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BY

MUIRURI JOSEPH MAINA

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SUPERVISOR: DR. PATRICK MALUKI

THE ROLE OF CHINA GLOBAL TELEVISION NETWORK IN FOSTERING

CHINESE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN KENYA

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DECLARATION

The work contained herein is my inventive endeavor and that features nowhere else as a Masters

project for the award of a diploma or degree in the University Of Nairobi or any other institution

Sign…………………………………… Date…………………………………

MUIRURI JOSEPH MAINA

R50/87165/2016

Declaration by the Supervisor

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor

at the University of Nairobi

Signature: ………………………… Date: …………………………………

DR. PATRICK MALUKI

Lecturer, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I dedicate my project to those that are closest to me, my family, for standing with me during the painstaking work. I owe my deepest gratitude to my family for their enormous support. Their love, patience and relentless encouragement gave me the motivation to put in long hours of hard work into compiling the project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CAK   Correspondents Association of Kenya

CCK   Communications Commission of Kenya

CGTN   China Global Television Network

CMC   Computer Mediated Communications

CMC   Computer Mediated Communications

EAJA   East African Journalism Association

ICT   Information and Communication Technologies

IR   International Relations

KUJ   Kenya Union of Journalists

MCK   Media Council of Kenya

PD   Public Diplomacy

VOA   Voice of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

The underlying objective of the project was to examine the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study was anchored on the objectives listed here below: To evaluate the role of CGTN as an integral tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya; To examine the role of CGTN in positioning of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya; To establish the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. To arrive at this, I reviewed and applied for comparison available empirical and theoretical literature and purposed to use the research methodology that addresses the highlighted literature gaps and also strive to give answers to the raised research questions. The study followed a research design rich in description. I preferred to go this way since it has been found to give leeway to depth in the study of the subject. A structured was employed in the gathering of date. The study used a census of all the 102 officials in the communications department of the Foreign Affairs ministry headquarters, the Media Council of Kenya and the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi. Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Qualitative data that was discovered was subjected to analysis via Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22. The response rate of the study was 94 percent. What was generated from the study showed that CGTN operates under a deliberate affirmative action policy to promote Chinese public diplomacy. Finally, the study recommended that countries should embrace media so as to activate public diplomacy and further research projects should to be commissioned in different countries to seek to know if a similar outcome can be generated.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This section delves into the background on the role of media in diplomacy. The study gives the problem, research questions and objectives; justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis and research methodology.

1.1 Background to the Study

The media in the modern day have expanded their role and capability immensely as sources of information globally, thanks to the rapidly developing digital age. Previous studies have shown that the way in which media define the theme of awareness of public space orients the way people think about many global issues[1]. The media has increasingly become an enabler and shaper of public diplomacy particularly through the Internet, new media and the social media that have impacted, among other structures of society, governments, international organizations, civil society organizations and private enterprises.

To this end, political and social entities the world over have embraced the necessity to change to the new realities thrust on them by the growth of the digital age, especially the Internet, which harbors the World-Wide-Web, Digital Media and the Social Media networks[2]. The enormity of this paradigm shift is evident and has led world countries to

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[1] Eytan Gilboa 'Diplomacy in the media age: Three Models of uses and Effects, Diplomacy and Statecraft' (2001)

[2] James F. Klumpp, Thomas A. Hollihan, and Patricia Riley, "Globalizing Argument Theory," Arguing Communication and Culture, edited by G. Thomas Goodnight (Washington, DC: National Communication Association, 2002): 578–586.

resort to digital diplomacy through e-diplomacy and cyber-diplomacy, thereby restructuring and ameliorating global trends in public diplomacy. In fact, digital diplomacy is increasingly being felt as a growing global trend and an expanding realm, wherein the digital divide between the East and the West Hemispheres, with particular regard to China, seems considerably to be narrowing[3].

What digital diplomacy has increasingly done is to water down the highly bureaucratic systems that traditionally defined diplomacy among states and other entities. Whereas diplomatic communiqués would only be released in formal settings and through official channels, today Twitter and Facebook handles have become frequent channels for diplomats, even presidents and heads of government, to release what would otherwise have been highly official messages. Overall, media out in the open system has dynamically exhibited its accommodation of the latter. Various governments have resorted to open diplomacy through digital media to impact their nation's view and to engage all around while contextualizing the stage for others to appreciate their positions in the worldwide arena[4].

As recently as 2017, when the renewal of a contract for British soldiers operating in Laikipia, Kenya, was in abeyance for many months, it was the British High Commission in Kenya that announced on its official Twitter handle that the contract had finally been signed with Kenya, even before the official statement was released. Accomplishment of

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[3] Diplomacy School of Armenia, 2015; Manor 2016; Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2015.
[4] Johanna Neuman, Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International Politics? (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp.270-71.

diplomatic goal through media, must, however be judged by its objective or subjective quality. The most essential measure is media's acceptability and independence, mostly gauged by independence depending on which global sphere it fall in. When such media practices are engaged in among diplomatic circles, what should be considered is if it has the capacity for intended impact and goal.

The fast uptake of online circulation technologies and other electronic broadcast networks augmented the high acceleration of its global spread and conveyed a new, emerging media philosophy. CGTN now has spread its tentacles worldwide through satellite, cable and the Internet. At least 120 nations, and 120-million strong audience, now have access to the CGTN free-to-air satellite waves.

CGTN, which is the English extension of the Mandarin CCTV, made a major inroad into the America market when, towards the end of 2011, it launched an MHZ package in the most developed media market in the world. The following year, this was followed by a launch of CCTV-USA, based and produced from Washington DC, where the US Voice of America is also based. Unlike the Beijing-based CCTV, the English arm of the Chinese national television station broke conventional barriers by going all out in its production to target a global audience. In Africa, Kenya, regarded as the East African regional hub I media technology, was the first stepping stone for CGTN, with the goal of giving the world a far-reaching inside view of the continent. The station, based in Nairobi, broke new ground by producing daily programmers from across Africa for the global viewer.

Some nations like China, owing to the government's strong grip on media control, have optimized propagation of diplomatic policy through media, other nations like Kenya where media enjoys fruits of a budding democratic system have been at pains to harness media support in diplomacy and national policy. The role of CTGN in Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya has been more of a threat to the private citizenry and national cohesion than would be taken as a factor fostering public diplomacy. No wonder it is through social media that Kenya has in the recent past been referred to as a hotbed of corruption by some Southern Africa States[5] owing to what its media portrays to the world.

Therefore, each and every state attempt to control and regulate media influence in public diplomacy, especially in ensuring secrecy and cohesion during times of crisis and potential threats either from the international world or internally[6], is directly proportional to relationship between the State and Media based on the type of administration in place. Kenya and its East Africa neighbor Rwanda, though both professing different levels of democracy, have different relations with local media, the latter having a tighter grip and enjoying more benefits diplomatically, while Kenyan government endures the edge of the media whip and almost no support in public diplomacy.

The China Global Television Network (CGTN), headquartered in Beijing, China, is a fitting case study of how the State can use its controlled media to foster public diplomacy

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[5] Paul Hensel, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Thomas E. Sowers II, and Clayton L. Thyne, "Bones of Contention," Journal of Conflict Resolution 52, no. 1 (2008): 117–143.
[6] James Dawes. The Language of War: Literature and Culture in the U.S. from the Civil War Through World War II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2002) p.12.

to immense success. CGTN and other state-friendly Chinese media have, over time, become the bearers of Chinese soft public diplomacy across the globe, where the world's most populous nation on earth has been spreading its tentacles of influence as it slowly emerges as the next world super power. In the framework of media merging, an important focus of the international station's labeling plan is circulating its content simultaneously on its online platforms and offline. Presently, the station airs its bulletins and programs on a wide array of platforms. It is widely available on digital, mobile and social media podiums internationally and regionally[7].

The subject of study for this project is CGTN, with special focus on its impact in Kenya, where China has made major in-roads as a development and trade partner, besides other levels of cooperation. CGTN is a key arm of public diplomacy for China, being one of the biggest television stations in the world in terms of reach.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is first important to state that the media is a key platform in shaping perceptions, opinions and causing desired influence in domestic and external spaces. Many governments have over time become reliant on their national media to influence public diplomacy in their favor. Every country desire to paint a attractive image of it at home and internationally and media becomes the purveyor of this objective. However, the effectiveness or lack of making gains in public diplomacy, by using the media, can best be independently assessed

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[7] Senya, D. "The benefits and challenges of electronic diplomacy (e-diplomacy) to developing countries: the developing countries: the case of Ghana". University of Ghana, 2016.

by the target partakers of the message. The media is, thus, an opinion shaper depending on how it is used.

The world over, the media, assuming great and deliberately utilized roles, have affected world arrangements in open deliberations and all the more critically, impacted positions and significant issues[8]. Media's role in international relations cannot be gainsaid and the case study for CGTN stands out as a pointer on many levels. The power of the media has not been optimized to the full throttle that it can in making the repute of the nation to the target audience, which is the world at large. Instead, there seems to be more of an avalanche of negative event publicity than there is on the positive. At the top global level, the Britain's BBC, America's VOA and Germany's Deutch Welle have proven their immense ability to positively sway foreign policy of their nations, with newcomers like CGTN following in their footsteps.[9]

There is big concern that the media fundamentally exposes the negative issues to the citizens and the international community thus negatively affecting public diplomacy. Regardless of media's unchallenged significance in the lead of public diplomacy, it appears that International Relations studies still neglect to address the matter satisfactorily and extensively. Extensive studies have been conducted globally on media and public diplomacy but minimal work has been done on the role of CGTN in fostering public

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8 Le, Eric. The Spiral of 'Anti-Other Rhetoric': Discourses of Identity and the International Media Echo, (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016.

9 Olubukola S. A. Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. Journal of Cogent Social Sciences, 2017.

diplomacy in either Africa or Kenya. Owing to such a prevailing situation, this work seeks to establish the function played by CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

1.3 Research Questions

i. What is the role of CGTN as a strategic tool of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya?

ii. How does CGTN have a role in the promotion of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya?

iii. What role do strategies adopted by CGTN play in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy?

1.4 Research Objectives

The project's main objective was to examine the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

i. To evaluate the role of CGTN as a strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

ii. To examine the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

iii. To establish the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study will be useful for the following sectors:

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The upsurge of foreign-dialect mass media in the most populous country in the world points a strategic move tailored for the Chinese media and scholastic findings in the perspective of reaching to the world. One distinctive aspect is the China Daily newspaper which distributes in excess of 250,000 copies per edition at home and worldwide every day, with extensive readership in intellectual realms. From this study, the Chinese media professionals working for CGTN (and for other international editions), policy directors and media scholars could find this study useful in as far as it on ways to proficiently build China's worldwide media entities, and the packaging of its message for global communities.

The study will contribute to academic knowledge adding to the existing body of literature on the topic of how media influences public diplomacy. Out of the findings, the research seeks to add to the existing body of academic sources in related studies. This will provide a valid platform for reform in the sector of the media and public diplomacy interrelations. More so, the study will highlight all emerging issues that will be important for further studies.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

Owing to emerging global trends affecting media, the media in China, like elsewhere in the world has been grappling with the task of coping against changes in the international communication policies. Of concern for CGTN has been issues of falling viewership caused by claims especially by countries of the West and the North that accuse China of

integrity issues in pushing its image to the world. If it is to counter this effectively and start gaining ground, a methodical survey to find out how varied international audiences consume media packages from powerful nations, should be commissioned in different hemispheres in order to come up with a network map on what strategies China should use to reach and be accepted in the all the poles of the earth. This could come in handy for production technocrats and bureaucrats in laying a working policy that could guide the media in China to optimally play their role on the world arena. The designers of CGTN proposed a target to reach an audience of at least 200 million, which still remains a goal too far. Media academics who had presumed that rise in Chinese soft power may be directly proportional to rise in its dominance of global media space, might have to re-look afresh what it takes to conquer the international audience.

The research study seeks to benefit the policy making bodies like the Media Council of Kenya and the Government of Kenya. In policy formulation, the study will benefit design of effective strategies for setting a stage to boost enhancement of the media work in fostering public diplomacy by the government of Kenya and the civil societies. The recommendations of the study will aid policymakers as well as law enforcement officers in providing a methodical approach to the question of media and public diplomacy and its interplay.

1.6 Literature Review

Public diplomacy is relatively a fresh research area. It was progressively brought to focus during the last century since the media and the citizens started evaluating diplomacy. It

changed into a more vital concept during the Iron Curtain era, intended to influence opinion on the global scene on the then delicate question of arms race, especially proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Cold War was largely a high octane international tussle of wits, designed from designed by protagonists of the West and the East to win public opinion. Public diplomacy throughout the hostile era became the motivation for much research concerning the different ways the dominant nations and other countries used to attain their global goals.

Diplomacy took a different way of development after September 11, 2001, when terrorists attacked vital US installations. The revolutions in mass media, politics and worldwide relations have influenced new chances and needs of public diplomacy during this period[10]. The increase in information technologies led to two enormous discoveries: the World Wide Web and the global cable television giants like the Cable News Network, the BBC World Service, CCTV and many more, which transmit live international happenings, almost every vital event from every location of the globe.

The World Wide Web and the international channels have converted into a main spring of information about world matters. The Internet serves countries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), communities, organizations, individuals and basically the global community with infinite information on every subject in the world. Political revolutions, like the Arab Spring, have turned around some nations and political systems, bearing, as a

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[10] Eytan Gilboa, Diplomacy in the media age: Three Models of uses and Effects, Diplomacy and Statecraft, 2011.

result the mass involvement in political procedures. On the international relations front, the digital age has progressively changed the objectives of steering foreign policy. Approving representation and repute all over the globe, gained by desirability and enforcement, increasingly emerged as indispensable as the sovereignty, admittance and natural resources, customarily gained via military expansion and economic might. After the attack by the Al Qaeda terror group on America on September 11, 2002, US, Holbrooke[11] predicted drastic change in the way America and the countries that would support its actions would henceforth play public diplomacy to the world.

The prediction may show the misperception by American political bureaucrats, which does not shed enough light on the significance and exceptionality of public diplomacy. Essentially, numerous scholars opine that public diplomacy and indoctrination is the same thing, interrelated in wooing the public, painting a favorable justification to the world, propaganda and countering rivalry. Experts in international studies have seen this as the basis of soft power and evaluated outcomes only surveys of public opinion and acres of media space and airtime. For most researchers, it is clear that public diplomacy today goes far wider to incorporate larger scopes of operation than defined by these terms.

1.6.1 Media and Public Diplomacy

Different scholars, activists, writers and organizations have had something distinct and special on the question of the part played by the media in fostering public diplomacy in

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[11] Holbrooke, Richard. *Get the message out*. Washington Post, 2011.

Kenya and generally in the globe. The role of the media in public diplomacy has been discussed over a wide wavelength worldwide. Studies have been undertaken that have come up with concepts draw to boost strategic research that can guide on how media can be put into good use in fostering foreign affairs and international negotiations.; for instance, the realm of media and public diplomacy was classified into; public diplomacy, pitting State and non-State players in tapping the mass media and other forms of dissemination of information to curry favor with foreign audiences, civilizations; the media, in which bureaucrats resort to converse with actors and to encourage conflict tenacity; and media-broker diplomacy, where media corps deviate to act like diplomats and work as mediators in foreign consultations. Two initial concepts have been tested but reviews are required to streamline them.

Inter-linked political evolvements, universal interactions and channels of communication have momentously opened up how the media works in diplomacy. Increasing public involvement in government affairs continues to transform numerous nations from dictatorships to participatory regimes. The transformation in media models, IT, the ability for real time broadcasting nearly all major important happenings in the world from nearly every place in the world, and the innovation and growth of the internet, have steered an evolution in ICT and broadcasting.

These radical outcomes have revolutionized the power balance in modern political systems. Far from just their military and economic muscle, it is a nation's international image and

reputation of internal administration, coupled with effective management of information that flows out to the world, that add up to building its status among the global community.

In the case of China, which over the last decades has been making inroads to all hemispheres, the credit goes to 'Soft Power', that is described as 'the capability to achieve desired objectives in international relations through desirability rather than intimidation". The policy is seen to have turned the tide against the traditional 'Global Cop' pushy factor that is associated especially with the United States and some other strong nations of the North.. 'In a swiftly shifting world', wrote Nye and Owens, ' news on what is happening is an important aspect of universal interactions even as the danger application of martial was power was a dominant aspect in a global map dominated by a persistent standoff of world powers[12]. The power communication channels, especially the silver screen and the new digital media has increasingly become the most effective purveyor of influence in international relations.

To paraphrase Mowlana, modern technological developments that affect the mass media are now so essential in economic and political developments of the past decade, that they have increasingly changed the traditional power map locally and globally'.[13] Only national leaders who are oblivious to such developments can underrate the influence of the

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[12] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and William A. Owens, 'America's Information Edge', Foreign Affairs, 75 (March/April 2009).
[13] Hamid Mowlana, 'Toward a NWICO for the Twenty First Century', Journal of International Affairs, 47 (Summer 2009.

television newscast[14]. The momentous changes in mass media, politics and international relations have influenced new changes and needs of public diplomacy during this period[15].

Bennett and Paletz[16], noted that it is crucial from the outset to discern the need for juxtaposing the national security of nations and the media and to assess how they co-exist. Of high importance is growing public opinion and the influence by the published media which occasions the internal security debate. This chapters glances into the necessity to detach national security of sensitive issues like diplomacy, peace and other security issues from what should be free discourse by experts and scholars.

1.6.2 Local Studies on Media and Diplomacy

Kenyan mass media has performed a noteworthy role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. Public diplomacy is the place state and non-state performing artists utilize media and different interchanges channels to impact popular sentiment in outside social orders. Media diplomacy then again is the place authorities utilize the media to speak with on-screen characters and to advance clash determination and outside approach plans[17].

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[14] David Gergen, 'Diplomacy in a Television Age: The Dangers of Teledemocracy', in Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, 2010, 47-63.

[15] Gilboa, Eytan. Public diplomacy: The missing component in Israel's foreign policy. *Israel Affairs* 2008. 12(4): 715-747.

[16] Bennett and Paletz (eds). Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)

[17] Olubukola S. A. Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. *Journal of Cogent Social Sciences,* 2017.

Media intermediary diplomacy is the place writers briefly accept the part of representatives and fill in as middle people in worldwide negotiations. Media diplomacy has been utilized for the progression of national interests and proliferation of outside approach by various states. Media discretion has turned into a vital part of contemporary foreign policy on account of data revolution. Media and diplomacy have become a dominant source of information for people and a powerful player in international relationships.

Traditional idea of global power determined primarily by military advantage no longer sufficiently explains the nature of contemporary international relations and foreign policy. In the event that a country is to make and keep up a positive worldwide picture on the planet group, it must be able to extend its favored national character onto the worldwide field. The suggestion in this way is the prevalence in interchanges innovation may better enable a country to apply some control over the stream of worldwide data and the impact on its global picture.

In this way, while countries may have energy to build national character inside through practicing control over local powers, for example, national media, countries with overwhelming worldwide media advantage stand a higher shot in forming their universal picture, and significantly, its position in the worldwide political order. Seeing as national identity and placement in the global political hierarchy are influenced as much by international image of a nation, media diplomacy and foreign policy play a noteworthy role in analysis of contemporary international relations.

Global political power of a nation, in this information age, emerges from the interaction between national identity and international image. To this extent, the nation could use the media to align them. Public spat amongst Kenya and Uganda on the Lake Victoria Migingo Island, for instance, was packed with profoundly nationalistic if "adverse" dialect, with Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni frequently portrayed in Kenya's media as an expansionist and even "aimlessly" driven.

This may have served to advance open impression of Uganda's initiative, and particularly its association with Kenya. A free ban in late 2009 in light of endeavors to decide the "genuine proprietors" of Migingo Island appears to have incidentally subdued pressures between the two nations[18].

Lacking, nonetheless, has been in-depth talk in the media about the outcomes of such state as well as authority doubts for the EAC and the combination procedure. Owino Opondo, a writer who has worked for the Nation Media Group for more than 15 years in different publication positions, criticizes the media for the absence of depth. On this score, Opondo contends that the "media must dump social, monetary and political patriotism and transparently however genuinely deliver themselves to the issues of integration".

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[18] Tayeebwa, W. "*Challenges of Integrating Peace Journalism into Conventional Journalism Practice: Case Study of LRA Peace Process in Uganda." Masters Dissertation*: The Faculty of Peace and Conflict Studies, European University Center for Peace Studies, Stadtschlaining –Austria, 2017.

The fascinating fact in the rise of mass media is immediate connect to liberal beliefs. Media specifically has turned out to be progressively imperative to civil society e.g. social union absence may quickly flag local shakiness towards universal framework.

1.6.3 African Studies on Media and Diplomacy

A study by the advantages and difficulties of Electronic Diplomacy (E-diplomacy) to developing nation a contextual investigation of how Ghana discovered that Electronic Diplomacy (E-diplomacy) has been portrayed as utilization of the web and new data correspondence innovations to help accomplish diplomatic destinations[19]. The quick improvement of data and correspondences innovation (ICT) in the 21st century has significantly affected diplomacy. It has made another type of diplomacy encouraged by computerized innovation.

This being apparent in formation of virtual international safe havens on web-based sites, production of sites of Ministries/ Foreign Affairs departments and Diplomatic Missions. It's likewise showed that diplomats and other foreign missions staff have been increasingly exercising leverage through Social Media sites, Facebook, Twitter Instagram and the formation of personalized systems like WhatsApp and Telegram – the intranets - inside remote undertakings divisions or services[20].

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[19] Senya, D. The benefits and challenges of electronic diplomacy (e-diplomacy) to developing countries: the developing countries: the case of Ghana. University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh case of Ghana. University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh, 2016.

[20] Matthew, A., Baum and Philip, Potter. *The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis*. Annual Review of Political Science, 2008, 39-65.

Some developed nations have outfitted these devices in the direct of their diplomacy bearing final goal to quicken acknowledgment of their outside diplomacy destinations. They are right now influencing extensive walks in this despite the fact that they confront a few difficulties particularly in the zone of security. This examination takes a gander at the instance of developing nations with accentuation on Ghana. Investigation analyzed degree to which Ghana has connected ICT to its discretion and advantages and difficulties which appropriation of ICT instruments in strategic practice cause concerning correspondence.

From the investigation, it is apparent that correspondence assumes a noteworthy part in diplomacy and data and correspondence innovation serves to improve this part. Discoveries from the examination likewise show that Ghana has influenced negligible utilization of ICT in its conciliatory practice because of asset, to change administration and security challenges. It has, however, received a few rewards as speedier and more effective correspondence channels that can contact a wide gathering of people[21].

The conclusion made in view of these discoveries is that Ghana's political practice will enhance the reception of ICT in the event that it can resolve its security and asset challenges. With a specific end goal to empower Ghana settle its E-Diplomacy challenges, the possible solutions recommended are strategic E-Diplomacy plan, adequate schooling and additional research.

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[21] Villa, Dana R. *"Postmodernism and the Public Sphere."* American Political Science Review, 2014.

A study on media dubbed 'Heightening Clash (An Instance of the Rwandan genocide) analyzed the part of media in raising clashes, a contextual analysis of the Rwandese mass killings of 1994[22]. The Rwanda genocide was among the most shocking global calamities of the last century, in which the media was largely accused of compliance. All around, partially and locally, the broad communications assume a pivotal part in public policy, motivation setting, national, and universal clashes.

Clashes don't happen spontaneously, yet have a tendency to draw from past tensions that may have simmered unresolved for long. The reason for the investigation was to figure out what part the Rwandese and the world media may have played in the massacres, either by passive or active roles. The investigation inspected and dissected the components that constrained the media to moving viciousness in strife circumstances in underdeveloped nations as opposed to advancing majority rules system and peace.

The media can assume distinctive parts as far as raising, directing, or adjusting a contention is concerned. The 'Holocaust' in Rwanda was a recent case that exposed media as a likely gullible of active participant, specifically engaged with heightening of contention. The broad communications has been of extraordinary significance in the war prompting the massacres in Rwanda and also in several other inner conflicts. The target of the enquiry was to decide the mechanisms that made the media destitute against political domination, analyze the mock by the media both nearby and global in amplifying brutality in the

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[22] Were, E. N. The role of the media in escalating conflict (a case of the Rwandan genocide) http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/11376, 2012.

19

Rwandan massacre, and to inspect the hitches looked by the media actions under the political patronage in Rwanda.

The inspection will be valuable to the management of contentions all around, to scholars, to the parliament and different stakeholders. The research was a desk appraisal that analyzed data both from press. Inward sources encompassed data sourced from press. Outer information bases included evidence starting from outside the media agencies, for example, state sources, industrial sources, inter and intra industry sources like trade magazines, journals and other sources like NGOs, institutes of economic review and also academic organizations.

An examination on Foreign policy in a period of digital diplomacy a contextual analysis of Nigeria found that revolution of internet has influenced all parts of life, inclusive of International relations. Diplomacy as an apparatus of outside arrangement has additionally being changed by foreign audiences[23]. Media challenges in Uganda as outlined during the 2017 World Press Freedom Day propositioned by the UNESCO, are premised on many aspects owing mainly to: abilities of individual reporters; the political economy of media organizations; impairments on freedoms of the media as ordered by the state; and a lack of bravery by supra-national entities and international donors to impose international ideals.

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[23] Olubukola S. A.. Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. Journal of Cogent Social Sciences, 2017.

Equally, the accomplishment of the media in upholding peaceful and inclusive communities for sustainable development is fundamentally located at those four echelons: individual, institutional, NGOs, country, donor division, supra-national bodies. At individual level, it is important that journalists have not only the professional abilities to be muckrakers, but also have the specialized training that goes with the allure. It regularly happens that the highly trained journalists are also greatly sought out by other quarters that pay much better. Given the many tests thrown their way in Uganda, individual journalists effortlessly burn-out and leave the profession to subordinates who lack the professional capability to do a good job on complex matters such as peace, skirmish and violence[24].

Reports show the media supported and abetted the demolition of Yugoslavia, the ascent to energy of outrageous patriotism and the manufacturing of a contention between gatherings of individuals who had lived respectively gently every one of their lives. It was an unnerving case of how a general public can crumble; how dread can be abused by the energy of a media in the hands of those sufficiently corrupt to use it as a weapon. War was neither inescapable nor the main methods for settling the contentions that lay behind the separation of Yugoslavia, and the neighborhood media assumed an imperative part in setting up the ground for war, by guaranteeing general feeling was activated behind the distinctive members[25]. Media battles between match media outlets prefigured the war itself. As local socialist initiatives transformed into patriots they saw, consistent with their

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[24] Tayeebwa.W. "Challenges of Integrating Peace Journalism into Conventional Journalism Practice: Case Study of LRA Peace Process in Uganda." Masters Dissertation: The Faculty of Peace and Conflict Studies, European University Center for Peace Studies, Stadtschlaining –Austria, 2017.
[25] Villa, Dana. "Postmodernism and the Public Sphere." American Political Science Review, 2014.

21

comrade legacy, the different media as vital instruments of strategy and were set up to utilize them.

1.6.4 Global Studies on Media and Diplomacy

Konstantinos Choutos[26] did a study on media and public diplomacy: A Case of Greek Financial Crisis. The coverage of Greek political events, as it was expected, was monopolized both by the socio-economic repercussions of the crisis (measures, taxation, unemployment) and by the impact of memoranda and consecutive politics in the political world and in the political life in general (government and operation of political system).

Although a great part of journalistic production often concerns itself with the coverage of handling the debates by protagonists of political life, the analysis of the political decisions' substance was not absent from the Greek mass media, with the remarkable observation that there are seldom reports about the social teams that are offended by political decisions and regulations. In other words, while the journalistic coverage is interested in the political cost of the planned measures and policies, it is indifferent to the social cost, which is the most essential.

Undeniably, the fluidity of political plans in periods of crisis is so much obvious, that it might work as a suspense factor in the search of an acute journalistic coverage. Public Diplomacy was found be basically concerned with fostering a favorable image and, in the

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[26] Konstantinos Choutos. Media and Public Diplomacy. Case study: Greek financial crisis. Thessaloniki, 2016.

case of Greece, countering the negative issues occasioned by the economic crisis. However, in most practical situations, public diplomacy has largely not been backed up by sufficient financing, I most cases being left of out of strategic planning of ministries of foreign affairs. It will be found that most foreign offices and missions abroad are not staffed with public diplomacy expert envoys who are equipped with political and international relations knowledge.

Sheafer, Shenhav, Takens and Atteveldt[27] did a study in which they cited the case for Israel, which has fought decades-long on-and-off battles with the Palestinian enclaves of Gaza Strip and West Bank, was cited for study on how it plays public diplomacy to the world, amid widespread accusations of brutality by the United Nations and other countries. A special look has been given to how Israel's public diplomacy has been received by the world.

One of the most sustained barrages of criticism against Israel by the United Nations and several world nations was the Operation Cast lead, a three-week conflict between Israeli soldiers and Hamas insurgents in Gaza strip that was fought I Part of December (2008) and January (2009). Israel's sustained denial of brutality and alleged crimes against humanity were sent out daily from the government's interior ministry 'War Room'. Material generated automatically from sites of Israeli and international media was used to analyze

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[27] Tamir Sheafer, Shaul Shenhav, Janet Takens and Wouter van Atteveldt. Relative Political and Value Proximity in Mediated Public Diplomacy: The Effect of State-Level Homophily on International Frame Building. Mediated Public Diplomacy, 2017

how the media at home and in foreign capitals covered the Israeli response to the condemnations of brutality.

The outcome of the automated review is that a pie chart can be generated based on the type of media coverage by media houses in different countries, especially the US, the West and the Middle East. These are mostly the ones targeted by the Israeli public diplomacy assault. Coverage can be assessed not by space in print and airtime in electronic media but by the value in terms of supporting of criticizing Israel. If a map of this coverage is drawn it would have different shades based in the tone of coverage. The tone can be used to assess success, failure or neutral effect in public diplomacy.

Baum and Potter did a theoretical synthesis on the associations between press, community opinion, and foreign policy. The study found that, being a participatory concept, democracy should involve the public by giving them a part to act on formulating policy matters that affect local or international and international affairs. There is growing consensus that some nations with more developed democracy have adopted this concept and given it room, though scholars are not in general agreement on how public opinion should be tapped and incorporated into policy.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The sections casts a look into thematic issues that are relevant to the study and their interpretation based on academic literature. Relevance of the theory in relation to the field

of study is given high priority and, of high consideration also is how it fits into what the researcher sets out to examine.

1.7.1 Entman's Flowing Activation Theory

Public diplomacy is a concept of international relations that is widely applied today by many nations, but while many academicians have used simulations and come up with theoretical concepts to prove matter of international policies and other external relations, not many are on record as zeroing in on this branch of diplomacy.

Entman's (2004) Flowing Activation Model offers an entry into policy, press and the thinking of the general public. The theorist opines, various players are involved in a struggle to make schemes that touch the public via press, thereby momentously affecting construction of general perception of a society. Entman's prototypical describes how the "framing fighting" gets complete, and how it reaps effective results. He stresses that different players are more authoritative than their counterparts in influencing the target society. This is borne out of experience to calculate how best to use the media for maximum achievement in sending out their public diplomacy message. The concepts credits success to a purposeful international policy tailored to easily spread out public diplomacy through the mass media[28].

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[28] Villa, Dana R. *"Postmodernism and the Public Sphere."* American Political Science Review, 2014.

1.8 Research Methodology

This explores the research techniques employed for the purpose of this research. The research design that will be used is well articulated, the population and sample targeted, as well as how data was collected subsequently analyzed. It also provides the preliminary practices that were performed to ascertain credibility and relevance of the research instrument as well as to ensure linearity of the study findings.

1.8.1 Research Design

A descriptive research design was used in this study. It entails gathering data from a phenomenon without interfering with it[29]. Qualitative and quantitative data was collected through this design that employed the use of both collection techniques. This research design enabled the collection of quantitative data which was supported by the qualitative data. This research design is relevant for the study in that the questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data and interview guides for qualitative data.

1.8.2 Target Population

The study population consisted of officials in the communication department from the Kenyan Foreign Affairs ministry, Media Council of Kenya and the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi. These target population was selected because people from these respondents have access to global media channels like CCTV. They would also understand the role such media plays and can play in public diplomacy in Kenya. The study used a census of all the

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[29] Orodho, A. J. *Research methods.* Nairobi: Kenyatta University, Institute of Open Learning. 2014.

102 respondents in the communication department from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Media Council of Kenya and the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Category	Target Population	Percentage %
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	35	34
Media Council of Kenya	24	24
Chinese Embassy in Nairobi	43	42
Total	**102**	**100**

1.8.3 Data Collection Instruments

Primary and secondary sources of data were used in the research. Questionnaires were the instruments of major collection of primary data. Questionnaires were semi-structured to give respondents the variety of open and closed-ended questions. Open ended questions applied in obtaining a respondent's opinions and beliefs about the study at hand. This presents an advantageous side to it because the responses are not limited in answering the questions[30].

The closed ended questions enabled the researcher to guide the research by giving options from which the respondents can choose. The questionnaires were self-administered in that

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[30] Kasomo, D. *Research Methods in Humanities and Education,* Eldoret; Zapf Chancery, 2007.

the respondents filled in themselves. The questionnaires were administered by research assistants recruited by the researcher. The drop-wait-and-pick methodology was used in administering the questions. The research assistant waited as the questionnaire is filled after which he picked the questionnaire.

Secondary data was sourced from literature such as journals, magazines, reports and websites, newspapers, study reports, publications and documents from research projects and books. The secondary sources helped the study widen the scope which is key to enlarging the area of generalization and paving way to more in-depth look. As a tested methodology, use of precise secondary data is a reliable reference material by other researchers. Existing data and information was used to compliment the primary information

1.8.4 Validity and Reliability

The extent to which an instrument delivers valid measurement of what it is designed to test is used to assess validity and reliability.[31] In order to check and ensure the validity of the questionnaires, the supervisor went through it and recommended changes to ensure the questionnaires answer the research questions. According to Isaac and Michael[32], reliability is the internal consistency of data collection instrument. In order to ensure reliability, the questionnaires were pretested. The questionnaire was piloted on 10 respondents who were

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[31] Orodho, A. J. Research methods. Nairobi: Kenyatta University, Institute of Open Learning, 2014.
[32]Isaac, S., and Michael, W.B. *Handbook in Research and Evaluation for Education and the Behavioral Sciences.* Macdonald and Evans, Ohio. U.S.A, 2008.

not being involved in the actual study. The questionnaire was re-administered after a week to check whether the responses differ from the previous responses. Cronbach Alpha which measures internal consistency of the data collected through the questionnaires was calculated based on data from the pilot study. Cronbach's alpha ( )   0.7 indicate that the instrument is reliable.

1.8.5 Data Analysis

During data analysis, use of descriptive statistics was employed in line with the study use of qualitative and quantitative data. Data that emerged out of the questionnaire was edited, coded and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 22 (SPSS v22). The study noted that this tool offers elaborately explained statistical qualities that add to valuable comparison boosts clarity frequencies by respondents[33].

It gives wide room to management of data and analysis and it is user-friendly and more stable. This generates easy summaries about the sample data. The Measure of Central Tendencies was included in coming up with descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and standard deviation and mean. The computed frequencies, percentages and mean were presented using tables, pie charts and bar graphs to come up with a good illustration of the research findings at peak.

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[33] Dunn, S. D. *Statistics and Data analysis for the Behavioural Science*: Mc Graw Hill, 2010.

1.8.6 Ethical Considerations

The study objectives and methodology was explained to those who were participating in the study. The principle of voluntary participation and the requirement of informed consent were emphasized to ensure confidentiality. Any information collected was handled confidentially. To protect interviewee's confidentiality, the timing and the location of the interview was not being disclosed to anybody else.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study seeks to find out the role CGTN plays in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study targeted viewers of CGTN. The study involved the Kenyan Foreign Affairs ministry, Chinese Embassy in Kenya and Media Council of Kenya. The study is limited by the non-responsiveness of the respondents. The respondents may be unwilling to give information or fill the questionnaire. The study is also limited by finances as the study was self-sponsored. This was overcome by undertaking the study within the three offices.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter one: Introduction and background to the study. It includes the statement of the problem, research questions, and research objectives, justification of the study, literature, theories, hypothesis and the research methodology. Chapter two: Concept of public diplomacy. Chapter three: This chapter seeks to evaluate the correlation between the role of CGTN and fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Chapter four: In this chapter we analyze the data collected in the previous chapters by comparing and contrasting

with the research questions and the theoretical framework that will be used to guide the study to see if the research meets its objective and either confirm or nullify the research questions of the research. Chapter five: The study provides a summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

CGTN AS A STRATEGIC TOOL FOR CHINESE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

2.1 Introduction

In as much as media is said to be the mirror of society, communications scholars add that

the media is an integral part of informing, educating and entertaining a community. Above

this, the progressive advent of the Internet and digital media age has enable nations,

especially those with developed media investment, to use the mass media as a tool for

public diplomacy. China, with its economic muscle, has immensely expanded its media

and used been using it to foster its public diplomacy to other nations, Kenya included.

2.2 CGTN's Strategic Role in Fostering Chinese Public Diplomacy

Alongside its ever-growing liberalization of the economy and its 'Go-Global' policy, China

has been investing heavily in public-owned local and international media to help carry its

presence and influence to the world.

In Kenya now, all the channels of the China Central Cable Television (CCTV) are available

through digital TV platforms. Also available and broadcasting from Nairobi is the CCTV

English version, the China Global Television Network (CGTV) and the China Daily local

edition printed in Nairobi and the regional Xinhua News Agency, alongside China Radio

International (CRI).

Coming from predominantly broadcasting in Mandarin from Beijing, China has showed its

grasp of understanding of media influence to propagate its 'soft power' to the world. The

CGTN, broadcasting in English from Beijing and at least 20 world capitals, is China's biggest attempt to reach out to the world. According to Thussu (2006), the growth of CGTN has been in direct proportion to a policy by the home government in China to promote and expand the scope and reach of foreign language channels as a step to making inroads into the country's venture into all regions of the world.

According to its Mission Statement, CGTN aims to achieve and sustain its global objective of telling the China narrative to international audiences, as opposed to relying on competitors from the developed world to interpret its story from their perspective. It is now clear that CCTV and its English offshoot CGTN have their sights set on catching up with the giants, CNN, BBC, Deutch Welle and Al Jazeera.

In central Beijing, a monumental architectural edifice that is the headquarters of CCTV stands out like a strong statement that a global media giant is housed there. In Nairobi, Kenya, the East and Central African headquarters of CGTN, the CCTV global English network, is housed in a building off Lenana Road. The news and programs for the regional network are produced in its Nairobi studios. The establishment of this network in Nairobi dates back to 2006 when the CCTV News gave rise to CGTN. At a time when rapid digital development in the world and Internet connectivity has spurred high speeds in digital media, CGTN's policy of 'going global' has accelerated, with an estimated reach into 120 nations with a population of 120 million people.

The story of the expansion of CGTN dates back to the beginning of the last decade of the Twentieth Century when the Chinese State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) proposed the establishment of a global media network with 'Chinese Characteristics', rivaling the leading ones on the globe. Established in 2000, the English channel was later renamed CCTV News that would birth to CGTN.

CGTN, in its global policy, appears to have discovered early that its success on the international scene would lie on using latest technology to reach as many people in the world as possible. Using its 'Mobile First' system, where news is disseminated first and fast on all popular social media networks, CGTN aims at reaching its global audience through hand-held devices. It is available on its websites, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Sina Weibo – the Chinese answer to.

Though its news and features apps, CGTN has made itself easily available to its global audience, free of charge. At home its main platform is China Weibo on which CGTN Weibo is hosted, with a following of over 10 million people.

The surge in global expansion of CGTN is attributed largely to its hybrid borrowing from successful Western and US media models. It incorporates both aspects of CNN and BBC in its production and improves on them for its international audiences. In its news anchor ad reporting ranks, the network has hired personnel with experience from globally recognized networks. And it is notable that while CGTN has unhindered access to other countries, China is still largely controlling the content access global media channels.

Another notable trend of CGTN is that it appears to allow its mother CCTV to test a liberal streak that is not pronounced in mainland China state-owned media. CGTN airs English interviews that take on subjects that are still anathema in the Home network, CCTV. One such weekly program, 'Dialogue' delves into any global political or current affairs subject, some even critical of China.

The editorial leeway given to CGTN is seen as a way to entice international investors with an interest on China to have confidence in its 'Going Global" policy. John Jirik (2008), a CCTV media scholar, explained that the Chinese International English network navigates a narrow path between stretching to appear liberal and a background of stringent media censure at home. China, in allowing CGTN the leverage, would appear to borrow from its policy with Hong Kong which is allowed more liberal governance than the mainland.

Many media scholars have opined that, watching CGTN from outside China does not resemble watching CCTV in Beijing. The former has more notable western characteristics. It has variously been described as a network that portrays China the way the world would like it to look like, rather than reflect the reality at home. Apart from Mandarin, spoken by 1.4 billion Chinese, English is recognized in China as the largest mode of global communication, and thus important in conducting international business and making cultural and political inroads internationally.

In that context, the Chinese policy of looking out is deemed by the authorities in Beijing as best propagated through the English language than domestic Mandarin. Despite almost

every Chinese being able tom communicate in Mandarin and recognize the Confucius culture.

Attracted to the lure of the English language to open global access doors, many young Chinese people have taken to studying the language. This adds to the home and foreign-based Chinese people who form an interested audience for CGTN.

In especially Third World countries, Kenya among them, the Chinese have been immigrating in large numbers to do business and settle. Fluent knowledge of English is considered an advantage in working in these countries. The high number of Diaspora Chinese is spurring fertile ground for foreign audience willing to consume CGTN.

The platform that would later give launching ground to CGTN is seen to have started over 30 years ago when the country with the Open and Reform policy that eventually liberalized business and trade but retained a strong grip on political administration.

China has since not looked back in fanning out its international tentacles in political, economic and cultural spaces. As part of the policy to look outside China, the global media that came about as an off-shoot of the trade liberalization has itself increasingly become a beneficiary of the 'Going-Global' strategy.

The general image of China has also progressively changed on the positive side, thanks to public diplomacy propagated by global Chinese media – CGTN. Chia, after a long time

joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), staged the Summer Olympic's in Beijing while eight years earlier it had hosted the World Expo was staged in Shanghai. And the country has indicated its intention to host the 2030 FIFA World Cup.[34].

2.3 Summary and Conclusions

The chapter identified the positive and negative roles of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The different views expressed in this chapter hold that media and journalism are critical in fostering public diplomacy. The survey also concluded that there is little interest in Chinese public diplomacy among mainstream Kenyan media, leaving the task to Chinese media in Kenya push public diplomacy.

It is deducible that the media plays a critical role leading the public to take opinions fostered through public diplomacy and to form perceptions. It is arguable that media consumption is dependent on social status of the consumer, based on various factors like education, gender, background, socio-economic status and others, the media is still generally the main source of information for majority of the population.

Additionally, at the core of dissemination of ideas and information stand the media, with the ability to manage, shape and supply important national discourses in the way they would like them to be understood. immediate or primary audiences rather than the merits of

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[34] David, Gergen. *'Diplomacy in a Television Age: The Dangers of Teledemocracy'*, in Serfaty, The Media and Foreign Policy, 2010.

CHAPTER THREE

ROLE OF CGTN IN PROMOTING CHINESE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

3.1 Introduction

A lot of the literature studied for this project casts varied definitions and conclusions about public diplomacy. Putting a barometer on effects of public diplomacy may not be an agreeable area by scholars, even where the scholars agree on what role media should play in fostering public diplomacy. Here-below focus shifts to literature about public diplomacy theory and non-intrusive listening methods to assess success of public diplomacy.

However, there is a general agreeable streak that converges researchers and scholars to the point that public diplomacy largely constitutes purposeful action by a State to influence a foreign public to adopt positive attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of the State in question. But some exceptions abound. Two scholars, for instance, agree and differ in varied points on public diplomacy. Joseph Nye, to paraphrase his findings, narrowed public diplomacy to a concept to communicate by methods that attract to the message. But Hans Tuch expresses some exception. He sees public diplomacy as packaging a message for external communities to draw them into understanding and appreciating the purveyor's cultural traditions, administrative systems, national goals and devising a method to communicate that I an acceptable way.

Lastly, it is imperative to note that the advent of the digital and Internet age has largely changed the landscape by liberalizing the extent to which public diplomacy can go without much effort and without breaching a lot of protocol. This 'information age' has put at the

fingertip of diplomats the ability to influence public opinion even from a hand-held communication device. In an era gone-by, communication with foreign audiences would have been a bureaucratic process carried out more covertly than overt. But now the means to influence foreign masses through public diplomacy has become easier, thanks to the anonymity and discreet nature of social media. This gives credence to Nicholas J. Cull's definition of public diplomacy as "the process by which an international actor conducts foreign policy by engaging a foreign public." Only if he could have added that such foreign policy is now easier conducted via digital media.

Scholars have concluded variously that extent to which public diplomacy will be effective for a State, in relation to its target audience, is determined by the weight of the State in terms of economic and political status in the world. Those that have muscle economically and that have great influence in international relations are also found to be successful in pushing their global/regional or national agenda through public diplomacy.

Such influence such States may have can form part of the planning by the home government in organizing how to propagate its public diplomacy, through its international media or other media to foreign countries. China, through its giant global media networks like CGTN is one such nation that has been using media to foster public diplomacy globally. Some of the methods China uses to foster public diplomacy go beyond media to incorporate sponsored State tours of foreign dignitaries to China, education and other scholarships, development loans, grants, exchange programs and other ways to curry favor.

Beneficiaries of such programs are lobbied softly to help push the public diplomacy agenda once they return home.

3.2 Role of CGTN in Promoting Chinese Public Diplomacy

In moving into the global space to propagate its public diplomacy, China must have been expertly advised that its global image, as a authoritarian behemoth that previously locked out the rest of the world, would be its biggest challenge I portraying positive change. Media personality Joshua Cooper Ramo, to paraphrase him, had earlier written that the way the rest of world viewed China was the county's biggest drawback in fostering public diplomacy.

Observing the case with Kenya, the journalist's views would appear to gain credence in the fact that China goes all out through its international media networks and local media to correct or paint afresh long-held notions and to portray a positive streak in international relations.

What's more, Chinese scholars of international relations, notable among them Professor He Lan of the Communications University of China, have given backing to the home Foreign Ministry and mission's abroad in their aim of pushing a positive image both within and without the borders of the giant nation. Here-below I examine China's long-term application of public diplomacy, what aims it has set, what strategy it has used and what thematic areas it has applied to roll out the program.

China uses a pentagon shaped official program to push its five-fold communication objectives to the world. The main one if the China 'Going Global' strategy that employs its easy and friendly manner of seeking acceptance in other States by supporting development and funding it in acceptable and affordable terms. Secondly, China has been wooing nationals of other States to do business with China, which in exchange leads to other governments to allow China unfettered access to their markets, which in the end benefits China more economically through a skewed balance of trade tilted to the giant nation. Thirdly, a passive aim of the Chinese public diplomacy is to play safe and to hide the claws of the 'Dragon'' symbol of China, in a bid to portray it as a no-threat to the rest of the world.

Fourthly, the opening up of China to the outside world and portraying its heritage by promoting tourism to China, is targeted at endearing the country to the rest of the world as an attractive destination both to visit and do business with. The Great Wall of China has become to that country what Maasai Mara is to Kenya. And the fifth strategy is to obliterate the blots of bad history of erstwhile closed communist Chiba and to replace it with an image of a big State, friendly to its people. Infamous incidents like the Tiananmen Square massacre of protesting students in 1989, has since been replaced with the imposing edifice of the Chairman's Square that exemplifies the might and stability of the ruling Communist Party of China with no mention of what happened there in the past.

To open the window through which to glance into China, the Beijing government has purposely been funding programs to take foreign dignitaries to China on sponsored tours

and study durations to learn about the country. The strategy is backed up by extensive media campaigns, institutions of higher learning and exchange programs. In order to compete effective with established media networks of developed countries, like CNN and BBC, China's media arms have been made available for free in many nations where it's pushing its public diplomacy strategy. The national news agency, Xinhua, the China Daily newspaper, the Chinese Radio International, CGTN and CCTV are all available free-to-air in Kenya and other African countries. [35].

Extensive studies conducted through the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs have shown that foreign audiences receptively to public diplomacy when it is package in the main local language(s). This was what appears to have informed the expansion of China Central Television (CCTV) into foreign countries, airing on major languages of the world. For almost the past three decades, CCTV has gradually established networks beyond Chinese borders that broadcast in its own Mandarin – the dialect that is spoken by the highest population in the world – , English, for its British, American and African networks, Spanish and French for European, African and South American Networks, Arabic for North Africa and the Middle East and Russian for the largest country in the world. CCTV and its international networks are estimated to reach over 100 million people, living in China and abroad, through languages other than the home Mandarin. Apart from conventional media, China has become an authority in the usage of the Internet to reach global audiences and to endear the population at home to access Chinese content on the World-Wide-Web.

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[35] Hocking Brian, "*Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration*", In Engagement: Public Diplomacy in Globalized World, 2010.

Sometime back, when China had a tiff with Google, it open up its own search engines that promote search of Chinese content and information on these sites by the home and overseas population. Most of the websites designed for use by the home population are the handiwork of the State Council Information Office that markets China to the outside world. The Council also aggressively pushes the Chinese agenda on social media and generates a home-grown Chinese narrative that is posted for those who would search for it on the big search engines like Google's Wikipedia. To the outside world, the censorship that that the Chinese population at home is subjected to does not reflect. Inside China, Twitter is banned, even mobile phones made for the Chinese audience come without the Twitter app. But outside China, all its foreign missions, including the president's and the Communist Party's foreign communication use Twitter handles. The communication style is no different from the communication style of Western countries and the US. This shows a targeted strategy to market a good image outside, even better the real situation at home, using media as the tool to propagate public diplomacy.

3.3 Chapter Summary

Unlike the colonizers of yore who entered Africa with brute force, taking slaves and exploiting the continent's resources, the Chinese policy has been to enter new territories extending the friendship handshake, portraying a 'safe' demeanor, proffering a helping hand that implies they want to cause development and carrying themselves like an equal rather than an overbearing big brother. It is upon this strategy of seeking to win rather than force acceptance that has the Chinese Public Diplomacy is based. The study yearns to examine the role of one of China's leading media tools, CGTN, in fostering Chinese public

diplomacy in Kenya; China's foreign policy strategy in achieving successful public diplomacy; How China goes about it and, ultimately, analyze the results of a field study that has gathered statistics of Chinese public diplomacy as Kenya as fostered by CGTN.

It would appear that the use of 'Soft Power' by China was an not an after-thought of its foreign policy, but rather a deliberate strategy that was put in place when China decided to 'Go Global' over three decades ago. As the study shows, China has been having a sustained policy campaign to portray its economic, might that it is willing to use to help needy, friendly nations, as well as market itself as an attractive destination to do business with and to visit.

Playing down its multi-faceted might appear to be what, ironically, has propelled China slowly to a position of strength in the globe. So successful has been the policy of soft approach by China, that its public diplomacy appears to be ahead even that of some Western countries which had been at it for long, albeit in a different way. Many assessments indicate that acceptance of China in the world has been growing. The number of Chinese people visiting and immigrating to other countries has grown in direct proportion to China's accelerated adventure to form trade and other development partnerships with foreign countries.

Since its move to go global over three decades ago, China has become an attraction to foreign visitors, traders and investors. The single most highest visitor surge recorded in Beijing (Chinese capital) in one month was in August, 2008, when the city hosted the Olympic Games that drew in over five million tourists, besides the athletes. Alongside the

tourists, thousands of foreign tourists, especially from the Third World have been studying in China, many of them on Chinese scholarships, while numbers of Chinese studying abroad has also been rising.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY CGTN IN FACILITATING UPTAKE OF CHINESE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

4.1 Introduction

One leading political science scholar, Joseph Nye is relevantly cited in many discourses about the role of media in public diplomacy. In one of his oft quoted statements, Nye opined that foreign policy must be what provides the basis for how a media and communications programs will be conducted in relation to fostering public diplomacy. The latter cannot make inroads if it goes counter to the foreign policy. Nye also noted that public diplomacy must the result of purposeful rather than a game of chance. His statements highlights the necessity for articulate planning and execution if the set goals for a public diplomacy campaign are to be achieved. It is therefore imperative to look into China's foreign policy as one delves into assessing its strategies and success level.

To understand what is at stake for China as it ventures to market itself to the world, the part here-below casts a look into China's planned policies and goals in the areas of its political character, mega economy and military might. Most of the information is drawn from extracts of foreign and Chinese official papers and the work of researchers in academia. Given where it wants to go in as far as occupying a position of global honor in international relations is concerned, it becomes clear why China would place great importance to public diplomacy tailored for different global audiences. However, worthy

of mention at this juncture is that, the material, inference and analysis for this project are derived from open source research[36].

However, owing to China's past as a closed society and its stand of being wary of opening up its political systems to the world, information is not readily and fully available for a concrete description of China's full strategy for public diplomacy. What is available from open sources is varied material by Chinese and other academics, who, too, have had to contend with closed official sources. Such sources leave unfilled gaps that may remain a matter of conjecture until more insights become available. Owing to these gaps, assessments and conclusions will be based on what can be obtained from many open source material from home and foreign scholars and other writers.

Apart from China, nearly every country operates its diplomacy, including public diplomacy, from well-planned foreign policies that act as a guide to what diplomatic missions are to stand for. While most of the outstanding foreign policy documents by developed nations are formal, China, coming from a background of administrative secrecy still largely works from informal policies that are not drawn in policy documents. However, this is not to say that such policies have not been effective. The reason for this informal aspect is understood to stem from the fact that most strategies of public diplomacy vary from region to region and so there is no one fit-all document but rather guiding principles.

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[36] Johanna, Neuman. '*Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International Politics*?' New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009.

Indeed, scholars of this Chinese system of this informality in strategic policy that appears to yield as good, or better results, as the formal ones, infer largely that the background of China as a single party, authoritarian monolith, was in itself largely based on informal decrees that were followed to the letter. The schooling of Chines diplomats under such a system makes them predisposed to carry out strategic planning in propagating public diplomacy, based on informal foreign tenets. All levels of government, military, political, economic, cultural, foreign and other departments are all drawn into policies that are understood without being cast on written policies and are able to foster them as desired for the good of China.

The success or effectiveness of Chinese public diplomacy is also seen as grounded in the long-term plan that projects full-circle convergence of development in all spheres of Chinese society by 2049. China's public diplomacy, propagate to large extent by the media and the Internet, is seen to be taking effect as projected by the designers in Beijing, owing to sustained follow-up that shows convergence between what is promised and what is delivered. In Kenya, for instance, the general public has come to associate China with prompt delivery in the construction of infrastructural projects. When promises of development partnership between Kenya and China are covered by Chinese and Kenyan media in Kenya, the case for public diplomacy is effectively cemented.

4.2 Data Analysis and Presentation

This section dealt with assessment and analyzing of data. Objective of examination was to examine the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. All mined date

was examined by way of descriptive method and results presented in tabular outlines and their implications deliberated on .

4.3 Response Rate

A sample of 102 respondents were cross-examined using questionnaires that enabled the study to drop the questionnaire to the respondents and then pick them at a later date when they had answered the questionnaires. 102 questionnares were handed out to staff. From the population sample used, 96 responded respresenting a 94%. Response quotient. This fell within the 50% allowed for descriptive statics.

Table 4.1: Response Rate of Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Actual Response	96	94
Non-Response	6	6
Total	**102**	**100%**

4.4 Demographic Information

The chapter presents the personal details of the respondents and it provides data regarding the study and is necessary for the determination of wether the individuals in a particlar study are a respresentative sample of the target population and testing appropriateness of repondent in answering the questions for generalisation. The study went out to all aspects of research required for a sample population. Age, education, location and work experience were some of them.

4.4.1 Distribution of Respondents by Age

The study also determined the age of the respondents. The results are submitted in table 4.3 where the majority 40.6% were 31-40 years. Respondents aged between 41-50 years were 35.4%. Residents above 50 years accounted years accounted for 24%. The findings are in agreement with those of[37] who established that there are two natural age peaks of the early 30s and mid 40s which correlated to better public diplomacy.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
31-40	39	40.6
41-50	34	35.4
Above 50	23	24.0
Total	**96**	**100.00**

4.4.2 Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

Peak education level was enquired of respondents and the outcome captured in Table 4.4. The result in figure 4.4 revealed that majority of the respondent (64.6%) indicated that their academic qualification was up to bachelor's level. The result further revealed that (35.4%) of the respondent indicated that their academic qualification was up to postgraduate level. With majority responsdents having degree and above, it is expected that their level of understanding the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya is good.

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[37] Kasomo, D. *Research Methods in Humanities and Education,* Eldoret; Zapf Chancery, 2007.

This is an indication that the results obtained from respondents interviewed in the present study can be relied upon. These findings concur those of[38] who established that majority of who foster public diplomacy are highly educated and that there is evidence linking education and better public diplomacy.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

Education Level	Frequency	Percent
Undergraduate	62	64.6
Post-Graduate	34	35.4
Total	**96**	**100**

4.4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Work Duration

Respondents were also required experience in public diplomacy. They were requested to indicate their work duration. The outcome showed that most of the respondents (38.5%) said that their work duration was 3-5 years. The outcome also showed that (31.3%) of the respondent showed that their work duration was 6-8 years.

The result further showed that (30.2%) of the respondent indicated that their work duration was above 9 years. The outcome of the study are in tandem with literature review by[39] who

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[38] Isaac, S., and Michael, W.B. *Handbook in Research and Evaluation for Education and the Behavioral Sciences.* Macdonald and Evans, Ohio. U.S.A, 2008.
[39] Dunn, S. D. *Statistics and Data analysis for the Behavioural Science*: Mc Graw Hill, 2010.

indicated that a duration and experience of employee helps him or her to have better knowledge and skills which contribute to better public diplomacy.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Length of Service

Length of Service	Frequency	Percent
3-5 Years	37	38.5
6-8 Years	30	31.3
9 Years and above	29	30.2
Total	**96**	**100.0**

4.5 Descriptive Statistics

The study also examined CGTN's role in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Three valuable were considered in the course of this work as key facilitators of public diplomacy. These include; role of CGTN as a strategic tool, role of CGTN in promotion and role of strategies adopted by CGTN.

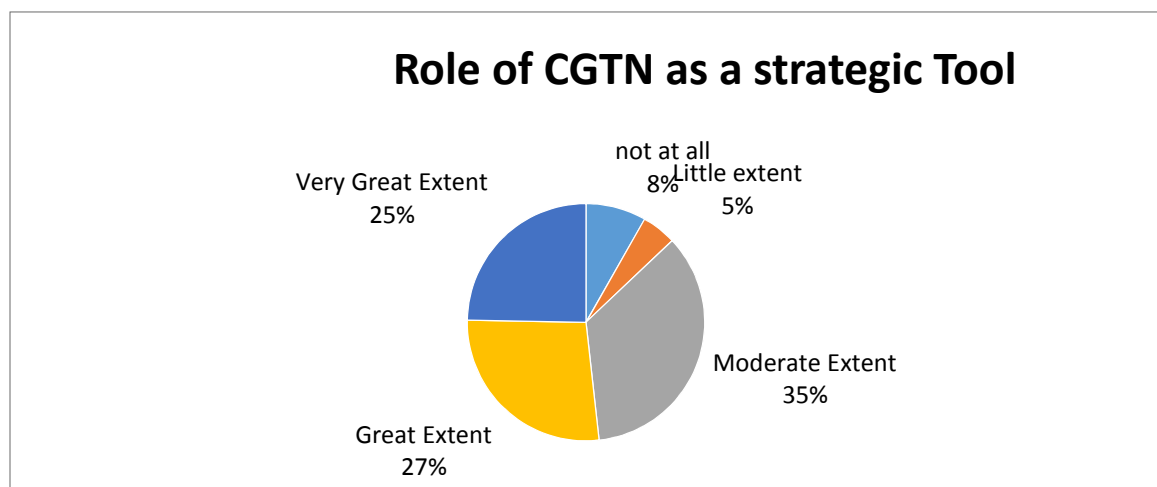### 4.5.1 Role of CGTN as a Strategic Tool

The study also purposed to look into the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The variables considered here included; CGTN as a strategic tool, CGTN in the promotion, strategies adopted by CGTN. The first objective was to evaluate the part played by CGTN's in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The

questionnaire included one seeking to know if respondents considered

CGTN as a strategic

tool influence public diplomacy in Kenya. They outcome showed 25% thought the network

was very effective in its work, 27% considered its work was effective to a great extent,

while 35% ticked it as moderate, with those filling it was not effective and not felt at all at

all being 5% and 8% respectively.

Figure 4.1: Role of CGTN as a Strategic Tool

The respondents were as well requested to state their views over the role of CGTN as a

strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Their responses were subjected to

the likert scale and the results were as shown on Table 4.6 below. It was subjected to the

five-point likert scale measure ranging from; 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

The scores of 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' have been taken to represent a statement

not agreed upon, equivalent to a mean score of 0 to 2.5. The score of 'neutral' has been

taken to represent a statement agreed upon, equivalent to a mean score of 2.6 to 3.4. The

score of 'agree' and 'strongly agree' have been taken to represent a statement highly agreed upon equivalent to a mean score of 3.5 to 5.

The respondents were asked to indicate their descriptive responses for the role of CGTN as a strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The result revealed that majority of the respondent with a mean of (4.3) agreed with the statement that showing opportunities available greatly improves volumes of trade. The measure of dispersion around the mean of the statements was 1 indicating the responses were varied. The result revealed that majority of the respondent with a mean of (3.6) agreed with the statement that showing opportunities available possessed greatly improves capital investments. The measure of dispersion around the mean of the statements was 1.4 indicating the responses were varied. The result revealed that majority of the respondent with a mean of (3.8) agreed with the statement that indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves volumes of trade. The measure of dispersion around the mean of the statements was 1.3 indicating the responses were varied. The result revealed that majority of the respondent with a mean of (3.8) agreed with the statement that indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves capital investments. The measure of dispersion was 1.2 indicating the responses were varied. The findings agree with[40] that using media as a strategic tool significantly improves public diplomacy.

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[40] Diplomacy School of Armenia, *Netherlands Institute of International* Relations, 2015.

Table 4.5: Role of CGTN as a Strategic Tool

Statements	Mean	Std. Deviation
Showing opportunities available greatly improves volumes of trade	4.3	1.0
Showing opportunities available greatly improves capital investments	3.6	1.4
Indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves volumes of trade	3.8	1.3
Indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves capital investments	3.8	1.2
Average	**3.8**	**1.2**

4.5.2 Role of CGTN in Promotion

As a second objective, the study exsamined the part played by CGTN to promote Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The respondents were required to indicate how they thought CGTN promotions affect uptake of public diplomacy. Results indicated that majority of the respondents 31% rated it highly effective, 36% replied it was quite effective, 23% found it moderate, while those who replied to a little extent and not at all drew at 5%.
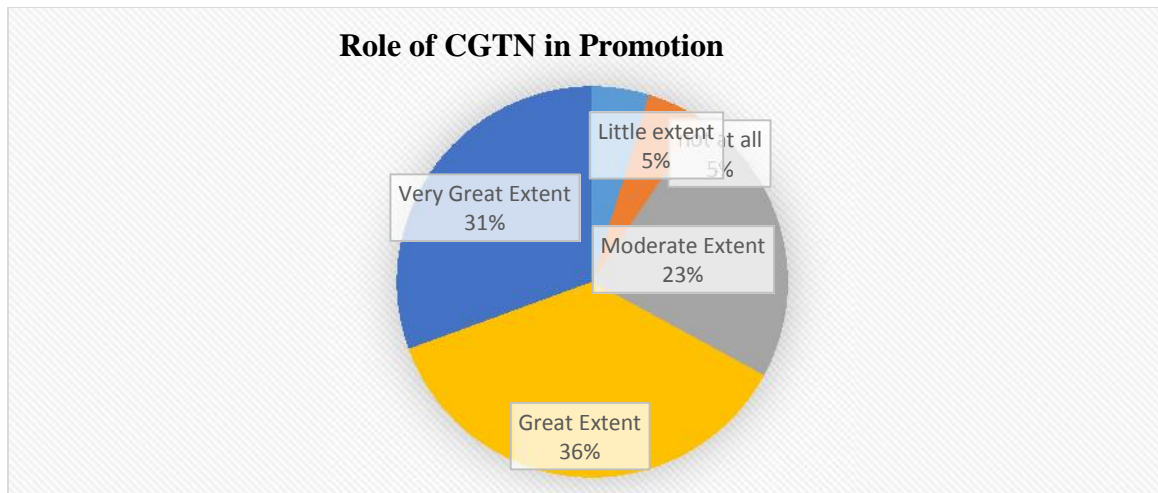
Figure 4.2: Role of CGTN in Promotion

The questionnaire also had a question on statements regarding promotions by CGTN and its influence on public diplomacy. The respondents were asked to indicate descriptive responses for role of CGTN in promotion.

The result revealed that majority of the respondents, reflected in (3.8) mean, ticked for the statement that adverts in all forms of media greatly improve volumes of trade. The responses differed as measured by standard deviation of 1.1. The result revealed that majority of the respondents, (3.6) concurred the assertion that adverts in all forms of media greatly improves capital investments. The responses differed as measured by standard deviation of 1.0.

The result revealed that majority of the respondents, cited from a (3.7) mean score indicated concurrence with the view that incentives from government greatly improve volumes of trade. The responses varied under standard deviation of 1.1. The result revealed that

majority of the respondents, a (3.5) mean, supported the statement that incentives from government greatly improve capital investments. The responses alternated as measured by standard deviation of 1.0. They agree with[41] that using media to promote public diplomacy can have significant impact.

Table 4.6: Role of CGTN in Promotion

Statements	Mean	Std. Deviation
Adverts in all forms of media greatly improves volumes of trade	3.8	1.1
Adverts in all forms of media greatly improves capital investments	3.6	1.0
Incentives from government greatly improves volumes of trade	3.7	1.1
Incentives from government greatly improves capital investments	3.5	1.0
Average	**3.7**	**1.1**

4.5.3 Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN

There was also need to establish how strategies adopted by CGTN influenced uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya as the third objective. The respondents were asked to comment on extent of the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of

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[41] Eytan, Gilboa. '*Diplomacy in the media age:* Three Models of uses and Effects, Diplomacy and Statecraft', 2011.

Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Most of those who responded, results showed, 21% ticked for great extent, 22% said it was to a great extent, 21% found it moderate; while little extent was 28% and not all at voted 8%.

Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN
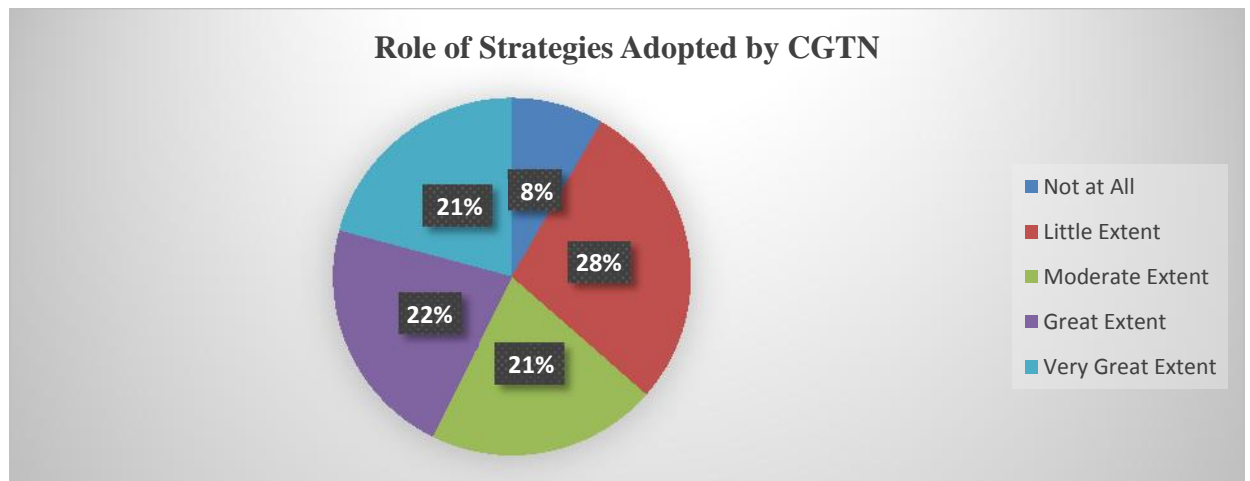
Figure 4.3: Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN

The questionnaire wanted respondents to state levels of agreement with statements on role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Majority of the respondent (3.9%) ticked for the view that oorganizing expos greatly improve volumes of trade. The responses had variations as indicated by the standard deviation of 1.2. The results revealed most respondents (3.2%) agreed that organizing expos greatly improve capital investments. The responses varied as indicated by standard deviation of 1.3.

Most respondents (4.0%) concurred that government sponsored tours greatly improves volumes of trade. The standard deviation showed a variation of 8%. The results most

respondents respondent (4.2%) concurred that ggovernment sponsored tours greatly improve capital investments. The responses variation was noted as shown by the standard deviation of .9. These findings imply that if relevant strategies are adopted by media houses, countries can improve public diplomacy significantly[42].

Table 4.7: Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN

Statements	Mean	Std. Deviation
Organizing expos greatly improves volumes of trade	3.9	1.2
Organizing expos greatly improves capital investments	3.2	1.3
Government sponsored tours greatly improves volumes of trade	4.0	0.8
Government sponsored tours greatly improves capital investments	4.2	0.9
Average	**3.8**	**0.7**

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[42] Bennett, Lance and Paletz, David. *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In summary, the last chapter draws inferences in manner of concluding, as well as assesses the findings of the study. It also identifies and offers points of recommendation for further action by scholars who may delve into work related to media and public diplomacy. The study's main objective is to examine the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya was the basis of the study. The study targeted officials in the communication department from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Media Council of Kenya and Chinese Embassy in Nairobi. Ninety-six staff members took part in the study. The conclusion adhered to research objectives set out in Chapter One of this work.

5.2.1 Role of CGTN as a Strategic Tool

The first study objective as indicate was to evaluate the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study findings indicated that showing opportunities available greatly improves volumes of trade and capital investments. The findings also indicated that indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves volumes of trade and capital investments.

5.2.2 Role of CGTN in Promotion

The second objective of the study was to examine the role of CGTN in the promotion of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study findings indicated that Adverts in all forms of media greatly improves volumes of trade and capital investments. The findings also indicated that incentives from government greatly improve volumes of trade and capital investments.

5.2.4 Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN

Thirdly, another objective of the study was to establish the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study findings indicated organizing expos greatly improves volumes of trade and capital investments. The findings also indicated that government sponsored tours greatly improves volumes of trade and capital investments.

5.3 Conclusions of the Study

The first objective of the study was to evaluate the role of CGTN as a strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Based on the findings it was possible to conclude that the media is a strategic tool that can foster public diplomacy.

The second objective was to examine the role of CGTN in the promotion of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. Based on the findings the study was able to conclude that the media used the adverts in all forms of media to promote public diplomacy, the media used incentives from the government to promote public diplomacy.

The third objective was to establish the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study concluded that media used the expos to promote public diplomacy; the media used the government sponsored tours to promote public diplomacy.

It was conceivable to reason that the media can assume diverse parts as far as raising, directing, or adjusting a perspective. Media is inexorably solid channel interconnecting world. Media serves to create assessments both locally and diaspora. Media energy is a fundamental catalyst of promulgation seeing certain forces accomplish and keep up their post in world legislative issues. Therefore media is an opinion shaper and a motivation setter. In this time of globalization, with expanded worldwide reliance and also intensity, media strategy fills in as a critical apparatus in wining neighborhood and universal masses.

5.4 Recommendations of the Study

The first objective of the study was to evaluate the role of CGTN as a strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study recommends that CGTN should introduce trainings to their reporters on using that platform as a strategic tool optimally.

The second objective was to examine the role of CGTN in the promotion of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study recommends that CGTN should use this platform positively to ensure maximum promotion of public diplomacy.

The third objective was to establish the role of strategies adopted by CGTN in facilitating uptake of Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya. The study highlights smart strategies ought to be adopted by CGTN so as to be sure they are attainable.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

This work is a humble addition to the study of public diplomacy in Kenya and the continent of Africa. The crucial role played by public diplomacy platforms is established through the study. From the responses and assessment from existing literature, it emerges that there is great necessity to study the role of media in public diplomacy from all spheres of the globe, so as to establish if uniformity exists in outcome of the work and to point out what areas need improvement.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

Date……………………………

Dear Respondent,

I am a graduate student of Master of Arts in International Studies at the University of Nairobi. As part of the requirement for the course, I am undertaking a research study on the *"the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya."*

The purpose of this letter is to kindly request you to spare your time and complete this questionnaire or respond to the questions therein. The information obtained will be purely for this study and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your contribution to this study by completing this questionnaire will be of great value and will be highly appreciated. Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours faithfully,

Joseph Maina Muiruri

This questionnaire has been set in relation to the objectives of the study; to establish "the role of CGTN in fostering Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya". Kindly read the questions carefully and answer them as honestly as possible by ticking (✓), rating, specifying or writing the correct answers precisely on the spaces provided.

PART 1: RESPONDENT'S INFORMATION

1. Department of the respondent …………………………………………………

2. Kindly indicate your age. (Please tick in the appropriate bracket)

      31-40 years   [ ]   41-50 years [ ] above 50 years [ ]

3. What is your level of education? (Please tick in the appropriate bracket)

      Undergraduate [   ]   Post-Graduate   [   ]

4. Number of years served in your current office

      3-5 [   ]   6-8 [   ]   9 and above [ ]

SECTION 2: Role of CGTN as a Strategic Tool

5. What are as the major issues facing CGTN as a strategic tool for Chinese public diplomacy in Kenya?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

6. *Kindly indicate* to what extent does CGTN as a strategic tool influence public diplomacy?

    a) Very Great Extent

    b) Great Extent

c) Moderate Extent

d) Little Extent

e) Not at All

7. **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (Please Tick 1 for "Strongly Disagree", 2 for "Disagree", 3 for neutral", 4 for "Agree" and 5 for "Strongly Agree").**

		1	2	3	4	5
a)	Showing opportunities available greatly improves volumes of trade					
b)	Showing opportunities available greatly improves capital investments					
c)	Indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves volumes of trade					
d)	Indicating the strengths possessed greatly improves capital investments					

SECTION 3: Role of CGTN in Promotion

8. What are the major issues facing CGTN in promoting Chinese public diplomacy?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

9. *Kindly indicate* to what extent does the promotion by CGTN influence public

diplomacy?

   a) Very Great Extent

   b) Great Extent

   c) Moderate Extent

   d) Little Extent

   e) Not at All

10. **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Please Tick 1 for "Strongly Disagree", 2 for "Disagree", 3 for neutral", 4 for "Agree" and 5 for "Strongly Agree").**

		1	2	3	4	5
a)	Adverts in all forms of media greatly improves volumes of trade					
b)	Adverts in all forms of media greatly improves capital investments					
c)	Incentives from government greatly improves volumes of trade					
d)	Incentives from government greatly improves capital investments					

Section 4: Role of Strategies Adopted by CGTN

11. What are the major issues facing strategies adopted by CGTN?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

12. *Kindly indicate* to what extent do strategies adopted by CGTN influence public

diplomacy?

    a) Very Great Extent

    b) Great Extent

    c) Moderate Extent

    d) Little Extent

    e) Not at All

13. **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Please Tick 1 for "Strongly Disagree", 2 for "Disagree", 3 for neutral", 4 for "Agree" and 5 for "Strongly Agree").**

		1	2	3	4	5
a)	Organising expos greatly improves volumes of trade					
b)	Organising expos greatly improves capital investments					
c)	Government sponsored tours greatly improves volumes of trade					
d)	Government sponsored tours greatly improves capital investments					

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME