisms of communicating globally which is through the defense support to public diplomacy (DSPD). As per Joint Pub 3-13, DSPD is those exercises and measures taken by the Department of Defence sections to help and encourage public diplomacy endeavours of the United States Government.

2.5.   Public Diplomacy, National Security and the Military

The idea of DSPD is first about communicating to the right audience, and comprehension of the working condition. While there is no single document that defines or characterizes the roles of DSPD at the operational level, a significant part of the documents

examine strategic, operations of information, Theater Security Cooperation Programs, and humanitarian support activities. Montgomery McFate, an anthropologist at the US Office of Naval Research, composed an ongoing article in the Joint Forces Quarterly that focused on the need to locate the "cultural intelligence" of the target region with the goal of adequately shaping the region. Undertaking activities such as "capacity building" and giving economic inducements are often apparatuses that operational organizers utilize to shape a region in favor of shared security interests and other values embraced by the West. Various research, for example, GAO-07-904[63] written in July 2007, proposes the utilization of the media to counter deception about U.S. agenda. This notwithstanding, the media does not consider positively government intercession in its accounts or views. In any case, there should be interagency collaboration to use the full support of diplomatic, information and economic support.

Operational leaders should utilize the support of defense to public diplomacy using the standards of operational craftsmanship to planning. The assessment of centres of gravity and important variables appropriate to counterinsurgency operations (COIN) comprise the overarching evaluation to utilization of defence support to public diplomacy exercises. Things like comprehending the ideological components underlying insurgency will feature important vulnerabilities in the adversary's convictions that can be tended to through economic and diplomatic mechanisms. This offers a point of convergence for public diplomacy endeavours of military resources. In contrast to absolutely traditional activities, the factor of time might take a while to achieve desired impacts, so persistence, continuity and public support are necessary. A significant part of the "force" might come as "soft power" against specific ideological support. Undertaking activities, for example, humanitarian tasks can be more powerful than the utilization of deadly power. The

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[63] U.S. Public Diplomacy: Actions Needed to Improve Strategic Use and Coordination of Research

conventional standards of war must be precisely used in relation to defence support to public diplomacy with the aim of changing the impression of people currently wavering on the ideas spread out in violent fanatic philosophy. Utilizing information likewise requires coordination with the informational endeavours of partners, companions, and previous enemies. At present, operations of information abilities are not being synchronized between the military and the other government organizations working in their respective operational areas.

2.6.   Public Diplomacy and National Strategy

As reported earlier, the de-establishment of the US department that exclusively dealt with public diplomacy issues established a void in communication resources across all dimensions of the United States Government. The Department of State lacks the resources or labour to be the only provider of strategic messages from the U.S. Due to this deficit, other government offices, for example, the Defense Department and USAID has endeavoured to fill that vacuum with their very own messages. Since the IO capacities are not being synchronized, the defence establishment and other government organizations tried diverse communication channels with practically little or no achievement. Over eight years after the disintegration of the USIA, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes, launched the first ever detailed national public diplomacy strategy in May 2007.

The document offered a new strategy meant to show an integrated strategic framework while taking into consideration sufficient adaptability to meet every state agency's individual needs. The strategy defines three key goals for governing US communication with foreign audience. The first goal is for the United States to offer a vision of hope and opportunity to the world. The second is to isolate and marginalize violent extremists, and finally to nurture common interests and values between Americans and foreign publics. In order to achieve this, several key priorities for public diplomacy programs and activities were established.

Accompanying the priorities are solid and comprehensive examples of the way each can be transformed into action. At the onset, the strategy requires the broadening of education and exchange, with specific stress given to contacting and reaching women, youth and other major populations influencing the society. Within this, the teaching of English language, technological use, and partnerships between the public and private sectors are singled out as critical aspects of success. This strategy has been implemented by operational leaders with much success. The theater security help projects such as the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program and the utilization of Regional Centers for Security Studies have offered opportunities for education and training for numerous foreign military and civilian personnel, including Kenya. In any case, the strategy requires the expansion of the program to focus on other people of influence in the foreign lands such as columnists, ministers, clerics, and business leaders. Second, the need for modernizing the techniques of communication is emphasized. The arrangement demands for the integration of trained professionals in media outlets of foreign countries. This is viewed as an urgent requirement for both television and radio and other new technologies such as social media and other online platforms. The National Strategy likewise urges operational leaders to take an interest in interviews conducted by foreign media so as to better explain the policy choices of the home country and promote openness. Third, the plan stresses the advantage that can be obtained by focusing on a country's "diplomacy of deeds." In spite of opinion held toward the United States policy, the Americans expect foreign publics to realize the massive impact that they are making across the globe in areas that are of most concern to people including education, health and economic opportunities. By growing and promoting these achievements, they expect to have the capacity to impart their values successfully. However, the political and military leaders of the United States at all levels have not been able to

successfully display and project their development program and humanitarian assistance that their solders conduct on a daily basis in the global scale.

Generally, the best activities conducted by the U.S. that have influenced public opinion have been disaster relief and humanitarian assistance missions. However, they recognized hat leaders at every level can effectively spread the information concerning the manner in which their countrymen are taking personal interests in construction of schools, controlling diseases and offering local economic opportunities for the local populations in the nations that the United States forces are operating. When this is domesticated and placed within the context of Kenya's public diplomacy, a message about Kenyan solders teaching Somali locals skills practiced by ordinary Kenyans can go a long way in improving the image of Kenya, both in Somali and globally. Notwithstanding these priorities, the national strategy gives careful consideration to the significance of inter-agency coordination, assessment and measurement, and success tools.

The strategy demands for the creation of a central communication centre for coordinating information sharing across government agencies on national security issues. This would hoist the issues of defence officials with overlapping areas of interest thus generating diverse messages. This strategic vision has in the long run provided an acknowledgment of the way that the U.S. government needs to speak with a unified voice when acting abroad. In most cases, many countries have the tendency of focusing on a single agency or a particular idea while disregarding alternative messages emerging from other government agencies. More significantly, the strategy mirrors the expanding role that public diplomacy will probably play in advancing national interest and security in the world.

2.7. Public Diplomacy within the Defence Agencies

In spite of the unmistakable and clear strategy for the collaboration of public diplomacy, neither the strategy nor its developers possess direct authority for its

implementation over any government agency. Consequently, the defence and other operational chiefs still have not elevated the priority level for the exercises. There is no mention of public diplomacy or strategic communication in the defence realm even though the United States Africa Mission has made critical steps in reaching foreign audiences through its website. The messages being sent by the United States are directed toward three major segments of the society: terrorists and their organizations, sympathizers of terrorists who are not foes and individuals and groups who share sympathies with terrorists but are not willing to actually demonstrate their support for them. The first group is those people who are considered violent extremists and their supporters or sympathizers and these cannot be changed. The messages are directed towards this group. The strategy shows similarity to what Kenya has been doing Somalia where both leaders and defence leaders send messages aimed at sympathizers of Al-Shabaab and the terrorists themselves. The information is directed against the enemy's decision process.

For the second category, operational leaders need to plainly define the aims of public diplomacy to influence the foreign audiences that sympathize with those people who are threat to national security and who may passively support violent activities. This should be the focus of public diplomacy activities to neutralize the basis upon which insurgent ideologies thrive. The last group is those who share sentiments with extremist groups but are not willing to participate or support the extremists. Communication with such a group need not follow military principles as those used towards the former group considered as the enemy.

PSYOPS, Military Deception, Electronic Warfare, OPSEC, and Computer Network Operations are among the core functions of IO. As such, there is need for understanding the way information operation principles and ensure that such actions are placed within public diplomacy efforts. By appropriately utilizing the information operation devices, countries can

communicate better with their foreign audiences. Regardless of whether it is a psychological operation campaign, well-timed statement on public affairs or local media interviews, there is need to put in place conditions in operational areas by informing the public of the intention of the military rather than attempt to react to the a threat the enemy is posing about specific activities.

3.0.   CHAPTER THREE: ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN ADVANCING KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

3.1.   Kenya's National Security and Terrorism

One of the biggest challenges that have faced Kenya and the world in general is the threat of terrorism. This threat has been a major security issue. According to Neria[64], terrorism is a form of violence directed towards unarmed civilians with the purpose of realizing a political or religious goal. The terrorists' main goal is to establish an atmosphere of anxiety and fear among the masses where they carry out terror attacks. Terrorist organizations ensure that an atmosphere in which people are constantly concerned about their security is created the moment people's lives have been disrupted. Kenya has particularly borne the brunt of terrorism given its proximity to Somalia and the middle-east which has made it a good target for transnational terrorist groups.

The 28th January, 1976 plot by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Baader-Meinhof group's attempt to shoot down a passenger plane during a scheduled stop-over in Nairobi is reported as the first transnational terrorism incident in Kenya.[65] However, the plot was successfully stopped after successful information sharing between Israel and Kenya. The next instance of transnational terrorism occurred four years later when the PFLP attacked the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, killing 15 people. According to Mogire and Agade, the PFLP committed this act in revenge for Kenya's assistance to Israel during the rescue operation to free hostages at Entebbe Airport in Uganda.[66] The target for both of these terrorist attacks was Israeli interests in the country. Even though there was increased state of alert in Kenya for several years after these attacks, the threat posed by terrorists went down for almost two decades. Notably, the United States was not interested

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[64] Neria 2006
[65] Mogire and Agade, 2011.
[66] Ibid

possibly due to the belief that these attacks were isolated incidents and did not directly target the West.

Greater awareness by Kenyan authorities and the United States on the threats posed by international terrorists occurred after the 1998 attack on the American embassy in Nairobi. More than 200 people were killed in the incident with thousands injured, prompting Kenya to initiate a more concerted counterterrorism strategy.[67] The investigators were surprised to learn those who were behind the attacks. Initially, the possibility of international involvement in the attack was resisted by the Kenya government. Given that the attack came at the heels of IPK political activity, the attack was suspected to have been conducted by Swahili Muslims.[68] This view was not entirely false. Investigations by both the Kenyan and United states authorities revealed a vast network of international terrorists operating within the borders of Kenya with the attacks having been planned over a period of five years. The attack was planned by al Qaeda, an international based terrorist group. While the operation had been supported by a few Kenyan nationals, it was a completely foreign operation.

In 2002, another major terror attack occurred in Kenya when an Israeli-owned hotel was bombed in Mombasa. The perpetrators shot a surface to air missile at a commercial flight taking off from Mombasa airport. After a decade without terrorism incidents in Kenya, a group of militants laid siege on a mall in Kenya on September 21, 2013 killing more than 63 people with the majority being foreign nationals mostly from the western countries. An al Qaida affiliate terrorist group in Somalia claimed responsibility for the attack. The attack brought to the fore the global nature of terrorism since the siege had the footprints of an internationally coordinated operation involving numerous terrorist groups with operations across several countries. What this incident highlighted was the global nature of attacks and

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[67] Krause and Otenyo, 2005
[68] Presholdt, 2011

the threat to Kenya's security apart from signifying improvements on counter-terrorism activities in Kenya seen against the previous decades.

3.2.   External Threats to Kenya's Security

Much of the threat to Kenya's security has emanated from Somalia which has experienced radicalization since the collapse of its government in 1991. Given that Somalia's border is porous and Islamic fundamentalists have also made it a haven for radical ideologies, this threat has often hanged around Kenya and its neighbours. In 2003, the United States President George Bush, giving a joint press conference with Kenya declared that stabilization of Somalia was essential to sustaining the war on terrorism.[69] The war on terrorism is not conducted against terrorists in general, but against a specific kind of terrorism with a global reach rooted in a radical Islamist movement.

3.3.   Kenya's Foreign Policy and National Security

Kenya has made huge efforts and sound successes with regard to making necessary reforms and progress in its foreign policy. Its reputation abroad is largely based on the kind of reporting on the country with regard to regional and international cooperation, potential for terror attacks, political instability and the potential for internal conflicts. The hitherto internal political battles and terrorism have significantly contributed to the perception of the country abroad.

The first precondition for transforming the perception of Kenya abroad is for the country to take more cooperative and progressive steps in international affairs. However, when this occurs, the critical audience in foreign publics might not necessarily become aware of this as the changes may only be recognized by diplomats. Moreover, there is lack of awareness among Kenya's institutional structures that perceptions of the country abroad is crucially becoming critical for the realization of the country's foreign policy objectives.

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[69] Mogire and Agade, 2011

Regular government activities abroad are increasingly becoming part of activities to shape the perceptions. Public Diplomacy is not something that can be conducted by international actors on behalf of Kenya. On the contrary, it is the task of domestic institutions to adopt a public diplomacy policy and implement it by putting in place the most effective and efficient institutional set up.

Traditional diplomacy and classic one-way communication focused on the relationship between politicians of different nation, international organizations and domestic institutions are no longer sufficient. Kenya's institutions need to acquire and use the newly established body of knowledge apart from developing policies and functional mechanisms for supporting institutional reforms meant to support the process of changing image and reputation. Due to the image created by the incidences of terrorism, Kenya to some degree has suffered some kind of image problem.

Much of the programmes implemented in to respond to security issues have been done in partnership with the United States. These programmes are mainly influenced by empirical research on radicalization with methodologies deemed appropriate for counter-terrorism.[70] Despite the broad objectives of aids and assistance of the United States to Kenya on issues of governance, security and democracy, a particular dedication of a sub-set of counter-extremism as a component seeking to address counter-terrorist ideology and radicalization has been done. The implementation of these programmes have been strategic to communities viewed to be at risk of been left out of development programmes which would otherwise minimized their chances of engaging in or supporting terrorism.[71]

A report by the USAID emphasized on the importance of classifying and differentiating drivers of extremism into various domains. These encompass drivers which

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[70] Ribetti, M, "Unveiled Motivations of Violence in Intra-State Conflicts", Small Wars and Insurgencies, 18(4): 699–720. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/095923 10701778548 Ploch, 2010; Kilcullen, D, "Accidental Guerrilla", Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009
[71] USAID, "Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism, 2009. Retrieved on 26 February 2016, from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnadt978.pdf

first contribute to recruitment into terrorist organizations, then community support for tolerance for terrorist activities and finally enabling environment conducive for terror attacks. The report further emphasizes that counter terror programmes should be designed with knowledge of the specific country and community locations with regard to root causes of terror and radicalization dynamics. This is in recognition of the fact that the causes and nature of terror varies by region. Drivers such as political, cultural and socioeconomic factors are constantly reviewed in order to assess the appropriate counter terror responses.

Terrorism has led states to devise counter measures given that it is a form of unconventional threat. They have adopted their security evaluations to take measures aimed at overcoming these threats. When governments begin to lose their legitimacy, there is a tendency by non-state actors to increase their capacities with the aim of organizing at the grassroot level. Majority of terror groups have been initiated at the regional or transnational level. Given their capacity to build closer networks, there is often the tendency to increase their legitimacy and power over people. With the growth of asymmetric threats at regional and global level, countries are looking for new methods and tools to counter such threats. Public diplomacy is seen to be critical elements of the state within this context.

Unconventional security threats against nations demands that they use both traditional and non-traditional instruments. These instruments must be developed in order to increase capacity and legitimacy to inform the citizens about the problems of illegal organizations. A major concern has been on how public diplomacy can be utilized effectively by multiple actors to prevent the spread of terrorism and neutralize its dangers. Additionally, there has been a focus on how public diplomacy can contribute to preventing global support for terrorism. Other areas of concern also include how public diplomacy can enhance international cooperation in the fight against extremism and how terrorist groups can be isolated using elements of diplomacy and soft power.

The main target for terrorism is unity and welfare of societies. As such, different instruments can be used in a balanced way to mitigate the challenge. While public diplomacy is viewed as the most critical instrument, strong intelligence and support for assisting units is critical since terrorist groups can develop a wide network of relations through globalization and access to technological innovations. This potentially makes it possible for individuals with no criminal records to join terror groups within and short period of time.

The role of local non-government actors and opinion leaders in enhancing security has been recognized in this regard. Establishing strategies which take into consideration the major dynamics rather than top-down policies and introducing elements of public diplomacy into the forefront is seen to have the potential of limiting the possibility of individuals joining terror groups. According to Garges[72], radicalization and having radical opinions need to be viewed as different concepts and individuals who have a tendency for radicalization often dissociate themselves, first with their immediate environment and secondly from the rest of the society. International cooperation is thus critical in fighting terrorism within this context and Kenya has maintained a close cooperation with its international partners in this respect.

According to Tarik Oguzlu, counter-terrorism measures have been strengthened mainly due to cooperation among nations following the emergence of public diplomacy.[73] Countries rarely come together to solve global problems but cooperate deeply when threats such as terrorism are concerned. Threats to nations by terrorism have contributed to the establishment of regional organizations as the cogency and charm of public diplomacy is more useful leverages in responding to terrorism threats. Viewed from the perspective of Joseph Nye, persuasion of opponents to cooperate is more compatible with current interests. Even though the motivations and behaviors of terrorists can be considered irrational viewed from the perspective of individuals involved, terrorist organizations are seen to be capable of

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[72] Garges, 2015
[73] Oguzlu, 2013

rationality. Within this context, the aims of terror groups can be comprehended. The terror organizations like Al Shabaab claim to stimulate self-respect for those beliefs they exploit. Considering this, using measures under different forms such as public diplomacy can be useful for sufficiently understanding the sources of motivation for the terrorists.

Social media and the increasing influence of public opinion have today gained more significance. The spread of ideas occurs at an accelerated pace following the process of democratization and social protest movement can be easily organized. Noting that these developments have made soft power a more applicable concept, Kose[74] points out that the concept of public diplomacy is assuming a non-traditional role when incorporated with influential personality and leadership.

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[74] Kose, 2014

4.0. CHAPTER FOUR: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AS A TOOL IN KENYA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH FOREIGN PUBLICS

National security is closely associated with a country's integrity and the achievement of the collective aspirations of its people. In Kenya, it is viewed as safeguarding against the threats, both internal and external, to the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, its citizen, their freedoms, property, rights, stability, peace, prosperity and other interests of the nation.[75] It guarantees the republic's survival and ensures that critical services are delivered. Kenya, in maintaining its national security, has made use of four legitimate vectors: ensuring that political power is stabilized, making wise power projections, utilizing cautious and practical diplomacy and using the national economic power sensibly. Currently, there is robust deployment of the police across the country and a lot of resources have been dedicated to towards beefing up security especially around strategic assets. Such proactive steps are an indication of the government's concern about its citizen's security. Even though the country's security environment is stable especially after the initiation of the Building Bridges initiative or the "handshake" as it is widely known, there are still points of vulnerabilities. This includes crime, transnational terrorism, risk of detrimental external interferences through local economic and political agents and tribal animosities. However, the greatest threat to national security still remains terrorism given its amorphous nature, potential to generate armed conflicts, destructive potential and its utilization of asymmetric warfare to generate panic among the people and manipulate the government. The employment of counter-terrorism measures aimed at neutralizing terror organizations, their networks and cells has been a major priority for Kenya as the country recognizes that it is only through such measures that terror groups can be rendered incapable of realizing their malicious goals. Within the domain of counter-terrorism, the Kenya government has used diplomacy to gain

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[75] Government of Kenya

the support of neighbouring countries, allies and international organizations. It has also been able to mobilize its national economic power to push for mutual regional and international cooperation, and demand such cooperation if necessary. The country has guaranteed absolute resilience of the critical national infrastructure even when the political climate becomes highly volatile. The fact that the country also puts in place practical emergency preparedness and robust civil defence measures also contributes to a unique layer of protection against uncertainties, both natural and human-created.

Serious security violations by external aggressors have been averted through the maintenance of efficient and effective intelligence agencies and national defence force, and the close cooperation among the security institutions. The passing of anti-terror laws also establishes a favourable environment for pre-empting, neutralizing and responding to terror threats and attacks. Many incidences of terrorism and crime have been averted through strategic deployment of paramilitary and police officers supplemented by civil cooperation.

4.1.   How does Kenya Use Public Diplomacy?

The idea that public diplomacy has the capability to fix all problems in the contemporary world has been much ridiculed. It has been argued that simple persuasive efforts have the potential of transforming terrorists into friends. However, it does not appear to be a customary belief within the circles of public diplomacy that terrorism threats can entirely be countered through public diplomacy. Instead, it is regarded as a tool for reframing a country's image and policy that when combined with other actions have the potential of transforming unfavourable public opinion to favourable public opinion. Much of the concerns about public diplomacy in focused on military or political actions in the war against terrorism that are viewed to interfere rather than strengthen the soft power of a country.[76]

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[76] U.S. Department of State Library. 2007. Dictionary of International Relations Terms. 3rd ed. Dept. of State Library, Washington, D.C.

Public diplomacy, as opposed to targeting the terrorists, is often focused on the people that terrorists can influence. Terrorist organizations succeed in so far as they recruit willing members, mobilize funds and appeal to public opinion in pursuing their political objectives. The efforts of public diplomacy are designed to reach a similar public opinion ahead of potential radicalization and establish an understanding or acceptance for a country's point of view. Even though public diplomacy has been brought into focus given the global threats of terrorism, only a small percentage of public diplomacy efforts have been particularly designed to counter terrorism, and those that have that focus are usually of a much wider purpose.[77]

Using the United States as an example, public diplomacy effort targeting counter terrorism have focused on reviving communication programmes which include websites, posters and leaflets. According to Charlotte Beers, public diplomacy campaigns should focus on those who are most likely to have information concerning terrorist and turn them in.

In Kenya, efforts to counter the spread of terrorism include development interventions aimed at minimizing identified drivers and improve local attitudes toward the authorities. Among the programmes are those aimed at enhancing opportunities for at risk populations, particularly in the area of employment for youth and positive social interaction. Some of the programmes have been geographic in focus while some aim to distribute assistance across communities. Outreach for Somali in Diaspora has also been increasingly emphasized. USAID guidance emphasizes on the need for involving the communities in identifying and implementing projects so as to take into consideration the possible mistrust of the intention of outsiders.

Among the steps that Kenya has taken in countering terrorism are diplomatic exchanges aimed at promoting cooperation with friendly countries. Given that terrorism has

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[77] Ibid

no boundaries, there is always the need for forging a multilateral approach. Other instruments of national power are supported by public diplomacy in several ways. Kenya likewise joined the United States in the GWOT, assuming a crucial role in the Horn of Africa by enabling the United States to utilize Kenya as a take-off platform for counterterrorism endeavours in the area. Through being a member of countries who were willing to join the US, the county gained through the sharing of intelligence. In an attempt to contribute to peace-building in the region and to minimize the conditions that can enable terrorism to thrive in the surrounding failed states, the country is deeply involved in the Sudan and Somalia peace processes which are conducted within the framework of Intergovernmental Authority and Development to attain stability and operational institutions within these states. Peace and stability in these nations will minimize the potential of them being used as terrorist safe havens apart from their being used by terrorists to recruit candidates for terror activities.[78]

However, intelligence sharing can be hindered by the age-old mistrust among the nations in the region. For instance, Ethiopia views Kenya to be supporting Oromo Liberal Front which has been resting the government of Ethiopia for a while now. This has led to constant border conflicts and violations of Kenya's border by the Ethiopian security forces. The relationship was further strained in 2004 when a number of Ethiopian solders escaped into Kenya looking for asylum. In order to curb this mistrust, both governments have attempted to maintain high level contacts. The assistance by the United States to nations in the Horn of Africa and Eastern Africa in general has also caused uproar among the countries in the region. For instance, the Ugandan government has complained that it is not being adequately supported financially given that it has successfully repelled international terrorists through its own efforts. However, the country is more concerned and focused with dealing with its own domestic terror groups including the Allied Democratic Front and the Lords

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[78] Kwamboka, Evelyn. 2004. Eight Fleeing Ethiopian Soldiers in Police Custody, *East Africa Standard,* Nairobi, 21

Resistance Army while the financial assistance of the United States is directed in fighting international terrorism such as those conducted by al-Qaeda. Additionally, the United States was given access to Eritrean ports by the country during the war against Iraq as a gesture toward joining the coalition of the willing. However, Eritrea is not included in the regional counter-terror measures given its human rights record. This hinders the sharing of information given that the majority of countries have subscribed to the coalition of the willing because of the desire to gain financially from the United States. There is need for countries in the region to foster mutual trust and goodwill so as to share a common goal of fighting international terrorism which is a threat to national security. The cooperation of these countries will go a long way in facilitating the sharing o0f intelligence and collaborative security operations to tackle the threat

4.2.   Relay of Public Diplomacy Related Information

Much of the information about Kenya known to foreign citizens is often relayed by foreign news outlets and this includes information concerning terrorist attacks, political instability among others. In other words, the gap between ideals and reality within Kenya with foreign publics as domestic news is often captured and relayed overseas through foreign news outlets. News reports on terrorism, violence, police brutality and other issues confronted by the country on a daily basis often illustrate the character of the country and its values. Such reports also undermine other messages about Kenya's safety and security with non-Kenyan audiences. Unfortunately, there is no indication that Kenya's public diplomacy has grown to the extent that it is prepared to address and put into context domestic events in the field as opposed to advancing a sanitized talking point that hardly resonate with foreign citizens.

4.3. Challenges to Public Diplomacy in Kenya

Within the Foreign Affairs office, this study revealed that a closed bureaucratic structure makes it difficult for public diplomacy to be effectively utilized in responding to security issues and engaging with foreign audiences. While it is critical for diplomats to be engaged with various stakeholders and maintain critical conversations concerning the country and its bilateral relationships, there are numerous roadblocks to guaranteeing sufficient strategic planning, research and budget to support public diplomacy operations. Resources that ideally should be channelled towards public diplomacy are spread into other areas of budgeting with the effect that public diplomacy processes become slowed and consistent engagements strained. The findings suggest that currently within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there is no specific department dealing with public diplomacy and this indicates that there is no consistent leadership focusing of the management of the operations of public diplomacy within the state. One of the respondents suggested that the priority for the government when it comes to public diplomacy should be to put in place a public diplomacy office under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which has a first-hand understanding on the diplomatic environment and witness the activities of public diplomacy up-close. The head of the particular department should have a strong understanding of Kenya's foreign policy and international relations apart from knowing how to run campaigns to promote policy since focusing on communication or marketing as a distinct effort from policy is not sufficient.

It also emerged that one of the essential elements of public diplomacy is political communication which is often diverse in scope and intent. The concern of public diplomacy lies in communicating political messages by the government to the public. The message's content is subject to determinants that transcend those related with political context, organizational politics, extent of crisis and time. This encompasses the size of the targeted audience, politico-legal constraints, the nature of political leadership, communication and

organizational cultures, structures of framing, and the intervening mediation between the communication establishments and the political agencies. The claim by the security agencies that they are listening is an implication of feedback from the public in reaction to the government's public diplomacy initiatives in communicating Kenya and policy goals. The researcher has noted a general lack of clarity and leadership with regard to communicating messages about security to foreign and domestic audiences. That some of the officials in the Ministries where the study was conducted identified the need to communicate Kenya to foreign publics in ways different from what is done through sports and other cultural exchanges is a recognition of a gap in communication as well as minimal interest in or attachment to Kenya. The e-citizen platform is also mentioned by one respondent as having a far greater direct impact for both citizens and non-citizens in their day to day experience of government services.

The opportunities that multi-media communication provides result in an environment in which the idea of rational two-way communication between the government and the citizens is challenged. Neither the public nor the government is cohesive and coherent, integrated or uniform. The fact that they are not is acknowledged in an attempt by the government to bring the citizens to respond and discuss matters concerning national security and allocate responsibilities among the various government institutions. Kenya's exercise in communication does not therefore demonstrate how the shape and priorities in the security agenda is influenced by citizens. Rather, it illustrates how information and communication technology has facilitated interaction over a set of core values associated with political priorities that critically depend on sustainable security.

An assessment of documents and news materials suggest a tendency towards information giving which is mainly related to making information available. This passive communication strategy is fundamentally problematic in relations to security given the

imprecision of what is meant by security and the secrecy culture that engulfs international diplomacy and domestic security. This underlying factor contributes to the difficulty in communicating unambiguously about security in Kenya.

The authoritative mediators of national security matters are not sufficiently engaged either with the civil society networks where they might be expected to play a role in shaping messages and making their efforts understood. If one transcends the immediate problem associated with communicating Kenya to more specific and more controversial realm of communicating Kenya's security, the task of persuasion becomes more burdensome. This is already seriously circumvented by secrecy rules. Secrecy can be viewed as a negation to transparency.

Institutional complexity in Kenya compounds problems of trust especially when it comes to security. The resulting environment escalates public distrust in the government, its security agencies and law enforcement, from the police to immigration controls. Communicating security is further complicated by the fact that there are specific security agencies whose mandate is to handle security-related issues and public diplomacy has failed in specifying more concretely what is meant by security for both the state and the individual, how it is to be realized domestically, and how and why particular measures make it possible for the state to perform its traditional role vis-à-vis the public with regard to ensuring their security in the best way possible. Additional complexity is introduced by the erosion and permeability of the traditional separation between internal and external security.

There are two cores but interrelated elements in communicating internal security. These are securitization and function creep. Security communication to publics through multiple channels offers diverse means for information transmission and equally diverse messages. The number of agencies involved in security matters means that it is very difficult to prioritize and understand if there exists a single security message, and if that is the case,

what security message should or could be communicated to both Kenyan and foreign publics. The implication is that too much scope is left for dominant vested interests to twist the agenda and security communication.

Various factors play a role in this. Where security communication is involved and particularly within the constraints of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they encompass event driven or crisis-scenario nature of Kenya's responses to security matters ranging from terrorism to immigration controls introduced specifically for security purposes, multi-agency interests and institutional complexity inherent to the constitutional design, a tendency for national interpretations of security matters to predominate over regional solutions, the tendency of security agencies to distrust counterparts, collaborate and share information, and the adoption of a mix of regional-based tools alongside parallel and at times mutually contradictory international and national tools. Moreover, at the operational level, Kenya's institutional arrangements and agencies makes it difficult to utilize public diplomacy in advancing the country's national security agenda.

5.0. CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The results of the study are presented in this chapter. The actual research process will be followed by the presentation. First, the results of the interview will be reported, followed by questionnaire results and finally reports from literatures and other documentations. Both the interview and the questionnaire results were transcribed and translated by the researcher.

5.2. Interview with Foreign Affairs and Mission's Communications Specialists

This interview was intended to understand the general perspective on public diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the foreign missions and their linkages with both global and national security matters. In this study, interviews are viewed as a complimentary part of the study and the foundation for the questionnaire together with the framework and other documentations made available by the Ministry. The first three interview questions were meant as warm-ups and the aim was to discover the position of public diplomacy within the ministry and its missions in general. The remainder of the interview was focused on the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security in the world.

5.2.1. Public Diplomacy and its Role in the Ministry/Missions

This research sought to discover the role of public diplomacy first, within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and domestic based foreign missions to understand whether it is recognized as a tool for foreign policy. The main subject of interest was to find out the level of awareness of the subject within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/missions. The interviewees had a wide ranging view of what constitutes public diplomacy. The majority however saw it as a way in which the ministry and missions engages both domestic and foreign publics on issues touching on foreign relations. One ministry official stated:

"I know that public diplomacy mainly concerns the way in which the government

communicates with foreign publics through multiple means and channels."

Another remarked:

"In essence, public diplomacy is concerned with persuasion and some element of

advertising is involved."

Another respondent suggested:

"Public opinion is necessary to the concept of public diplomacy whose mission is to

influence or engage foreign publics and the work is not only left to the ministry or

missions abroad. Rather, the civil society and even private citizens engage in the

practice especially given the information age."

A critical response that emerged in the interview is the recognition by the ministry

officials that public diplomacy involved communication that occurs publicly and beyond the

public. The major aim of these communications, as stated by the respondents, is diplomatic

communication that is not limited to the office of the foreign ministry with the target group

being not only foreign publics but also businesses and companies who might seek a foothold

in Kenya, and also political decision-makers. When conducted by the government, public

diplomacy targets groups such as citizens, students, and individuals moving to Kenya,

tourists traveling to the country and other groups and individuals in countries where Kenya

has missions. One of the respondents commented that within the framework of public

diplomacy, Kenya's missions abroad normally plan and develop target groups into local

situations. As such, the target groups for communications associated with public diplomacy

vary in different countries. For instance, a respondent remarked:

"Those that are targeted by public diplomacy are not similar in all countries where

Kenya has a mission. For example, the way it is communicated in United States, or

Britain, or China is fundamentally different. Particularly in areas where the resources

are scant in relation to the size of the country, such as China, public diplomacy need

to be prioritized in such a country. Very good target groups can be found there for

public diplomacy even though there is a tendency to focus on companies, particularly

in the construction area."

However, it became clear that the MFA lacks a consistent public diplomacy program.

"Our role as a Ministry is focused on general diplomacy issues and we are just

beginning to think of such new concepts and how to integrate them into our overall

purposes."

5.2.2. Goals of Public Diplomacy Communication

The study also sought to find out whether public diplomacy communication is

planned within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and if so, whether there is a specific

department dealing with it. The interviewees reported that the objectives of public diplomacy

are contained in the overall policy statement and that they are not specifically tailored or

singled out within the ministry's structures. However, there is a department that specifically

deals with cultural diplomacy issues and it is within this department that issues of public

diplomacy would naturally fall. Within Kenya's mission abroad, the cultural diplomacy

department is in existence but not a specific public diplomacy office or department as exists

in other countries such as the United States or Britain.

Regardless, some interviewees reported that some of the works of the foreign ministry

and its missions abroad are mainly targeting the public, trade and foreign policy, consular

affairs and cooperative development. However, the interviewees admitted that they have

really not perceived public diplomacy in terms of the roles of the MFA and its missions.

5.2.3. Responsibility for Public Diplomacy

The researcher also sought to find out who had the responsibility for public diplomacy and communicating to other publics. This was based on the fact that public diplomacy must be systematic within the MFA and the subject of focus was the manner in which the ministry and its missions maintain a regular line in communicating public diplomacy. According to the respondents, public diplomacy, if it is assumed to be the function of MFA, should be based on the missions and hence the main responsibility should be left to the ambassadors. The messages should therefore be outlined in the foreign mission programs. Generally, the Ministry has a unit of communication which should suggest the issues and topics that need to be communicated and that the messages are directly chosen by the missions. For instance, one respondent remarked:

> "The Ministry defines the framework and then the missions decide what they feel is worth communicating to the public of the countries they are based."

The communication framework is also based on particular documents and government programs such as Brand Kenya. Additionally, the Ministry of foreign affairs also used its website to communicate some issues. Even though the responsibility of communication is left for the missions, the Foreign Affairs Ministry also assists through giving guidelines. However, the cooperation between the Ministry and other agencies such as the security agencies become strong during situations of crisis.

> "Actually, the missions' communication is formed specifically by case."

> "If you think about terror attacks, we structured our communication and messages in close cooperation with other agencies."

5.2.4. Public Diplomacy and Social Media

The researcher sought to find out whether social media is used by the MFA and the missions as a public diplomacy tool, and whether this is purposeful and planned. According

to the interviewees, social media is in principle considered additional channels of communication. The interviewees mentioned that social media has a challenge in that it cannot be a stand-alone medium for communicating public diplomacy. The implication is that it restricts the utilization of social media since the equivalent information must be found elsewhere. As such, public diplomacy cannot entirely be based on social media.

However, the interviewees recognized that while social media may be considered the only medium of communicating public diplomacy, it nevertheless provides interaction with foreign publics. One interviewee in the MFA remarked that the goal and objective of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs social media platform was communal communication in which there is interaction among users as well.

The interviewees mentioned that the missions and the ministry do not emphasize on scanning and listening to what is being done by other agencies in terms of diplomacy. They however, are of the opinion that the form of interaction that will be used more is likely to be oriented towards receiving information and closely following discussions that are going on.

"While the Ministry and its missions might not be tweeting more, a lot of information can be collected concerning what is of interest without actually interacting. The traditional media cannot achieve this."

The interviewees also felt that keeping trend of and using information that has been received can be difficult for government agencies. The information, before it can be utilized, must be verified. The interviewees were of the opinion that given the limited resources, the ministry and the missions might not be too interested in keeping trend on a broad range of issues if the information cannot be verified. Despite this, the interviewees encouraged the critical importance of social media especially in a crisis situation.

"In a crisis situation, the information can be gotten more quickly through the social media than from news channel."

"The news often receives the information from the social media sites, especially twitter, and that I think is critical for public diplomacy."

5.2.5. Public Diplomacy's Role in Advancing National Security

The researcher sought to find out what the officers of the MFA and the foreign missions in Kenya thought about public diplomacy's role in advancing national security. During what can be referred to as normal times, that is, during periods when there are no crises, public diplomacy is mainly used in promoting the country of origin. The purpose of public diplomacy also relies on message content and the manner in which it is being passed. The majority of the respondents in foreign missions based in the country stated that the message and the manner in which it is being communicated is determined by the missions even though there could be variation in the target group based on varying situations. What became clear are the divergent views in terms of role of public diplomacy in advancing national security. Some respondents contended that there are missions that use social media to relay events concerning security issues. There are variations in purposes in terms of countries and the target audience.

"We consider communicating especially travel advisories to our publics via various communication channels."

The interviewees mentioned that some of the concerns about public diplomacy deal with how it is being utilized precisely by organizations. Innovation and the necessary resources in utilizing public diplomacy are also mentioned. Public diplomacy can offer a framework for explaining foreign policy to the people, both domestic and foreign in the form of videos, tweets and posts rather than reports.

5.2.6. Digital diplomacy concept

The researcher sought to find out whether digital diplomacy can be substituted for public diplomacy. The respondents indicated that digital diplomacy is not the same as public diplomacy. However, they stated that social media is falls within the scope of digital diplomacy. However, digital diplomacy encompasses all long-established tools of digital communication such as websites and emails. As such, public diplomacy uses digital diplomacy which is seen as a wider concept involving other types of influencing publics.

5.3. Missions and Consulates Questionnaire

Questionnaires were sent by the researcher to missions and consulates through a list of emails which included the consulates and missions in Kenya. The email indicated the purpose of the study and that the missions that are using public diplomacy were the desired respondents. The questionnaire was intended to be responded to by the officer actively handles public diplomacy in the mission. The questions were meant to be responded to from the perspective of the specific mission given their present circumstances. The researcher also encouraged that if more than one individual was involved in public diplomacy, then they would go through the questions together. However, the researcher expected a single response per mission. A brief statement of what constitutes public diplomacy was also offered.

A number of responses were received within the time that was allocated. According to the responses, a total of 4 missions had public diplomacy departments. Given that the study aimed at finding out the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security in the world, the emphasis was on participation and dialogue on public diplomacy.

5.3.1. Background Information

The first section of the questionnaire was on the background information including name of the mission, number of personnel, position of the respondent, and the department

within the mission. A total of 6 missions responded to the : 4 embassies and 2 consulates. All the missions are based in Nairobi.

The number of the personnel was asked so as to determine the resources available in the mission. As shown in figure 1, half of the missions had 11-20 persons, 2 had a staff of 6 to 10 and one had more than 20 personnel.

Personnel

Mission 6 — 11%
Mission 1 — 13%
Mission 2 — 18%
Mission 3 — 10%
Mission 4 — 27%
Mission 5 — 21%
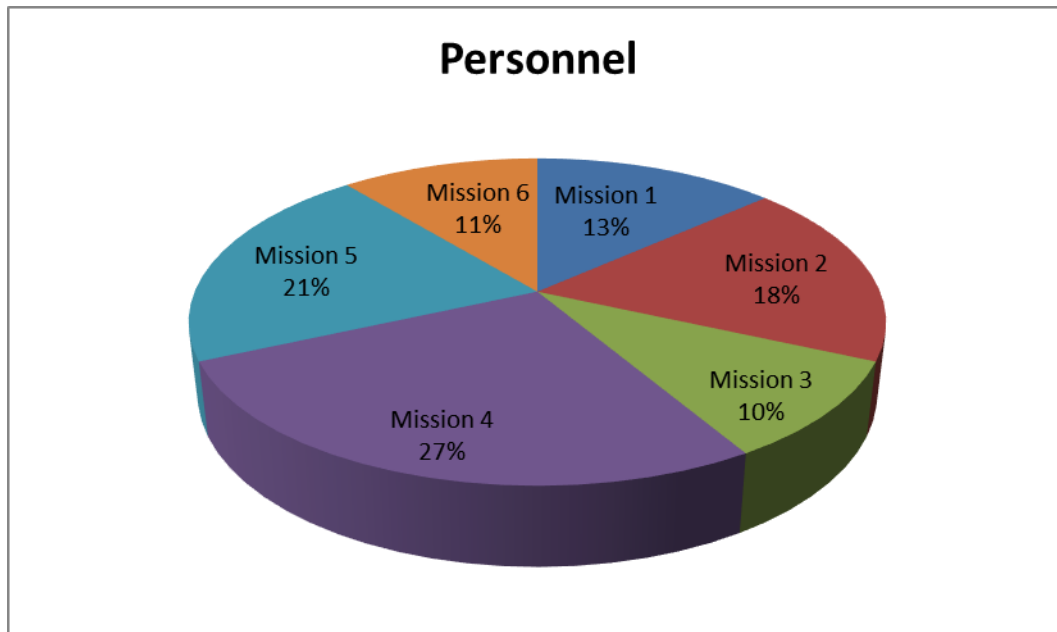
With regard to the position of the respondents, the response options included consular, ambassador, press consular, and other.

Position

Amabssador — 16%
Press conselor — 17%
Other — 67%
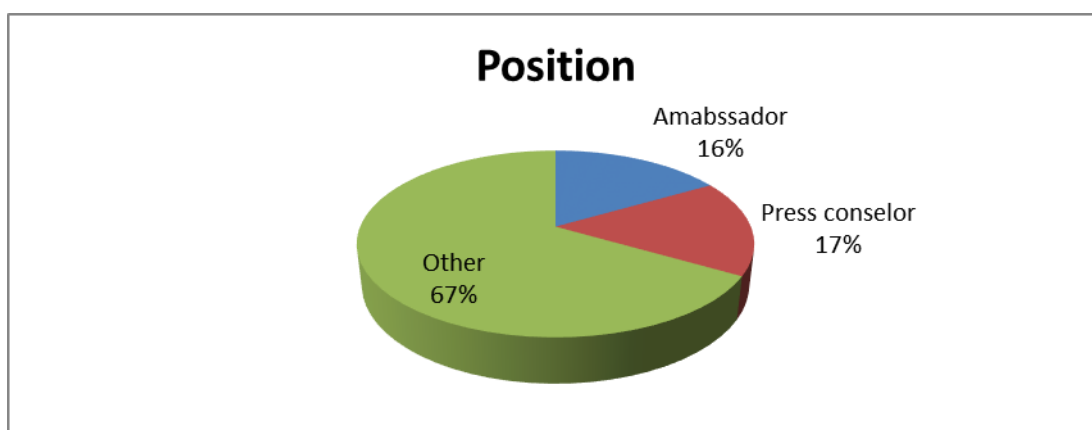
According to figure 2, there were few press counsellors and ambassadors. The majority of the respondents indicated their positions as other. Among these respondents, there was a cultural affairs assistant, press officer, a consul and a communications officer.

The researcher also found out how long the missions had been practicing public diplomacy. Four of the missions had been practicing public diplomacy for more than 10 years. The missions that have been using public diplomacy were mainly missions representing western countries.
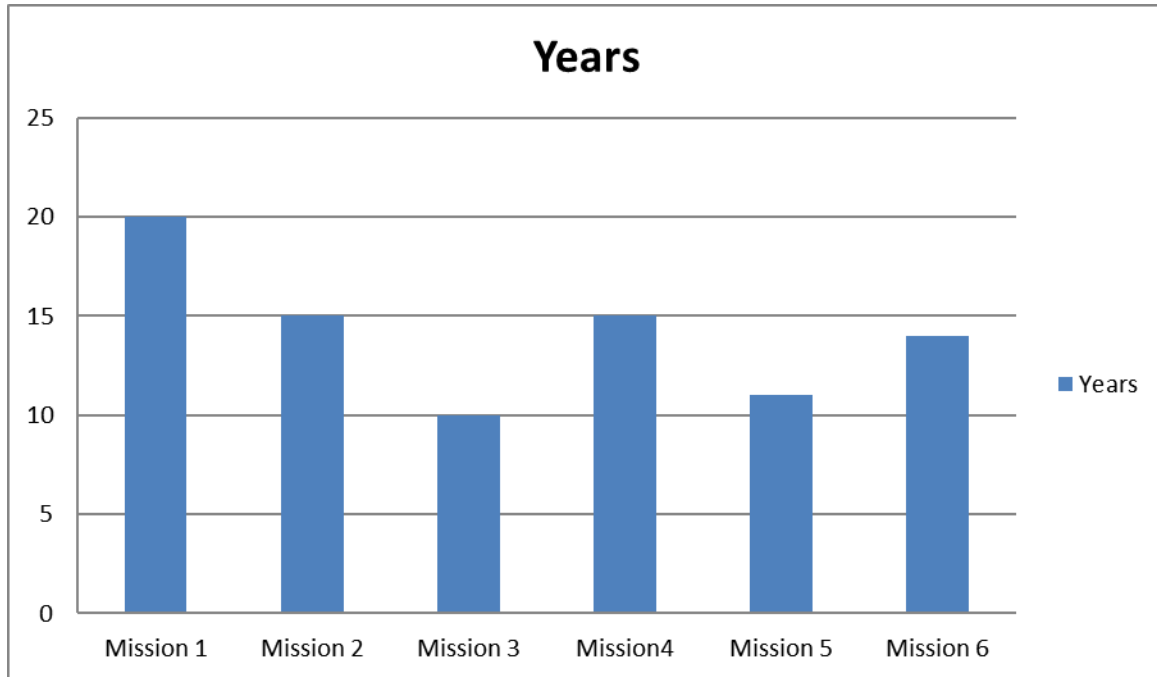
Figure 3: Period for using public diplomacy

5.3.2. The Use and frequency of use of Public Diplomacy

The researcher intended to confirm whether public diplomacy is used by the missions as a tool. Given the background study and the interviews conducted, the assumption was that public diplomacy is mainly being used by the missions on their social media platforms and the mainstream media. However, it also emerged that twitter and Facebook were the main tools used in advancing public diplomacy by the missions. All of the missions had social media sites and reported to be engaging with the mainstream media in advancing their public policy aims.

The researcher also asked how often the missions used public diplomacy and whether they used it in advancing their national security agenda. The majority of the

interviewees failed to respond to the question. However, those who answered the question indicated that they do utilize social media a lot to specifically communicate to their audience security issues, particularly whenever there are terrorist threats in their host nations.

Use of PD

Use it a lot	Sometimes	We do not use it	I don't know

A bar chart titled "Use of PD" shows: "Use it a lot" = 3, "Sometimes" = 2, "We do not use it" = 0, "I don't know" = 1. The y-axis ranges from 0 to 3.5 in increments of 0.5. Legend: Use of PD.
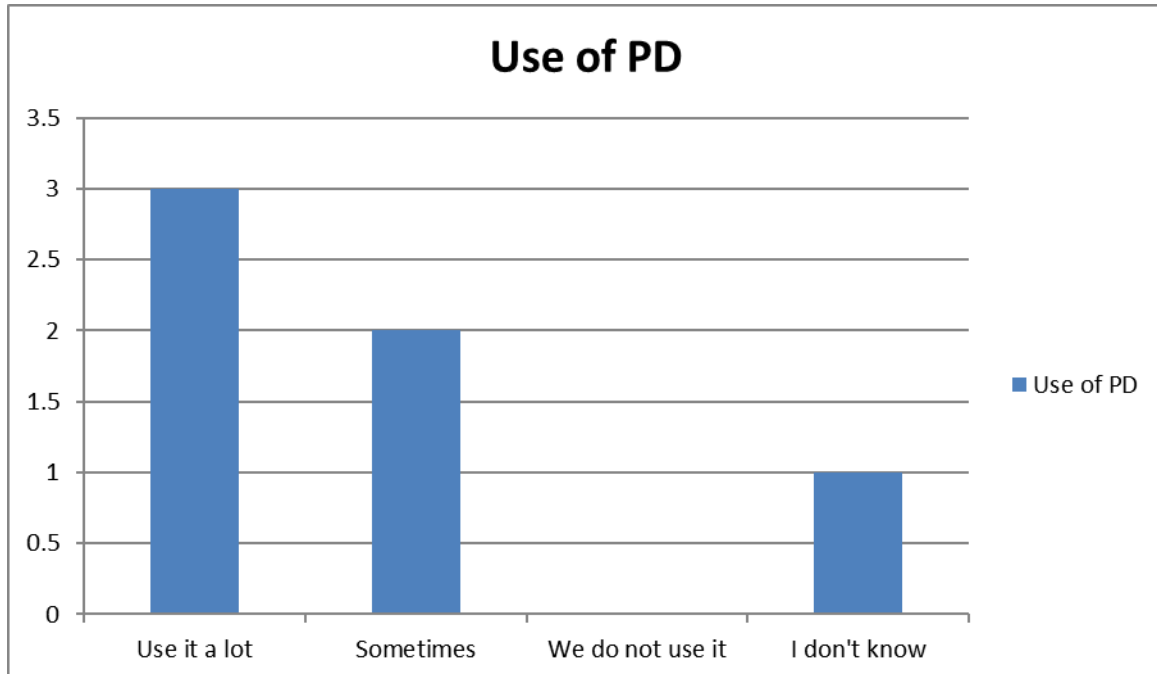
5.3.3. How Public Diplomacy Issues Are Handled

The researcher sought to determine how each mission handled its public diplomacy. First, they were asked who was responsible for overall public diplomacy issues. In two of the missions, the persons responsible for public diplomacy issues were indicated to be the offices handling press/and culture affairs. In the case of the one of the missions, it was indicated that there is a Director of Public Diplomacy whose main task was to handle public diplomacy-related issues. In the remaining missions, the entire staff was responsible for content related to public diplomacy. A few of the respondents indicated that apart from the ambassadors, there was a particular staff who handled public affairs in the host country. The same staff handled public diplomacy issues.

From the previous chapters, it is clear that there is a growing trend to view public diplomacy as a critical aspect of wider diplomatic activities today. However, it is also clear that it remains controversial. An assessment of the literatures and interview results suggest that consensus still lacks as to whether public diplomacy is actually a newly discovered concept or it is basically a flowery name given to long-established propaganda activities. Rather than addressing directly these issues, this particular section will focus on the realistic dimensions of the way in which public diplomacy has been conducted based on the results obtained from literature search and interviews. A recurring theme in the assessed literatures is the view that the emerging agenda of national security in the world a more relationship building approach to foreign policy that consequently demands a new concept for public diplomacy based on dialogue. A number of theoretical issues will be explained in the process. In order to single out the practical dimensions, this chapter will begin by considering two critical themes; Kenya's response to international terrorism and nation-building.

5.4. National Security and Responses to Terror Threats

A number of key themes emerged with regard to what respondents considered to be Kenya's key objective in advancing its national security agenda especially with regard to curbing terror. These were: disrupting terror attacks; minimizing the capacity of terror groups to recruit; minimizing the capacity of terror groups to secure financing; and addressing issues of marginalization within the country's Islamic communities. An assessment of these four themes or objectives provides clarification on the significance of public diplomacy in the wider field of policy offers understanding of its character and the tools that it draws from.

At the onset, the first theme seems to be principally associated with defence, security and policing policies. However, further analysis reveals that it has a critical public diplomacy dimension. In order to successfully disrupt terrorist networks and operations, there must be

collaboration with a broad variety of overseas governments, especially the nations from which terror groups emanate. An assessment of Kenya's anti-terror strategy reveals intense collaborations with Somalia. Kenya's efforts to collaborate with Somalia however transcend government and the political elites. However, the degree of partnerships appears to be based on what the Somali government perceives to be acceptable to their wider society. As stated by one of the respondents, complete collaboration by Somalia cannot serve Kenya's interest if Kenya is to sacrifice the growth in Islamic radicalization and extremism among the wider Somali population and the corresponding declining of government, or even the eventual replacement of the government by an extremist alternative. In line with this, it emerges that public diplomacy is necessary for an effective long-term collaboration against terror in order for a greater support to be won among the broader Islamic societies.

Other themes such as recruitment, marginalization and finance are fundamentally centred on public diplomacy. There are surprisingly few studies that investigate the reason why young people willingly become terrorists and simplistic answers such as poor education and poverty are obviously inadequate explanations. Instead, there are complex reasons and motives associated with the perception of Kenya as a pro-western country. Associated multiplicity and complexity of factors account for the ability of groups associated with al-Qaeda to get funds and the required levels of leniency among Islamic societies. While there is need for further analysis of what constitutes these factors, a major component that emerges is the attitude and perception of Kenya by Islamic societies especially with regard to the country's relationship with the West.

As such, the shared aim of public diplomacy of the themes sketched previously is the engagement with the Islamic societies in a manner that transforms their views of Kenya and its relationship with the Western countries. In more direct language, a public diplomacy which convinces the population that the relationship of Kenya and the west does not make the

country an enemy but that the terror groups are; that democracy and capitalism does not make Kenya an enemy state; and that constructive coexistence between different people is possible. Engaging the Islamic public is difficult and this has raised critical issues concerning the shape and substance of messages and the actors and apparatus involved in the strategy.

As observed by one senior foreign affairs official, a simple assertion of good intentions cannot be successful. In contrast, there is the danger of generating a response whereby the values that Kenya advances are simply not accepted since they resemble those that are not favoured by the Islamic fundamentalists. A victorious involvement must thus be established on authentic dialogue that recognizes difference. Of critical potential is the engagement of Muslim communities within Kenya. This points to dimension of a successful public diplomacy. One of the respondents remarked that agents that could participate in public diplomacy are reluctant to be associated with the government. Even though there is the perception of them operating under government stewardship, there is the potential of undermining their effectiveness and credibility. The participation of such agencies in public diplomacy strategy thus becomes problematic. In the specific cases of Kenya's Islamic communities, there could be significant differences with the government on foreign and domestic policy, and the difference between their own stance that of the rest of the communities. A respondent explained the need for Kenya to engage in dialogue with its Muslim community concerning shared values. A common point is that successful foreign public diplomacy strategy needs to be followed by a successful home-grown public diplomacy strategy.

The tools of public diplomacy also must be given thought. An assessment of multiple source documents reveal that Kenya has attempted to use government sponsored seminars and conferences but the impact of these has been difficult to quantify. New technology has also provided simple mechanisms for collaboration and establishing links with public

diplomacy agents at both levels of government and non-government. However, terrorist groups have also been found to utilizing these tools to their advantage. One respondent indicated that there is need for greater sophistication by the government in their engagement with the media. More specifically, a successful step would be to utilize the media to launch dialogue and engagement. However, as stated by another respondent, this will be more successful if conducted by non-state actors instead of government officials.

On the basis of the cases studies, there is need for taking into consideration the lessons for the wider approach to public diplomacy today. The above issues are not the only ones that have been identified as requiring public diplomacy approach. In recent years, a new global security agenda has emerged which encompasses non-traditional matters such as the spread of diseases, economic instability, environmental degradation, resource and energy issues and organized crime. All these matters are linked. The threats that are posed by these issues to Kenya has been compounded by the degree of inter-linkages and interdependence and technological transformations. There is no one country or regional grouping that can successfully handle these issues in isolation. The threats posed by these issues can only be contained through broad collaborations with diverse partners. Mere collaboration with governments and politicians is inadequate. The degree of partnerships that these can provide is restricted by how the public views them, and in some instances the major issues do not fall within their competencies and control. As such, public diplomacy strategy must be focused beyond the government.

If this is the case, the expectation is that public diplomacy must be central to the process of foreign policy decision-making. As stated by one respondent, public diplomacy should be considered at the point of formulating policy. In other words, policy formulation needs to take into consideration the way in which the policy will be sold later. For instance, if dealing with the most urgent security matters demands global partnership with multiple

agencies, and if effective and steady partnerships can be safeguarded only via engaging the wider foreign publics, then public diplomacy emerges to be a critical and significant element of the policy-making process. As such, diplomacy today is public diplomacy. However, this study did not find any evidence that in Kenya, public diplomacy is central to foreign policy decision-making process. For instance, the British Foreign Office takes public diplomacy seriously since there is the existence of a Public Diplomacy Policy Department that has exclusively developed a strategy for public diplomacy.[79]

A major finding is that handling the emerging agenda of threats to national security demands global partnerships and the support of the civil societies and hence, public diplomacy needs to be founded on engaging in genuine dialogue. Public diplomacy messages therefore need to be more delicate and sophisticated. It must be connected with the works of a broad range of actors in foreign governments' civil societies. This demands an inviting and modest approach that acknowledges that there is no particular individual who owns the truth and that there is validity in other diverse perspectives and ideas and the results could vary from the message that was initially intended for promotion. The underlying objective is to persuade other publics of the values and hence the process must be credible and dialogue genuine.

5.5.   Interview with Ministry of Defence Officials

An interview was conducted with Ministry of Defence officials to determine whether they use public diplomacy within their scope of work. The following graph illustrates the response.

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[79] Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, www.fco.gov.uk.

Use of Public Diplomacy
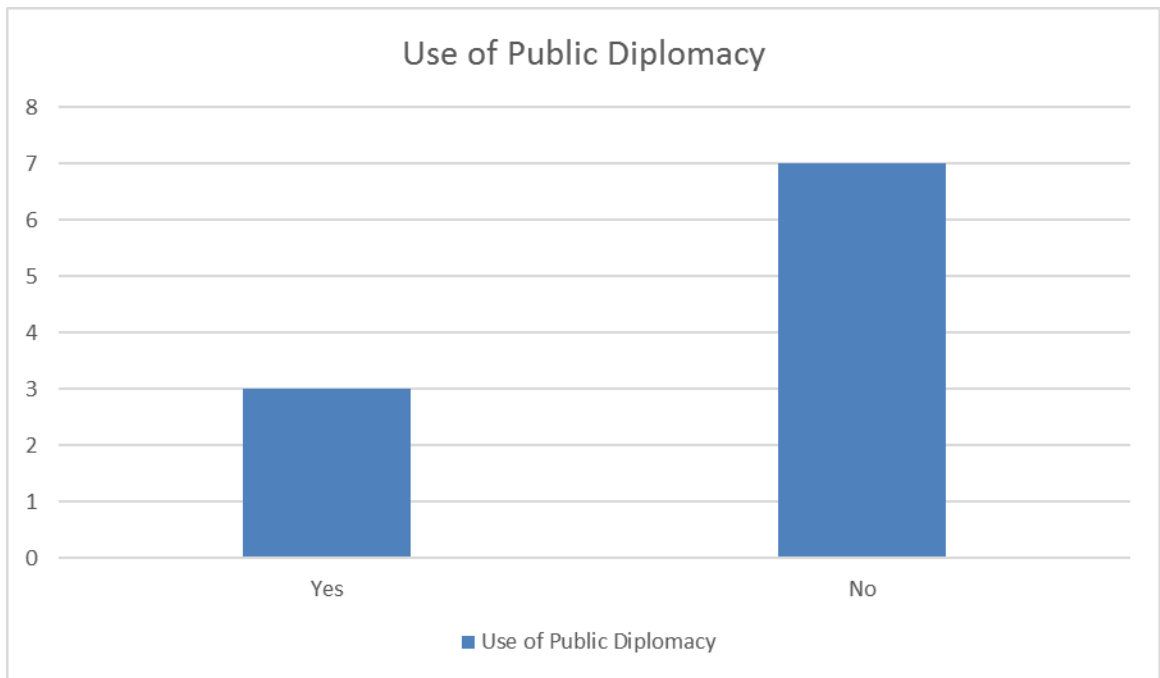
One of the respondents indicated that while the military has often used force as a mechanism for advancing national security and foreign policy, it is a complicated activity that utilizes the power of the in regulating diplomatic relationships between the civilian and military players. Another stated that every armed force must contribute to public diplomacy efforts through the application of basic tools such as humanitarian relief operations and international military training and education programmes. Without a doubt, military power is equipped for making engineer works. Supports in the area of infrastructure are among the activities that the military engages in. United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM), whose purpose was to secure and protect US interests in Africa through military direction, was stated as a case of effective open strategy. Notwithstanding that, many military specialists from Kenya have been involved in international assignments.

5.6. Interview with Ministry of Interior and Coordination Officials

The Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government does not conduct public diplomacy. The officials who were interviewed, while demonstrating understanding of what public diplomacy entails, authoritatively responded that it is not within the purview of the Ministry to be involved or handle issues of public diplomacy. They stated that anything diplomacy is handled by the MFA and that their mandate was to ensure that there is internal peace in the country. They stated that the only way they engage foreign publics is through international duties that are sometimes undertaken by the government. One respondent remarked:

> "The Ministry (Interior) does not directly engage on public diplomacy which is the mandate of Foreign Affairs. However, many of the security activities conducted by the Ministry are specifically meant to support the government's diplomacy efforts and objectives."
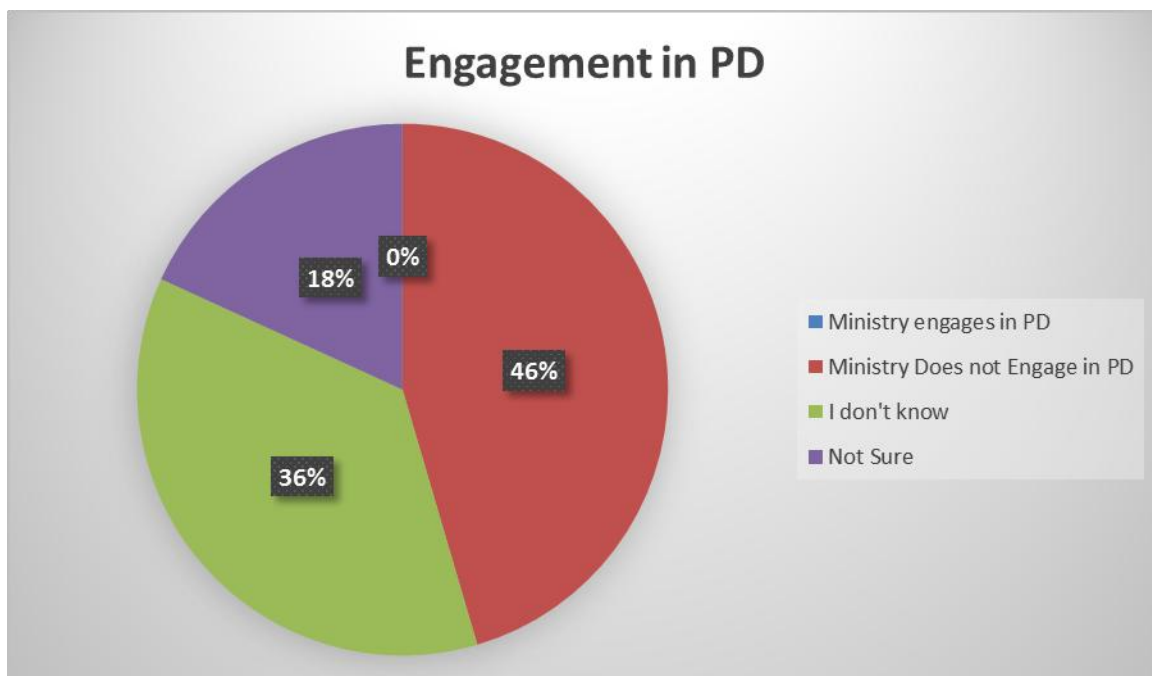
6.0. CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The majority of Kenya's legislative proposals are associated with security, freedom and justice. However, in approaching the need for striking symmetry between security and freedom, insufficient attention has been focused on the need to communicate the role of security convincingly to the citizens. Rather, there exists a failure of public diplomacy which reflects and is aggravated by its failure with regard to communicating Kenya's national security agenda. Its role in terms of advancing security is ambiguous. It is evident that communicating security issues is fundamentally difficult given the ambiguity of the subject matter as to what comprises national security and domestic affairs.

This paper has established the critical role of public diplomacy in advancing national security especially in responding to terrorism in other countries like the United States. It is contended that a far more theoretical focus on the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security is positive particularly in terms of responding to threats of terrorism. There are limitations to hard power especially when responding to terrorism and hence, public diplomacy is a more effective tool in combating terrorism. The paper has also established the need for creating sustainable networks in responding to security threats since networks synchronize resources, skills and expertise needed to create high levels of situational awareness and response. The challenge for Kenya lies in knowing how to connect to these sustainable networks, establish alliances and use the networks for advocacy to support the foreign policy objectives. Public diplomacy encourages participation and hence information from non-government institutions, the media, and the private sector among others form ideal structures for managing collaborations within a country's counter-terrorism strategy. A multi-actor diplomacy network overcomes the uncertainty associated with terrorism through increasing information access.

Public diplomacy when conducted in a clever way acts as a connector that can tie together all measures aimed at national security into a single solid and connected strategy. In the absence of efficient diplomacy, measures aimed at advancing national security become disjointed and unrelated, and thus inefficient. With regard to the fight against modern form of terrorism which is the greatest threat to national security, diplomacy goes beyond professional diplomats conducting their activities in foreign lands to all officials undertaking other duties designed for and connected with the fight against extremism. Public diplomacy functions as a critical weapon in this activity. It is widely known that terrorist groups are constantly growing their field of activities. The war against such threats to national security demands the collaboration of many nations and agencies as the network is global in nature. An effective diplomacy brings together all the activities aimed at neutralizing such threats into a logical whole. The advancement of national security is not an issue only left to the professional diplomats but also all other agencies concerned with security. Agencies dealing with regulation in the area of safety must also conduct completely diplomatic roles and ensure that there is coordination with other government and non-government bodies in circumstances where domestic and global security systems overlap. Overall, much still needs to be done in Kenya in terms of realizing the significance and importance of public diplomacy in advancing security issues.

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I. Questionnaire

The study aims to establish the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security using Kenya as a case study. The study is for academic purposes only.

Part A: Participants Information

Introduction Section 1: Demographic information

1. Indicate your gender   Male [ ] female [ ]

2. Indicate your age range.

    Below 20 years [ ]   21-35 years [ ]   36-45 years [ ]   45-60 years   [ ] Above 60 years [ ]

3. How long have you worked for your current organization?

    Less than 5 years [ ]   5-10 years [ ]   More than 10 years [ ]

4. Indicate your

    Ministry/Mission…………………………………………………………………………

    …………………….

5. What is your position

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………

Part B: Section B: Study variables

6. What do you know about public diplomacy?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………

7. Is public diplomacy communication planned within the Ministry?

    Yes ☐   No   ☐

8. Who has the responsibility for public diplomacy and communicating to other publics?

....

9. Do you utilize social media as a tool for public diplomacy? If yes, is it purposeful and planned?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………….

10. Do you use public diplomacy in your Ministry/Mission?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………….

11. How is public diplomacy handled in your Ministry/Mission?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………….

12. Do you think public diplomacy plays a key role in enhancing the country's security?

  Yes [ ]   No [ ]   I don't know [ ]

  If yes why do you think it is so?

  …………………………………………………………………………………………

  ……

13. Do you think there is a connection between public diplomacy and national security?

  Yes [ ]   No [ ]   I don't know [ ]

  If yes, please explain.

  …………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Do you think public diplomacy is used in your department as a tool for advancing Kenya's national security?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]   I don't know [ ]

If yes, please explain.

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

15. Do you think other actors such as the media and non-state actors would be useful in advancing Kenya's foreign agenda in the area of security?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………

16. Do you think that public diplomacy is useful in advancing Kenya's security agenda in light of global threats? Yes [ ] No [ ]

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………

17. In your knowledge are there set policies and strategies for public diplomacy in advancing Kenya's foreign policy? Yes [ ] No [ ] I don't know [ ]

Explain...

....

....

....

....

....

18. Does your Ministry/Mission use social media as a public diplomacy tool?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I don't know [ ]

Explain..

....

....

....

....

....

19. Are you aware of any examples of public diplomacy practices undertaken in

Kenya?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I don't know [ ] 20.

Explain...

....

....

....

....

....

21. Are you aware of recent examples of public diplomacy practices undertaken by

Kenya internationally?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I don't know [ ]

Explain...

....

II. INTERIEW GUIDE

1. Are you aware of any public diplomacy activity by your organization/agency?

2. In your opinion, what do you think is the role of public diplomacy in advancing national security?

3. How can the Kenyan public take part in public diplomacy? What plans do you have to encourage greater participation on the part of the general public?

4. Is public diplomacy recognized as a tool for national security? Why do you/do you not think so?

5. How does Kenya's participation in regional security operations affect its public diplomacy?

6. Do you think Kenya has an elaborate public diplomacy structure?

7. How does your Ministry/Mission handle foreign publics?

8. Does your Ministry/Mission engage with foreign publics?

9. Is public diplomacy important in your Ministry's/Mission's undertaking?

10. What are the examples of public diplomacy engagement you aware of?