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Emergence of Public Diplomacy in Kenya's Foreign Policy

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**A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

JULY 2024

DECLARATION

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I, Jacklyne Achieng Aput, do hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my original work and that it has not been submitted for a degree award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family; the Aput's and Amba's - that has been enormously supportive and kept encouraging me. To my beautiful daughters; Korina, Mallia and Nadya, you gave me additional motivation to carry out my research and finalize this work. To Ambassador Josephine Vivian Awuor, thank you for the mentorship of its kind, I am proud to follow your footsteps. To my friends and colleagues, I thank you for putting up with me. Finally, to the numerous experts who kindly shared their views, I am so grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Public diplomacy is the direct communication by the state to the foreign publics. There is a limitation of actors in Kenya's public diplomacy whereas, there is no involvement of other actors other than the government alone in the communication of foreign policy objectives to the foreign publics. State through its official representatives such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the main diplomatic actor. Non-state actors and other individuals with standing in world affairs such as the agents of United Nations, international organizations and regional international organizations are considered as mere channels of communication. These non-state actors either independently or in collaboration with the state hold dialogues aimed at influencing foreign publics before influencing their governments. Public diplomacy is introducing newer diplomatic actors beyond the state governments and is organ. Examining the development of public diplomacy in foreign policy of countries, the study specifically examines the rise of public diplomacy and its transformation of Kenya's foreign policy. The study uses rational choice model to explain the behavior of state actors in the practice of public diplomacy as it develops an understanding as to why states and their governments make certain choices based on specific costs in exclusion of non-state actors. To get abstractions from actions and interactions held in the international system, the study used in-depth interviews and contextual analysis framework. Results of the study show that non-state actors and private individual with standing in world affairs are gaining position in public diplomacy arenas. Conscience of their national identity, domestic publics are also pushing governments to partner with them in building relations, defending interests and promoting national interests. Public diplomacy as a development which came within a specific period of time and is transforming the relationship of states in the international system. It has shaped the practice and scholarship that arose and has also impacted on Kenya's foreign policy. Although inconsistencies from time to time, different governments utilize different approaches seen to be affected by both internal and external relationship issues. The study challenges the limited ability for interactions between the senders and receivers of information arguing out that with technological development and the rise of globalization, government monopoly on information control is undermined and is getting carried over to people and individuals of the society. In striving to develop its economy, foster its diplomatic stability and uplift its diplomatic profile, Kenya has overlooked non-state actors with standings and capabilities in using public diplomacy to advance foreign policy objectives and goals.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	- African Union
FP	- Foreign Policy
CIT	- Communication Information Technology
CCP	- China Communists Party
CPA	- Comprehensive Peace Agreement
EAC	- East African Community
ICC	- International Criminal Court
ICT	- Information Communication Technology
IPCC	- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KFP	- Kenya's Foreign Policy
MFA	- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
OAU	- Organization of African Union
PD	- Public Diplomacy
PNU	- Party of National Unity
QTA	- Qualitative Text Analysis
UN	- United Nations
UNEP	- United Nations Environmental Program
UK	- United Kingdom
USA	- United States of America
VOA	- Voice of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Public diplomacy is an effort of communicating policies directly to the foreign audience. These official efforts aim at convincing targeted audience in order to gain support for government's strategic objectives or goals. Public diplomacy is used in a variety of conditions in the international system and is deployed or implemented through various methods such as government campaigns and in statements by decision makers as favourable to the foreign publics. The approach is either through state branding or advocacy involving strategies and action aimed at promoting a country's attractiveness and achieving its specific foreign policy objectives. Public diplomacy is becoming increasingly important as the world continues to improve and modernize its foreign services. However, technology is impacting on the work of diplomats and the practice of public diplomacy as a whole. It is enabling engagements of a two-way communication not just with foreign governments alone but with the multiple non-state actors across the world. Countries are competing for their interests in the international system. However, apart from communicating with foreign governments, embassies are striving to connect with and convince the general public, lobby groups, international organizations, media and opinion leaders in foreign governments with hopes that they will in return, influence important decision makers in their countries. Kenya's public diplomacy is aiming at installing networks of diplomatic centres with an aim of promoting the country's views in the international system. The country's open communication to foreign governments in the spirit of democracy, transparency and accountability has seen the conduct of diplomacy become public. Considering public diplomacy to have reached a very competitive era in the international system, governments are reaching out not only to foreign governments but are striving to have different communicators both within and outside borders, to reach out to these

foreign governments. Public opinion is about how a nation's population collectively view and evaluate political leaders. It matters much more in democratic states where opinions on how the government should govern are allowed. Focussing on how the people express what they want, how the government responds to the people and whether the people know what they want, public opinion influences public diplomacy activities. Although governments still remain central to the international system, it no longer operates in the way in which it is supposed to. Consequently, countries are reorganizing their efforts and working towards creating dialogue between people and having public diplomacy which embraces human interactions of persuasion and credibility. As a practice, diplomacy entails negotiation and bargaining. These activities require variety of skill such as the art of negotiation, ability to work with multiple actors, openness and cooperation. Public diplomacy is a type of soft power that involves fostering ties and understanding through national exchanges. In today's diplomatic world, it is crucial for states to have the ability to get information out and to explain things in a way that affects people's mind. In this information age, more people have more information than ever before; meaning that the ability to reach these people through public diplomacy becomes even more important. Most countries including Kenya have not been fascinated of soft power or the ability to attract foreign publics. They have not invested heavily on public diplomacy.

1.1 Background of the study

According to Cull, public diplomacy is concerned with public influence on foreign policy (FP) formulation and execution.¹ Public support is essential in legitimizing governments especially those in democracies. Once in a while, government leaders would want approval rating by their public, and in situations like this, such leaders follow public preferences since they believe they are responsible for the public will. These choices are influenced by external forces in the international system such as power maximization. Public diplomacy is taking shape,

¹ Nicholas J. Cull, "How We Got Here," *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*, 2009, pp.23-47, 41.

government ministries are developing policies and communicating to their own domestic audience.² Delegated interactions is taking place between governments and wider publics. For example, certain nations explain their foreign policies not only as issues of state officials and experts, but that which reaches out to both domestic and foreign publics and explains what its foreign policy is all about. From opinion leaders to mass audience these interactions influence actions and behaviour of others through collaborative structures and cooperation.³ Government leaders tend to lead the public which has little knowledge about their foreign policy to support their decisions. In 2003, the British and American governments successfully convinced their public that Saddam Hussein was in possession of mass destruction weapons and was therefore a threat to international peace. National goals are meant to promote diversity, mutual understanding and strengthen diplomatic dialogue⁴. Communications and active diplomatic exchange programs broaden networks of interconnectedness through cooperation, partnerships and collaborations.⁵

Public diplomacy focuses on attempts by governments to strategically bring about understanding of its goals, ideals, values and interests to the foreign publics through its domestic public.⁶ State relations comprise of many overlapping expectations which are either local, regional or internationally dependent on the interests, capabilities and credibility of the involved countries.⁷ The interactions took a new perspective after the World War 1 through US

²Dean Vuletic, "Public Diplomacy and Decision-Making in the Eurovision Song Contest", *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy: Transnational and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Mario Dunkel and Sina A. Nietzsche, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2018, pp. 301-314, 307.

³ Evan Potter, "Canada and the New Public Diplomacy," *International Journal* 58, no. 1 (2002): p. 43.

⁴ Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe," *European Public Diplomacy*, n.d., pp. 137-138, 137.

⁵ Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): pp. 73-83, 79.

⁶ C.W. Hayward, *What Is Diplomacy?* (London: Grant Richards, 1916), p. 255.

⁷ James Lee Ray, "R. J. Rummel's Understanding Conflict and War: An Overlooked Classic," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, August 24, 2016, 16(2), 125-147, 131.

President Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship program on leadership development focussing on the relations between great powers. The then international system within which states were bound was thin, slow and limited in scope.⁸ New concepts were adopted to help understand relationships between states' diplomatic politics.⁹ The growing demand for less dangerous and more effective relations took centre stage in the increasingly changing interconnected world. Through trade, commerce, migration, internet and social media, solutions to global problems called for interactions that promoted mutual understanding. At times, consistent, truthful and convincing calls to the diplomatic community were thought to be in position to explain, demonstrate and justify rational policy and their fundamental values.¹⁰

Public diplomacy involves direct and indirect influence of opinions and public attitudes which in turn impact on foreign policy decisions of other governments.¹¹ Public opinion set parameters within which policy makers operate. For instance, "no more Vietnam Syndrome" made Regan's administration not to intervene in Nicaragua, the Bush senior administration also deployed a force in Gulf war in order to its public feel secure. Discussions about public diplomacy and successive participation of public opinion in foreign policy making are enhanced by the rise in the use of accommodative Communication Information Technology (CIT). When war broke out in Bosnia, Clinton's administration refused to send forces to fight, however, it was reluctant to intervene for fear that the public would have reacted negatively if the US would get stuck in such an endless mission. In public diplomacy contextual interactions occur giving room to diplomatic decisions made through a process by state officers, individual

⁸ Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 426.

⁹ James Lee Ray, "R. J. Rummel's Understanding Conflict and War: An Overlooked Classic," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, August 24, 2016, 16(2), 125–147.

¹⁰ Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): pp. 73-83, 81.

¹¹ Taylor, Philip M. "Public Diplomacy on Trial?" *Trials of Engagement*: 17-32, 22.

citizens, diplomats and policy experts.¹² These kinds of interactions are boosted by virtual and people-to-people exchanges which are carried out within intimate venues across national borders in order to speak out and influence choices.

Diplomatic activities take different approaches based on economic, political and cultural power of a state in the diplomatic arena.¹³ Diverse methods used to understand the world and its interactions take different strategies of representation, policy coordination, information gathering, and protection of citizens, administration and promotion of friendly relations.¹⁴ Systematic understanding of the world requires understanding of a state's past experiences that give information about mechanisms of diplomatic interactions. Kenya's diplomatic activities are officially carried out by government representatives. Citizens are neither empowered nor involved in promotion of understanding of key issues of foreign policy objectives or in productivity and diplomatic competitive processes of its policy agenda.

Public diplomacy is relatively a new concept enabled by factors such as globalization, information revolution, multiplicity of actors and their transnational existence. As government's direct communication to the foreign publics, and a foundational concept of soft power, public diplomacy is interrogating the limits of government powers. Over the years, there have been challenges on how the world deals with information. Through social media and via internet, the public is entering into the domain of governments.

¹² Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

¹³ Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), pp.13-27, 15.

¹⁴ Ernest Satow, "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice," Cambridge Core (Cambridge University Press, June 2011).

The public sphere is an arena where citizens come together, exchange opinions regarding public affairs, discussions, deliberate and eventually form public opinion.¹⁵ It is a participatory approach to democracy, a central aspect of good governance, a drive to government's accountability and an avenue for citizen influence over political decisions. Defined by Jurgen Habermas as public opinion's approach into government domain where all citizens are guaranteed access to the state's private arena, the public sphere is coming into every conversation and is seeing private individuals assemble into a public body.¹⁶ Following Michel Foucault ideology, there are four dimensions into the public sphere; information, diversity, inclusion and participation. These dimensions reflect on the conduct of public diplomacy marred by information revolution. An era in which international actors have to live with ICT and with a new revolutionary potential generation of individuals. Credible public diplomacy practice reconsiders priorities, opportunities and approaches by governments, and embraces governance and inclusivity in activities.

The study follows Foucault's philosophy that the public sphere is yielding a new sphere of public authority in which private individuals – initial subjects of public authority – were excluded from decision making discussions. Foucault notes that in the information age, the public is infiltrating the public sphere and that public opinion, previously taken as criticism and citizens' informal control method, is gaining prominence.¹⁷ State authority is supposed to be the principal communicator of political public sphere and its concern be of the general well-being of the populous.

¹⁵ Jürgen Habermas, "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society," *Cultural Policy Review of Books*, 2014, 39–42, 39.

¹⁶ Jürgen Habermas, "The public sphere" In Mukerji, Schudson, *Rethinking popular culture. Contemporary perspectives in cultural studies*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991, pp.398-404.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Cowan, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2008).

Governments can only find an approximation to the ideas of public sphere but can do more by having a truly inclusive public sphere.¹⁸ A sphere that mediates between society and state, trying to organize itself by making possible a democratic control. Public diplomacy a representation of governments and of heads of state has been restructured and intruded upon by the public. Accessing information with no regulatory body to control information flow, the public sphere is weakening states' critical functions. The use of social media in public communication is also disintegrating actions of state officials and governments.

Since 1963, Kenya has applied diplomacy in response to the changing dynamics in international relations to maintain good relations.¹⁹ With the emerging issues of regional integration and trade, border disputes, counter terrorism and maritime disputes related to foreign policy management, regional peace and security, sustainable management of resources and environmental issues, Kenya's foreign policy implementation is taking a different shape as opposed to other countries like Norway.²⁰ Kenya government is aware of the common challenge and has to start questioning the legitimacy of institutions which hinder engaged communities from resolving these challenges. In 2018, Kenya reviewed its organization structure into four directorates of; Political and Diplomatic Security, Foreign Service Administration, Protocol and International Conferences and Events.²¹

¹⁸ Jürgen Habermas, "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society," *Cultural Policy Review of Books*, 2014, 39–42, 41.

¹⁹ "Republic of Kenya, "Revised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2018/19 -2022/23.Pdf," (2018), pp. 34-36, 35.

²⁰ "Republic of Kenya, "Revised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2018/19 -2022/23.Pdf," (2018), pp. 34-36.

²¹ *Ibid*, 35.

Diplomacy has evolved in the past generation from aristocrats to today's diplomats from all walks of life.²² The political history of Kenya has to a great extent influenced its relationship.²³ Public diplomacy in Kenya has only been among government officials and leaders marked with too much of press coverage, comments and analyses. As a method of influencing decisions and behaviour between sovereign states through negotiations and dialogue that was, Wider diplomatic practices of parliamentary diplomacy, unofficial diplomacy by non-governmental elements, people to people exchanges and the work of international civil societies is inconsequential in Kenya's diplomatic system.²⁴ In France, the government is embracing public diplomacy from a different perspective whereby it is focusing on foreign policy communicators, the policy messages and how the message is passed to the foreign audience.

Kenya is beginning to adopt approach that conforms to the changing international system amid the unprecedented political and socio-economic dynamics.²⁵ And because of the unresolved diplomatic issues, the international system remains vindictive and full of non-political accountability with the non-state actors opting out on public diplomacy issues.²⁶ Rather than producing significant and recognised results aimed at changing situations for the better interest of these nations, results of communications between Kenya and other states are not clearly communicating about its co-existence or its connectedness.²⁷ Other than the government, other

²² Shazelina Zainul Abidin, "Diplomacy Is about Projection of an Image," NST Online, October 10, 2018.

²³ Mumo Nzau, "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers While Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), pp. 137-64, 158.

²⁴ Yolanda K. Spies, "African Diplomacy," in *the Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, ed. Gordon Martel (Oxford, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018), 1-14, 11.

²⁵ "Republic of Kenya, "Revised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2018/19 -2022/23.Pdf," (2018).

²⁶ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 81.

²⁷ Ibid, 83.

actors are not given opportunity to communicate Kenya's foreign policy objectives. Government organs tend to stick to their lines and only give view on the position of a country in question.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The international system is according to Cull constantly changing and has got its own characteristics, a fact that has given diplomacy an opportunity to scale up from the current specific practice of government officials, diplomats and consuls to the general cooperation of millions of stakeholders to address own shares of global challenge. For governments, there is plenty of competing fears floating around that is tempting to the multiple actors to use in their attempts to offer solutions. Change in government regimes in a country affects continuity of activities on diplomatic representation, policy priorities and messages. This leaves the diplomatic system with no clear succession structures, knowledge, information management or a fluid diplomatic environment. Even though civil servants play a role of representation, change in government regime causes disconnect in continuity of diplomatic affairs. In compelling attraction to both internal and external audiences, a country requires a transformational change geared towards attribution of ideas, interests and policy objectives. Kenya is a multiparty state whose public diplomacy is government centred. The country's leadership is at the centre of decision-making process where it guides and directs foreign policy activities. It is not making use of public diplomacy to engage efforts of other actors. The increasing number of actors participating in global diplomatic networks are bringing new dynamics to PD. These other actors such as international organizations give ideas of creativity and brings diversity, innovation debate and democracy to the policy process. Having not developed a remarkable array of PD activities to address challenges, non-state actors are not part of the team in

communicating foreign policy. Public diplomacy is no longer just government's direct communication to the foreign publics alone but the combined efforts aimed at establishing long-term relationships in the international system. Kenya's PD has remained closed to the mobilization of people towards cooperation, regulation, negotiation and away from confrontations. It is not enough for countries to only connect and have their goals achieved. People like to be engaged around issues that appeal to their interests and to their sense of purpose thereby proving their willingness to join policy processes.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. How has public diplomacy influenced Kenya's foreign policy?
- ii. How has public diplomacy changed state approach on foreign policy communications?
- iii. What challenges are governments experiencing in their practice of public diplomacy?
- iv. What other new approaches can Kenya adopt in its practice of public diplomacy?

1.4 Objectives of the study

General Objective

To examine transformational impact of public diplomacy of foreign policy of countries.

Specific Objectives

- i. To analyze the emergence of public diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy.
- ii. To evaluate the impact of choice making in the communication of foreign policy objective.
- iii. To critically analyze the challenges faced in the practice of public diplomacy in Kenya.
- iv. To evaluate public diplomacy as a tool in Kenya's foreign relations.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.0 Public Diplomacy in Foreign Policy

1.5.1 Introduction

This sub chapter goes deep into the concepts of Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. The chapter examines the emergence of Public Diplomacy and its adoption in Foreign Policy of Countries and explore the rise of PD in the changing diplomatic environment. It further explores the contemporary issues in the practice of public diplomacy.

1.5.2 Conceptualization of Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

1.5.2.1 The Conceptualization of Public Diplomacy.

Diplomacy can be defined as the activities that enable states to advance and secure their foreign policy objectives as a way of determining and accomplishing foreign policy goals. Sharp framed his definition of public diplomacy as the pursuit of face-face relations with domestic audience for the advancement and projection of interests and values of a state across its borders.²⁸ These foreign audience are identified when governments try to engage publics. Most successful public diplomacy campaigns are those which target their communications. Often, public diplomacy does not focus on other actors outside a government domain. However, these individuals are fundamental to public diplomacy campaigns.

There are variety of interpretations of what public diplomacy is, from being a tool of power, to means of influence and to the exchange of ideas in the international system,²⁹ public diplomacy is a very important concept of state political communication.³⁰ Cull narrows public diplomacy

²⁸ Paul Sharp, "Revolutionary state, outlaw Regime and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp.106-123, 113.

²⁹ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 3-27, 11.

³⁰ Anthony Deos and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, "Sustainable Public Diplomacy: Communicating about Identity, Interests and Terrorism," *Sustainable Diplomacies*, 2010, pp. 151-172, 157.

as soft power instrument. He, together with Cowan summarises the concept of public diplomacy as the advancement of national values through a uniform engagement and influence of global citizens.³¹ In addition, Ross identifies it as government efforts in mind-set shaping across borders with focus on the ability to adapt and understand foreign policy. He emphasizes that success of such efforts is dependent on the level of exposure that actors have in their roles.³² Cull's argument brings all the discussion together that public diplomacy is government cultivations of public opinion in other countries which takes into account non-state actors, their interactions, external affairs, reporting and that which impact on policy and intercultural communication processes.

Defined as a concept which include elements of advocacy, public persuasion and basic information provision aimed at enhancing public perception, PD creates awareness of world stage actors.³³ It explain ideas, ideals and principals in a way that positively influence perceptions and understanding of target audiences. Divergent debates associate PD with soft power projection of values and interests. Key factors and concepts of PD such as actors, publics, means and goals remain complementary to each other. As a tool of diplomatic relations, the ultimate objective is to gain support to foreign policy.³⁴ For example, when Turkey tries to influence people from Central Asia or Libya to support its foreign policies in the Middle East region or when China tries to promote its foreign policy objectives in Africa through establishment of Confucius institutes, the focus is to build long term relationships with

³¹ Geoffrey Cowan and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, no. 1 (2008): p.7.

³² Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): pp. 73-83, 79.

³³ Eric Hayes, "EU Delegations: Europe's Link to the World," *Routledge Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions*, December 2012, pp. 27-40, 31.

³⁴ Geoffrey Cowan and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, no. 1 (2008): p.7.

stakeholders. Through agreements with institutions in various countries, China ensures closer collaboration around issues of language, trade and promotion of public diplomacy elements such as people-people relations. These institutes act as hubs in which interaction of China and other countries meet.

Diplomatic system has changed, and the purpose and pattern of communicating to the foreign publics in an increasingly complex web of transnational relations is also starting to listen and broaden perspectives of their audiences. Aware of globalization and its modifying routine procedures and settings of diplomacy, the current diplomatic system is more resilient. It has become easier for people to have access to information than ever before a fact that has been elevated by the growth of internet and cyber activities. When this happens, ability to reach these people through public diplomacy becomes even more important.

The dawning realization of diminishing PD processes and the inability to explain values added to foreign relations became a threat to most government. Lack of understanding of what public diplomacy is necessitated the expansion of strategic communication. Countries like China, Canada, United States of America and Norway are leading the way and with significant change in the diplomatic landscape by social media and explosion of Information Technology, governments are becoming more responsive and flexible in bringing out qualities of a communication form.

Revolution of communication technology has made it difficult to influence the views of ordinary citizens who have access to multiplicity information sources. Melissen argues that external reputation management can only last if based on reality and if information for the elusive foreign publics is democratised. Countries which increasingly move outside their

original habitat, work more and more with other agencies and organizations and operate in variety of networks, create conducive environment of successful public diplomacy.³⁵

Public Diplomacy may be a very useful tool in bridging gaps between different cultures. The economic interdependence and societal interconnectedness of global community necessitates listening, receiving, understanding of beliefs and perceptions of any foreign audience.³⁶ A close look at small powers like Norway which punched above its weight on world stage and Canada which managed to articulate its own identity prove the successes of matching stories told with the projected images. Working towards a change you want to see in a society generates positive perceptions and trust.³⁷ According to Socrates, governments are unable to control what is subjected by its citizens to the outside world. Governments are represented by diplomats who are not necessarily public diplomacy professionals. Broadening patterns of change in diplomacy focuses on ordinary citizens who dialogue and debate about sensitive and controversial themes impacting on domestic image.

John Hertz fronts an idea on the promotion of good international representation and goes steps further to argue that national politics are building and projection state images from mass market and not from policy elites.³⁸ Through societization of diplomacy and what Nye refers to as paradox of plenty, the abundant information and structural limits allow local contributions to debates which transcend borders and earn credibility from foreign peers. In 1961, East Germany erected a wall after an order to close the border between the communist East and

³⁵ Robertson, Justin, "Book Review: Shaun Riordan, *The New Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002, 160)." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 32 (2): 363–65.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298030320020610>.

³⁶ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 3-27, 15.

³⁷ Chauncey M. Depew, *The Library of Oratory: Ancient and Modern: with Critical Studies of the World's Great Orators by Eminent Essayists* (New York: E.J. Bowen, 1902).

³⁸ John F. Clark, "Realism, Neo-Realism and Africa's International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era," *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*, 2001, pp.85-102, 88.

West Germany. East Berlin was supported by the Soviet Union and the West by both USA and UK. This led to loss of communication between the publics in the two states. Tired of the laid down restriction in travelling across the border, the people of East Berlin started protesting the existence of the wall, which later on in 1989 was brought down resulting to reunification of Germany.

Public diplomacy interactions involve several elements of people-people interactions such as active listening, critical thinking, and problem solving, judgement, and leadership and development skills. Communicating with an open mind, seeking out those who hold dissenting opinions and oppositions with the goals, are key to understand others' mind.³⁹ The practice of public diplomacy is often effective in governments which give full attention to criticism about its foreign policies. In a millennium summit in 2000, Canada insisted that no country is immune to international criticism. Its campaign to reinforce humanitarian law and respect to human rights followed its own public diplomacy strategies of embracing humanitarian diplomatic relations.

Fundamental aspects of public diplomacy are success of message and overall attitude. When vision and coordination of strategic efforts are built in a relationship, cultural exchange communicates and safeguards interests in the transformed environment of diplomatic practice and transnational relations.⁴⁰ The overlap of these two concepts occur in their focus to increasingly engage foreign audience, establish mutual stable relationship and the urge to build trust which would win hearts and minds of their external citizens.

³⁹ Reimold, C. "Secrets of the Great Communicators." *Proceedings Professional Communication Conference. The New Face of Technical Communication: People, Processes, Products*, n.d.

⁴⁰ Jan Melissen, "*The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*," (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Public Diplomacy as state's soft power affects others through attraction in order to obtain outcome.⁴¹ Nye is of the view that diplomatic capability of a state is rooted on values, cultures and policy resources geared towards winning the hearts and minds. He emphasizes that in order to generate attraction, one has to understanding the roles of PD operations, its self-criticism and more so impacts of civil societies.⁴² Handling affairs of diplomatic relations, communicators learn to speak their mind in ways that keep everyone calm and respectful. Appreciation of cultural diversity allows concentration on what others are saying as well as filtration of important information. Therefore, people-people connections are image building ways through which shared responsibilities of communicating to the foreign public are manifested.

Re-motivating relations especially when things get tough results to better changes. Trust development, establishment of meaningful relationship requires open communication at the grass root level.⁴³ A common theme is the belief that public diplomacy possess the power to bridge the gaps in cultures, politics, religion and economies globally. The fact that public diplomacy is not solely a government program, image building has remained the only subtle way of winning the hearts and minds of external audience.

In trying to understand PD challenges, countries develop agency in policy activities and structures - development of capacities and conditions through which it can exert its power in the international system. Realised in different ways, states tend to broaden their views, offer

⁴¹ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 99.

⁴² *Ibid*, 102.

⁴³ Payne, J. Gregory. "Reflections on Public Diplomacy: People-to-People Communication." *American Behavioural Scientist* 53, no. 4 (2009): 579-606, 583.

more comprehensive pictures from different perspectives and work towards increasing their understanding of international politics.

1.5.2.2 Foreign Policy Process.

Hill brings out foreign policy is an abstract expression of relations between political entities, its fundamental issues and that which transcend time and regions.⁴⁴ However, to Campbell, foreign policy is as a result of modern state and government systems.⁴⁵ It is associated with institutions such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs and embassies, as well as ideas such as national interests, rational utility-maximization and bureaucratic politics.

Ranke emphasises on domestic factors as shapers of foreign policy. This follows his earlier argument foreign policy is influence by geographical position and the external threats to the pillars. He believed that state development constitutes a policy process and that through self-preservation, resources are mobilised to fulfil the demands of state security.⁴⁶ Policies were aimed at determination and identification of decisions, strategic positioning and interstate relations.

Technological changes and emergence of globalization has deepened interactions among states.⁴⁷ According to Andriole et al, foreign policy may take form of a state not having

⁴⁴ Christopher Hill, "*The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*," (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 376.

⁴⁵ David Campbell, *Writing Security*, Revised edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

⁴⁶ Peter J. Beck, "The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660–2000: How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain, Ed. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms," *The English Historical Review* 127, no. 527 (August 1, 2012): 1008-9.

⁴⁷ Stephen McGlinchey, "Introducing Globalization in International Relations," *Foundation of International Relations*, (E-International Relations, 2022).

relations with another.⁴⁸ He maintained that states are led by foreign policies to fulfil their interests and to position themselves in the diplomatic arena. Modelski defines foreign policy as a community evolved system of activities aimed at changing other states behaviour and the state's own activity adjustment in the international system.⁴⁹ He focuses on change aspect of state behaviour which according to Neack is not only about change but the different times behavioural communication.⁵⁰ However, according to Herman, foreign policy making is a commitment of resources by government in order to get an ultimate decision unit.⁵¹ Herman defines foreign policy as a resultant, discrete and purposeful action of individual or group political decisions.⁵² He maintains that foreign policy is a product of decision and behaviour of states.

Frankel is of the idea that foreign policy consists of decisions and actions involving government relations. He maintains that the policies involve set actions within the borders and are intended for external audience attention. Comprising of foreign policy processes, the set of ideas govern behaviour of states in their interaction with other states and also aim at defence and enhancement national interest.⁵³

Padelford and Lincoln capture foreign policy as a combination of state activities in a diplomatic system. This definition portrays foreign policy as state translation process of goals and interests

⁴⁸ Stephen J. Andriole, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Gerald W. Hopple, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior," *International Studies Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1975): 160-198, 190.

⁴⁹ George Modelski, *A Theory of Foreign Policy* (Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1962), 33.

⁵⁰ Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era*, Second Edition (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 21.

⁵¹ Nossal, Kim Richard, Charles F. Hermann, Charles F. Kegley, and James N. Rosenau, "New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 44 (1): 221.

⁵² Helga Haftendorn, "German Foreign Policy in a Strategic Triangle: Bonn–Paris–Washington." *German Politics and Society* 17 (1): 1–31, 8.

⁵³ J. Frankel, *The Making of Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

into actions aimed at preservation of objectives and attainment of interests.⁵⁴ Supported by Hugh's insights of foreign policy as a comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience from state interactions aimed at protection, promotion and clear understanding of national interests. States are willing to apply whichever means possible to ensure achievement of those interests.⁵⁵

Garner believes that foreign policy is a collaboration of state and non-state actors' intentions, statements and actions.⁵⁶ However, according to Bojang, foreign policy consists of three parts; the end, the ways, and the means. The parts are broken down into visions or interests, strategies, and ideas for the pursuance of the desired visions and resources available at state level.⁵⁷ Bojang concludes on foreign policy as the desired outcome and visions in interstate relations, strategically used to achieve goals within the international system.

Foreign policy is defined by factors such as power control, security interests and changes in internal and external environment of a state. Emergence of the practical concept of foreign policy was enabled by the growing domestic differentiation between state and civil societies.⁵⁸ This development was articulated through operation of a relatively free press within a nascent public sphere.

⁵⁴ Norman J. And George A. Lincoln Padelford, "*The Dynamics of International Politics*," First Edition, 2nd Printing (MacMillan, 1967), 34.

⁵⁵ Hugh Gibson, "*The Road to Foreign Policy*," First Edition (Doubleday, Doran, and Co. Inc, 1944), 17.

⁵⁶ Valerie M. Hudson and Christopher S. Vore, "Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," *Mershon International Studies Review* 39, no. 2 (1995): 209-38, 211.

⁵⁷ Bojang As, "The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations," *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs* 2018: 06 (04).

⁵⁸ Halvard Leira, "Anarchy in the IR," *International Studies Perspectives* 8, no. 1 (2007): vi-vii.

Foreign policy, a substance of foreign relations and a general course of pursuit in diplomatic affairs, is a legislative aspect of the problem of inter-state relations.⁵⁹ However, according to Hill, foreign policy is a substance of nation's effort in the promotion of interests whose main objective is to uphold national ideologies and self-interests.⁶⁰ He notes that the world is a global village where many nations interact with one another on many issues including matters of economy and trade. He argues out that it is through foreign policy that these relationships are determined and guided by the underpinning principles.

Foreign policy is concerned with boundary drawing. However, Campbell views FP as a force behind nationalism and state culture.⁶¹ He According to the United State Department of Government and Politics, Foreign Policy is defined as state's international goals and strategies for the achievement of set objectives, and that tools such as Diplomacy, Foreign Aid and Military force are employed during policy implementation.⁶²

Hartmann talked of the existence of a system whose focus is on state processes of adjusting its own interests. He noted that foreign policy is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests and actions taken by government in relation to other states.⁶³ An example is when US government under President Obama renewed its ties with the people of Cuba. Related to this is Hartmann's argument that foreign policy is also the tool with which states engage in

⁵⁹ Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2021):166-91, 173.

⁶⁰ Norman L. Hill, "*The New Democracy in Foreign Policy Making*," (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970): pp. 871-879,873.

⁶¹ David Campbell, *Writing Security*, Revised edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

⁶² Valerie M. Hudson and Christopher S. Vore, "Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," *Mershon International Studies Review* 39, no. 2 (1995): 209-38, 234.

⁶³ Henry Nii-Kwao, "Nature & Scope of Foreign Policy: Foreign Policy Analysis: POLI 447. Accessed May 17, 2021.

power game of diplomatic relations. This was manifested on two occasions between USA and Afghanistan. The 2001 Bush-declared war on Al Qaeda and the 2011 Obama's administration led operation on Osama Bin Laden.

1.5.2.3 Theoretical Literature Review

International system is characterised by both anarchy and cooperation between states; however, patterns of enmity may sometimes arise. Focus by the multiple actors on political, military, economic and cultural interactions at the global level put pressure on the limited resources available. Actors therefore in form of self-help groups, pursue their interests through perception management.⁶⁴

Liberals advocate for self-interest by cooperation and agreement between individual actors. With international relations expanded to include public diplomacy, successful efforts which create societal understanding of policies require deeper understanding of cultures, history, languages and psychology of people we wish to communicate to.⁶⁵ Taking form of an interaction process where policies of external regimes are influenced by local citizens, public diplomacy often evolve rapidly.⁶⁶ The creation of local networks of trust working collaboratively towards common goals becomes increasingly relevant in this case.

Communication theory of international relations is two-steps influence process in which public opinions are directly communicated through foreign audience to their governments for final endorsement. Aimed at harmonization of ideas, cultures and principles, public diplomacy can also become an instrument of defence. It is through dialogue and proper articulations that states

⁶⁴ Philip M. Taylor, "Public Diplomacy on Trial," *Trials of Engagement*, January 2011, 23.

⁶⁵ Gifford D. Malone, "Managing Public Diplomacy," *The Washington Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1985): pp. 199-213, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01636608509450301>.

⁶⁶ Gilboa, Eytan. "Public Diplomacy." *Oxford Bibliographies Online Datasets*, 2016. doi:10.1093/obo/9780199756841-0087.

and other actors build synergies. Furthermore, effective utilization of credible information sells-on and influences positive understanding, acceptance and policy support.⁶⁷ The emergence of globalization coupled together with ICT development has made public diplomacy an interactive tool for both internal and external audiences.⁶⁸

Lev Vygotsky's Social Constructivism theory of social development states that through human interactions, an established growth of human society constructs knowledge. Vygotsky talks of how subjective meaning becomes a fact. Countries are collaboratively created from small cultures of shared artefacts with shared meaning in which individual learning takes place because of group interactions. These groups' cognitive developments are influenced by cultures of language, history and social context.⁶⁹ Broadening the streams of social change, global interconnection and transnational civil society actors draw on the common bonds that already exist and gain rights to a voice in government. The richness in the international system is best harvested through collective individuation, community outreach and cultural loyalty through hearts-to-hearts meeting of people. In situations where citizens are not only spectators to the process of public diplomacy, but also opponents of state actions, reconciliation of critical divergent issues become a nightmare. The country must first build trust, understanding, friendship and then define roles for its own public in an open civic participation.

1.5.2.4 Research gap

Public Diplomacy emerged within a specific period of time as a government tool for direct communication to the foreign publics. It involves not only government initiatives rather non-state actors as well. Having its own development trajectories, it involves public awareness and

⁶⁷ Cowan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 6-8. doi:10.1177/0002716207312143.

⁶⁸ Michèle Bos and Jan Melissen, "Rebel Diplomacy and Digital Communication: Public Diplomacy in the Sahel," *International Affairs*, September 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz195>.

⁶⁹ "Lock, Andy, and Tom Strong." "Lev Vygotsky." *Social Constructionism*: 104-20. Doi: 10.1017/cbo9780511815454.007,"

development of policies that advance state interests by educating and persuading foreign publics. Public diplomacy now has broader objectives, and a wider range of actors with diplomatic standings in world politics. These characteristics of public diplomacy necessitates country governments to improve and assess public diplomacy activities and processes, to adjust effectively the practice and strategies, minimize costs, and maximize diplomatic effectiveness in terms of rewards from policy goals.

In public diplomacy both state and non-state actors play important roles. And because public diplomacy is an act mostly by the state, policy processes in other countries such as Canada, do involve even the invisible non-state actors such as intergovernmental organizations or the secretariats of IR treaties. Various state actors are tasked with foreign policy articulation and representation. However, the non-state actors are often left out regardless of their potentials in reaching out to audience in the most effective way possible. With governments increasingly interested in developing a more sustainable model to attract foreign audiences to their policy objectives, they can make a big difference in building stronger, open to all constituencies by turning public diplomacy initiatives and aspirations into governance. Given opportunity to search for common grounds and embrace the world in its diversity, governments which fully incorporate non-state actors into their decision making and policy processes, make it easy to persuade, impact and change viewpoints of the foreign publics.

In today's world, the public sphere is strongly tied to media. The public sphere is going beyond space, including all communication channels. Governments publish information by do not listen to the people, giving a situation in which, the public sphere does not exist in public diplomacy domains. Challenging information access to the world and dawning a new era, the global public is entering into the domain of specific countries in which others would not be without technology. Boundaries between human beings and technology is blurring more

rapidly thus the need to develop better ways of understanding how it affects us; using IT, get involved in the processes and employ the mediating powers in technological society. A situation in which everyone is given opportunity to propose ideas and the best idea wins.

1.6 Justification of Study

1.6.1 Academic Justification

Kenya has both resources and the power required in matching cultures and ideas with the prevailing global norms. Even though as a country it has limited economic and military power, it has the capacity in shared resources and the avenues to reconcile the existing contradictions through effective communication and listening. While traditional diplomacy has been used in Kenya in state relations overtime, and will continue to be essential in diplomatic relations, new methods of diplomatic engagement have been established. Public diplomacy is a tool, which according to Nye uses attractive values and positive attributes to shape preferences by generating admiration and setting examples others wish to follow. In order to gain foothold or attain stronger position in the globalized system, states tend to sink-into systems that lead them into greater binding ties. The study generates new knowledge and academic debates on the development of public diplomacy on foreign policy of countries, especially in Kenya. Sharing the importance, challenges and approaches of the practice of public diplomacy, the study gives scholars a chance to learn more about the topic and its significance as it also identifies the complexities involved in realizing full potential of the practice on a countries Foreign Policy. Therefore, the matter of mainstreamed public diplomacy across all diplomatic networks in Kenya is a matter not fully explored yet it appears to be on top of its foreign policy agenda.

1.6.2 Policy justification

States and non-state actors have access to multiple communication channels and complex machinery for interdependence. Most public diplomacy campaigns are always led by

governments and their diplomacy organs. Public diplomacy should educate its own people, portray globalised cultures and give room for global interactions of foreign policy resources. Therefore, the findings of this study will result into recommendations that will form bases of policy improvement and influence. More so, study recommendations will directly and indirectly influence public attitude, opinions and policies.

1.7 Theoretical framework

Rational Choice Theory of diplomatic relations is a foreign policy approach of an assumption that main actors in foreign policy are rational and can be relied on in making informed, calculated decisions which result into perceived benefits and maximum values to states.⁷⁰ Tracing back to political economist and philosopher Smith, rational choice theory is a set of guidelines that help in understanding economic and social behaviour. This was followed by Machiavelli's introduction of rational choice theory ideas in his work, "the prince". Later on, scholars such Homans, Blau, and Coleman promoted ideas of rational choice theory in relation to social exchange. They brought in the idea of exchange of costs and rewards believed to be driven by social behaviour.

Focusing on nations and government behaviour as units of analysis, rational choice theory relies on individual state-level interactions. This individual decision making and evaluation takes a step-by-step process of problem identification, definition of desired outcomes, and evaluation of potential policy choice consequences and maximization of beneficial outcomes from most rational beneficial decisions.⁷¹ The theory assumes availability of complete

⁷⁰ Levy, Jack s. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.41, No.1 (1997): p.97.

⁷¹ Anand, P. "Foundations of Rational Choice under Risk", Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993.

information to policy implementers as well as consistent and coherent actions by the actors who optimize on decision making.⁷²

Rational Choice theory, though often utilised in the sphere of policy making, slightly differ from liberalism. The theory overlooks other actors and forces as it focusses too much on individual states as unitary actors whose action are aimed towards increasing state's own capabilities and interests while undermining those of others. The fact that actions of non-state actors do not form part of their calculations when it comes to policy formulation and implementation, these theories ignore interaction issues which are not directly connected to the survival of states.

Rational Choice theory emphasizes on decision making and especially public diplomacy. In a study that focuses on the development of public diplomacy in foreign policy, Rational Choice theory adds more factors into the world of policy implementation given its consideration of citizens and international organizations into the processes. Additionally, an understanding the goals and intentions of state actors behind foreign policy actions and their failure to incorporate citizens, civil societies and other non-governmental actors in foreign policy processes is promoted.

The study provides a more detailed theoretical insights on Rational Choice theory perspective of foreign policy implementation. The study therefore is discussed within the mainstream theory and perspectives of Rational Choice, relying on its basics tenets of decision making, modern democracy, inclusivity, free and fair elections, and enhanced cooperation among states.

⁷² Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 932.

1.8 Hypotheses

- i. Public diplomacy is a development which came within a specific period of time and changed the communication approach of foreign policy objectives.
- ii. Kenya's foreign policy has evolved through unwavering commitment of both state and non-state actors.
- iii. Information revolution has challenged states in their practice of public diplomacy.
- iv. Countries deploy different approaches of public diplomacy depending on the policy situational context and because public diplomacy is a foreign policy tool, when well strategized and coordinated, mutually beneficial relationships occur.

1.9 Research Methodology

Using a content analysis method that is evident in public diplomacy studies and focusing on Kenya's foreign policy, the study analyses both secondary and primary data obtained from the research. The study takes an in-depth investigation in exploratory research aimed at describing the context in usage and co-occurrence of words which enable narrative inquiry to the research area. Opinion experts on public diplomacy was consolidated and based on the approach, meaning is reflected from the concepts or group of related words. Centering on key words and the frequency of their usage, secondary data from published reports, journal articles, KFP Document from public diplomacy and policy expert are analyzed. Finally, themes which form common or connect to the concepts from a close proximity are also analyzed.

1.9.1 Research Design

This study carries out a causal analysis on public diplomacy as complex machineries of interdependence that Kenya should invest in for it to gain foothold in the diplomatic arena. This study employs mixed research method. The exploratory design was used to explore the synergistic practises which build credible relationships enhanced by both domestic and foreign behaviours. Extensive descriptive research is used to determine the influence of public diplomacy and dialogue-based exchanges in strengthening ties, influencing public attitude and

opinions. Method triangulation is used in this study. Based on research questions, usability of the instrument especially administration and interpretation, comprehensive questionnaires and interview schedules/guides were utilized. Approaches that promise more empirical analysis of public diplomacy are suggested by the communication networks of transformed technologies. Comprehension of new approaches to public diplomacy and its roles in a networked global system are also incorporated.

1.9.2 Study site

Primary data from sources such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs top officials such as ambassadors, directors of foreign and diaspora affairs, Top officials in diplomatic missions such as diplomats and consuls, public diplomacy experts from international organization; UN, AU (non-state actors).

1.9.3 Target population

The study's primary research entails visits to Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Missions top officials, senior officials in various organizations dealing on PD, civil society officials, and foreign citizens living in Kenya and local community leaders. Because they support Foreign Policy implementation efforts, they are resourceful to the study. This enables the researcher to get an understanding of the rise of public diplomacy in foreign policy as well as the transformations which came with the development.

1.9.4 Sample size and sampling procedures

There was a design of comprehensive questionnaires interview schedules and carried out face-to-face interviews with the key informants. Guiding questions for both focus and discussion groups were used to collect data and achieve a representative sample of respondents. Expert

opinion and expert referral from chain referral sampling technique was applied. Expert informant survey method for each stratum containing description of selection process and order of sampling units was submitted after a comprehensive review of both primary and secondary data. The sample displayed a good understanding of the research problem and questions.

Table 1.1: Target respondents.

S/No	Description of potential respondent
1	Ministry of Foreign Affairs top officials such as ambassadors, directors of foreign and diaspora affairs.
2	Top officials in diplomatic missions such as diplomats and consuls.
3	Public diplomacy experts from international organization; UN, AU and EAC (non-state actors).
4	Opinion experts on public diplomacy.

1.9.5 Data collection methods

The study reviews applicable data collection policies and procedures after which, external context assessment is carried out to check the existence of any barriers and representativeness of the population. The researcher then proceeds and set goals and objectives of research questions after which approach and method planning on group of interest, comparator group, location and geographical areas were put into consideration. Data is then collected, analysed, interpreted and acted upon by the researcher.

1.9.6 Validity and reliability of data collection instruments

The researcher got supervisors' comments and expert opinion on the relevance and effectiveness of the instruments. External and content validity of the triangulation method was

considered in regard to the generalization of the samples to the general population and the appropriateness of the questions and observation logs of the research.

1.9.7 Data presentation and analysis

The study uses Qualitative Text Analysis (QTA) in which a contextual analysis framework is employed. Content analysis of data and detailed description of phenomena comprising object of study is carried out to give an analytical understanding. Traditional methodologies focusing of text analysis to explore PD development and its transformation in foreign policy of countries are used to uncover relevant patterns and themes. However, three data sets are examined ranging from remarks, key themes of respondents and data sets.

1.9.8 Ethical issues

The researcher sought authority to carry out research from relevant National Research offices and from the University of Nairobi. The study puts in place measure that ensured service to the publics and promotion of welfare. Additionally, the study ensured that respect for privacy, anonymity and that confidentiality was upheld throughout the research period and even after the study.

1.9.9 Scope and Limitation

This study was guided by the four study objectives beginning with public diplomacy as a practice, the choice making processes in foreign policy communication of national interests, the challenges and issues in public diplomacy as brought about by the information age and finally the new approaches in the practice of public diplomacy by the multiple actors in the diplomatic system.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study is presented in the following seven chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

This is an introductory chapter to the research topic. Introducing thesis title and giving a philosophical background of the study, it highlights the study gap, this chapter states the problem statement, research questions and objectives of the study. From theoretical framework, study justification and relevant literature review, the chapter outlines hypotheses of the study as well as study methodology. The chapter closes with an outline of this research work.

Chapter Two: The Practice of public diplomacy

This chapter covers the aspects of rational choice theory from the facts of the theory in terms of background, origin and its various adoptions; how the study arrived at the theory with regard to methodology of the study, the chapter also makes a case for public diplomacy based on the philosophy behind the making of choices in decision making on matters of foreign policy. This chapter further seeks to explore an explanative theory concerning public diplomacy by capturing the development of public diplomacy and its transformation of foreign policy of countries. The chapter highlights the various reasons as to why states carry out public diplomacy in exclusion of other actors other than the government. The deductive reasoning of this study hypothesises that public diplomacy is a development from a traditional diplomatic activity which came within a specific period of time and is transforming foreign policy of countries. Compelling the assumptions of rational choice theory to literature and research, the study tests implications of the theory.

Chapter Three: Emergence of public diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy

This chapter takes a much deeper into the practice of public diplomacy and its transformation of foreign policy of countries. The chapter carries out analysis of why public diplomacy became an attractive tool to governments and what made it necessary in foreign policy. The chapter touches on public diplomacy as a strategy, collaborations of actors, inclusivity in decision making processes and consensus- building in carrying out foreign policy processes. It also examines how public diplomacy has impacted on implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. The chapter finally highlights the emerging issues in PD activities.

Chapter Four: Challenges in the practice of Kenya's public diplomacy

The chapter critically analyses Kenya's public diplomacy and its deployment in Foreign Policy activities. The chapter examines the challenges faced during decision making processes and in the management of constructive openness and Kenya's foreign policy priorities. An examinations of Kenya's public diplomacy is carried out after brief discussion on specific challenges it faces even after the promulgation of the 2010 new constitution. The chapter also ventures briefly into the current debates about Kenya's government-centred public diplomacy and the obstacles in its choice making processes.

Chapter Five: Public diplomacy in Kenya

This chapter examines new PD opportunities and priorities in Kenya's foreign relations. Public diplomacy that introduces newer environment beyond the traditional government scope. This chapter evaluates the broad, open global thinking in the globalized world and transformation of both domestic and foreign publics into global citizens through a choice making process. The chapter analyses public diplomacy practices, it briefly examines the less expensive approaches and focus on reputation increase, reconciliation and broader endeavours of the public diplomacy. The chapter also analyses the different forms of state expression and its public

diplomacy strengths in communicating foreign policy objectives. This chapter also gives attention to a dialogue-based public diplomacy as an inclusive choice making process, a community driven approach and it further assesses the tools needed in this era of new order and information age. The chapter finalizes by venturing into the revolutionary path and approaches of the public diplomacy with the emergence of private non-state actors and other interest groups in matters of diplomatic relations aimed at understanding the hopes and fears of foreign publics. It then brings out themes that provide differing perspectives on policy goals and on communication revolution.

Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter focusses on critical analysis of data from various sources and findings. From a sample size of respondents, the study managed to gather data both physically and from online surveys. It presents a summary of findings and their implications. The chapter is a hypothesis testing quest that explores the development of public diplomacy and its transformation of Kenya's foreign policy.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations

This study sought to examine the development of public diplomacy and its transformation of Kenya's foreign policy. It highlights both academic and policy implications on development of PD in foreign policy of countries. Different governments go through different transformational processes and encounter different obstacles and challenges which help shape their foreign policy goals. This study sheds light on why states adopt either a closed or open system of foreign policy implementation and projection in its pursuit of national interests. The study offers perspectives on how varied public diplomacy communication stakeholders other than the government alone bring credibility in communicating with foreign publics. The chapter finally gives recommendations from the chapters and the entire thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

The Practice of Public Diplomacy

2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the aspects of rational choice theory from the facts of the theory in terms of background, origin and its various adoptions; how the study arrived at the theory with regard to methodology of the study, the chapter also makes a case for public diplomacy based on the philosophy behind the making of choices in decision making on matters of foreign policy. This chapter further seeks to explore an explanative theory concerning public diplomacy by capturing the development of public diplomacy and its transformation of foreign policy of countries. The chapter highlights the various reasons as to why states carry out public diplomacy in exclusion of other actors other than the government. The deductive reasoning of this study hypothesises that public diplomacy is a development from a traditional diplomatic activity which came within a specific period of time and is transforming foreign policy of countries. Compelling the assumptions of rational choice theory to literature and research, the study tests implications of the theory.

2.2 The Framework Analysis of Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theory attempts to explain application of rational considerations by governments in making policy choices. The theory explains a phenomenon on how decisions are made; arguing out that social behavior is driven by the rational calculations of exchange costs and rewards. Attempting to explain the reasons behind government behavior and actions, the theory indicates that state interactions in general can be explained in terms of rational choices of individuals.

Accordingly, social interaction is considered a type of exchange where individual interact with each other only if the expected gains outweigh the expected cost.⁷³ The theory argues that people make choices based upon a set of individual preferences in a rational manner where they seek to maximize gains while minimizing loss. Preferences can take different forms and state preference favors one choice over its alternative of the available choices.

Graham defines rationality as consistent value maximizing choices with specified constrained.⁷⁴ Graham is of the opinion that first action of decision-making process is purposive in that actors engage in specific actions to make particular decision in pursuit of specific objectives. However, goals are clearly defined before decision is made and an ultimate objective is identified prior to action. Finally, preferences are ranked within a transitive order. That is, decision makers' perspectives are ranked and if outcomes are preferred, the option is adopted. Accordingly, preferences are invariant and hold steady in various means of achieving them. Allison also assumes that decision makers are utility maximizers in that they would select alternative option that gives the greatest amount of net benefit or greatest benefit of the lowest cost. However, he is of the opinion that decisions-making processes will often lead to better decisions but not necessarily better outcomes.

Rational choice theory assumes that all actors are rational and that is why costs and rewards are considered in decision making processes.⁷⁵ The theory is of the idea that in a relationship, reward must outweigh the cost. It assumes that relationships either end or stop when value of a reward diminishes below the costs. Rational choice theorists are of a principle that reward is

⁷³ Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 936.

⁷⁴ Sarah E. Graham, "Non-Governmental Public Diplomacy Networks," *The Frontiers of Public Diplomacy*, 2021, pp. 96–114, 99.

⁷⁵ Gabriel A. Almond, "A Theory of Foreign Policy. By George Modelski. (Princeton Studies in World Politics, No. 2. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962. Pp. XI, 152. \$5.00.)," *American Political Science Review* 56, no. 3 (1962): 700.

often optimized when individual use available resources. Therefore, in rational choice theory, individuals are often in control of their decisions because they use rational considerations.

In circumstances where individuals are allowed to make choices, policy outcomes are often associated to personal interests. However, expectations of rational choice theory is to achieve greatest satisfaction from choices that are available.⁷⁶ Governments use all the available information to make rational choices that help achieve maximum benefits from their foreign policy. Each decision is weighed and choices are based on individual goals. Therefore, governments though constrained by cognitive ability of individuals, rational choices made tend to reshape the future of interest groups, elections and bureaucracy.⁷⁷ Providing wider understanding reactions of nations. Adam Smith states that actions of interest groups act with own self-interest in mind. And if so, governments would formulate choices which they believe yield beneficial outcomes.

2.3 Public Diplomacy and Rational choice theory

Kenya's public diplomacy is government centred and does not involve or incorporate the non-state actors in foreign policies activities.⁷⁸ There is a limitation of communication stakeholders in Kenya's PD whereas, there is no involvement of other actors other than the government alone in the communication of foreign policy objectives to the foreign publics. Government is portrayed as the primary stakeholder in foreign affairs and non-state actors and individuals as mere channels of communication.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Michael J. Shapiro and G. Matthew Bonham, "Cognitive Process and Foreign Policy Decision-Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1973): 147-74, 151.

⁷⁷ Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2021):166-91, 1169.

⁷⁸ Dominic Mutuku, Annah-Grace Kemunto, and Maureen Wanja, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Politics in Kenya: Policy Gaps Analysis," Africa Portal (Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), March 31, 2020).

⁷⁹ Poppy Cullen, "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Evolution, Challenges and Opportunities," *The Round Table*, November 18, 2020.

There are five elements of public diplomacy as articulated by Nicholas J. Cull which this study assumes are not taken into account by the Kenya government when it comes to matters of communicating public policy objectives and goals.⁸⁰ The first component is Listening — the effort to manage the Kenya’s diplomatic environment by collecting and collating data about its publics and their opinions and using the findings to redirect other countries’ foreign policy. The second category is Advocacy — the attempt to manage the Kenyan environment by undertaking a specific communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or Kenya’s general interests in the minds of foreign publics. Third is cultural diplomacy — attempts to manage the Kenyan environment by making Kenya’s cultural resources and achievements known in Kenya and/or facilitating cultural transmission in other countries. There is still need to harmonize public and private sector initiatives. Cull believes in the need to see the people-people interactions on matters of foreign policy.⁸¹ Fourth is exchange diplomacy — efforts to manage the Kenyan environment by sending Kenyans to other countries and reciprocally accepting foreign publics for a period of study and/or acculturation. Finally, the management of both international news and broadcasting component by using the technologies of radio, television, and the internet to engage with foreign publics.

Government centered public diplomacy is marred with limited capability for interactions. This is as a result of technological developments and the rise of globalization where government monopoly on information control is undermined and carried over to other actors in the international system. So, in terms of foreign policy, rational choice theory is the best in understanding the thesis of this work. This is because countries often make choices before communicating their foreign policies in the international system. And because the study

⁸⁰ Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy before Gullion,” *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 13–17, 14.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 15.

assumes that there is so much officialdom when dealing with Kenya's foreign policy. A situation that has restricted how foreign policy actors behave since they are limited by the rules and government restrictions. The Kenyan system of public diplomacy has no middle ground in its dealing with public diplomacy matters.⁸² Therefore, the study is of the suggestion that Kenya can approach matters of foreign policy differently by engaging the public and have direct talks with the foreign publics rather than communicating only to the governments of the foreign publics.

Kenya established diplomatic relations with Ethiopia while still under British administration. However, the kind of relationship it has had with countries like Somalia has been shaky.⁸³ Relations with Somalia have historically been tensed and on regional front, the issue of Somalia has been under intense discussions at the AU on the Somalia operation in the light of the new state of play on the ground. It is the hope of Kenya that this discussion which culminated into a decision.

Kenya maintains relations with various countries around the world. Its closest ties are with its fellow Swahili-speaking neighbors in the African Great Lakes region. Swahili speaking neighbors mainly include countries in the East African Community such as Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. additionally, the Kenyan government has political ties with China, India, Pakistan, Russia, United Arab Emirates, Brazil, Djibouti and even South Korea. It also maintains diplomatic relations with Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom.

⁸² Poppy Cullen, "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Evolution, Challenges and Opportunities," *The Round Table*, November 18, 2020.

⁸³ Pauline K. Njagi, "Kenya's Foreign Policy in a Changing World: Themes, Fora and Prospects", 2008.

There are several common assumptions made by rational choice theorists related to the modelling of decision-making processes.⁸⁴ However, the theory misses out on some of the context that is important for understanding how decisions are actually made. It generally assumes a small number of like-minded decision-makers arriving at a consensus position while in reality there are often multiple conflicting power centers with each of them pursuing their own objectives.⁸⁵ In Kenya, foreign policy formulation process is primarily government duty. The activities are carried out through MFA which is a state organ of diplomacy and is assumed to be the only rational actor whose desires are equated to Kenya's national interests. The theory also assumes that state preferences are unified and clearly defined. That is, a single idea of national interest exists, and decisions makers operate in pursuit of that interests. In reality, state's preferences are always contested and in a country like Kenya, the conduct of foreign relations is guided by a variety of sources including government official documents and declarations.

This theory argues that there is high degree of certainty in state goals and in the avenues available to pursue them.⁸⁶ In reality, decision making is often characterized by incomplete or even inaccurate information. The theory, assumes that the implementation of decisions is done in a relatively efficient manner. In reality, implementation is often subject to its own bureaucratic and political processes and can be delayed characterized either by conflict or miscommunication and so on. Finally, rational choice theorists usually view policy as the optimal outcome of any decision-making process. That is, it views policy outcomes that result

⁸⁴ Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), pp.13-27, 20.

⁸⁵ Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 926.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *The American Political Science Review* 86, no. 2 (1992): 316.

from the process as the best available option in pursuit of the specific goals in question. In reality, policies can often be sub-optimal, ineffective, sometimes even contradictory or self-defeating. Despite all these shortcomings, rational choice theory is a useful way of thinking about the idealized decision-making process, recognizing that it is a theoretical framework for understanding a process rather than an actual description of decision making on the ground.

There are multiple means of communicating to the foreign publics such as international media, scholars, education exchanges, cultural activities, programmed visits, student scholarships, conferences and publications.⁸⁷ Non-state actors involvement on matters of foreign affairs often aim at understanding hopes and fears of foreign publics.⁸⁸ Through direct exchanges, publics are convinced to understand cultures, behaviors, positions, making it easier to influence opinions and mobilize actions.⁸⁹ In a system dominated by new technologies and with permeable borders, a country's values and interests are steered forward giving room for democratized public diplomacy of collaboration and inclusive dialogue.

Bringing out an understanding of behavior, rational choice theory pinpoints why states or governments move their foreign policies towards certain choices. This theory promotes inquiry and understanding of different public diplomacy communicators and their motivations.⁹⁰ Motivations based on self-interest of a state and individual government officials involved in making choices. Such leaders operate according to a country's authority. Additionally, government alignment with other international structures is motivated by power structures of

⁸⁷ Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361.

⁸⁸ Jan Melissen and Jian Wang, "Debating Public Diplomacy," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 1-5, 3.

⁸⁹ Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview," *Review of International Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 13-29, 17.

⁹⁰ Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, 2008, pp. 31-54, 44.

a state leading to either bipolar or multipolar relations. The theory of rational choice helps public diplomacy communicators to understand the motivation of foreign publics.⁹¹ It is also through rational choice theory that public diplomacy communicators are enabled to formulate and implement foreign policies knowing very well that foreign publics also make choices based on costs and benefits.

Foreign policies require support from all actors of public diplomacy. This is because not all government actions on policy yield best feasible outcomes. Often most governments including Kenya embrace state-centrism of public diplomacy where the rational actors are the governments and self-interest being foreign policies. This officialdom assumes that a nation has no actors other than the government alone.

Rational choice theory helps predict the outcome of public diplomacy on foreign policy.⁹² It broadens understanding of individuals to national governments and interactions among nations. Main actor in foreign policy is a rational individual who is assumed to be reliable in making informed and calculated decisions that maximizes benefits of a state. Rational choice theory relies on individual state-level interactions and assumes that policy makers always have complete information. The theory assumes availability of complete information to policy makers. And because policy makers are believed to always making optimized decisions which are consistent and coherent, these individuals often have full control of government apparatus on decision making.

In foreign policy making, rational choice theory follows a process starting with problem identification, designing of desired outcomes followed by a consequential evaluation of policy

⁹¹ Catherine H. Zuckert, "On the 'Rationality' of Rational Choice," *Political Psychology* 16, no. 1 (1995): 178-198, 191.

⁹² Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1997): 102.

choices before coming up with the most rational decision believed to maximize beneficial outcomes.⁹³ In Kenya, all foreign policy decision making is attributed to one central figure; the government, which is always in full control. In 2014, Kenya's MFA published its first ever foreign policy document. The move was informed by its national interest and the need to promote and protect those interest.

This theory specifies steps into decision making process. From problem identification, the actors involved, motivations and their capabilities and the nature of diplomatic environment. That is the context of the problem. Once policy makers identify the problems, they then outline their goals. For example, issues of climate change push a country on a quest to reform policies of international organizations and align their national interest to those of other actors. They then identify and rank their preferred outcomes to a given situation with respect to a particular problem. Next decision makers gather information about the problem and determine what options might be available to them to achieve their goals. An evaluation of various alternative considering each alternative with regard to their potential consequences and effectiveness. Once all alternatives are evaluated, decision makers will select the option that achieve the preferred outcome at the lowest possible cost. The option is then implemented and the problem is monitored and evaluated if the implemented decision is effective in achieving the set goals.

Decisions making processes under government in control is assumed to be consistent with the formal structures and hierarchies of a country.⁹⁴ They operate according to a country's authority with government MFA at the top to exercise power over foreign policy. Information from the advisors' flow to the top government which make choices based on received

⁹³ Leonard J Baldyga, "The Practice of Public Diplomacy and Its Perpetual Critics," *THE FLETCHER FORUM OF WORLD AFFAIRS* 32 (2008): 7.

⁹⁴ Gregory Payne, Efe Sevin, and Sara Bruya, "Grassroots 2.0: Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age," *Comunicação Pública*, no. vol.6 n10 (June 1, 2011): 45-70, 49.

information painting the government and MFA as coordinators of bureaucracy and on the other hand bureaucracy as responsive to the government.

2.4 Explaining the practice of public diplomacy

There exist varied explanations as to what public diplomacy is, its actors, the kind of messages it communicates, how it communicates and to whom are the communications intended. Key factors such as the actors, the publics, the means and the goals remain complementary to each other. In countries like Spain, the digitalized world has brought changes to the conduct of public diplomacy. Countries focus on four main principles centred on government willingness to engage other actors. First, it identifies its audience who they have to reach, how to reach them, what it can draw upon to reach those audience and finally looks into how its diplomatic services can be empowered to enable them reach those target audience in the most effective way possible.

Public diplomacy communications are often perceived as either propaganda or nation-branding strategies. Sometimes, when PD is submerged into the concept of propaganda, it manifests as a formal interconnectedness of states and external citizens. Persuasive power of public diplomacy directly or indirectly makes deliberate attempts through ideal communication strategies intended to influence opinion in an audience. In most cases, they are deliberately designed to serve interests of proponents and sovereigns.⁹⁵ Propaganda though taken as a manipulative and deceitful communication to foreign publics, it is a form of communication leakage on what to think and narrow on as audiences.

According to Gullion, public diplomacy is a government cultivation of public opinion in other countries aimed at impacting positively on policies, building awareness of mutual

⁹⁵ David Welch, "Nazi Propaganda (RLE Nazi Germany & Holocaust): The Power and the Limitations," Routledge & CRC Press, October 13, 2016, <https://www.routledge.com>.

interdependence and working for a common good in the international system.⁹⁶ For an international system dominated by power, its public diplomacy's focus is on relationships of value.⁹⁷ Public diplomacy is central to the practise of diplomatic relations.⁹⁸ Aimed at gaining support for policy goals, PD is a government attempt to the establishment and maintenance of relationships. Focussing primarily on governments whose main aim is to influence foreign actors, it is therefore a communication tool in diplomatic relations.

Reporting aspect of public diplomacy is dependent on engagement efforts and strategic communication with foreign publics.⁹⁹ Therefore, states intensify their communication activities and aim at promoting diplomatic understanding. With globalization and technological advancement, the practice of public diplomacy is changing and countries are making attempts to attract diplomatic attention and gain worldwide reputation. Different languages are communicated to different audience as governments make efforts to adapt messages of state interest to new technological advances. However, when reaching out to communities outside state borders, public diplomacy works towards enabling foreign publics and improving their understanding of foreign policy objectives.

Melissen talks of the democratization of public diplomacy in a more inclusive, collaborative and dialogue-based perspective. Public diplomacy that embraces the public as active participants and not just the passive role players to the objectives of governmental strategies for foreign policies. Involvement of non-state actors on matters of foreign affairs is often aimed

⁹⁶ Nicholas J. Cull and Francisco Javier Rodríguez Jiménez, "Introduction: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, and Democratization," *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain*, 2015, pp. 1-14, 9.

⁹⁷ Jan Melissen, essay, in *Debating Public Diplomacy: Now and Next* (Leiden Boston: Brill | Nijhoff, 2019).

⁹⁸ Simon Anholt, "Towards 'Governmental Social Responsibility,'" *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6, no. 2 (2010): pp. 69-76, 71.

⁹⁹ Nicholas J. Cull and Francisco Javier Rodríguez Jiménez, "Introduction: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, and Democratization," *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain*, 2015, pp. 1-14, 10.

at understanding the hopes and fears of foreign publics. Through direct interactions, publics are convinced to understand behaviours of other countries, making it easier to influence opinions and mobilize actions.

Scholars have not ventured much into PD theories.¹⁰⁰ The limited theoretical basis for understanding conduct of public diplomacy is indeed limited on activities by western countries. It is a transformational system and a foreign policy tool which engages in a way that empowers state relationships.¹⁰¹ States are changing PD approaches and are starting to engage foreign audience even on social media with much different strategic priorities.¹⁰² Referred to by Sanders as a layered system, public diplomacy is the use of different methods to influence foreign governments and people.¹⁰³ This influence is either through negotiations or dialogue making it more of a people's diplomacy.

Purely as a government pursuit, public diplomacy is facing challenges from the existing activities of state diplomacy. Defined as activities aimed at influencing perception of others about one's own country and their positive engagements, public diplomacy's most important and principal task is the waking-up realization of the importance of dialogue with non-official and local individuals.¹⁰⁴ From individual citizens, private businesses to the media and NGOs,

¹⁰⁰ Henning Tamm and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Choice and Indirect Global Governance," *International Organization and Global Governance*, 2023: pp. 155–67, 159.

¹⁰¹ Ian Hall, "The Transformation of Diplomacy: Mysteries, Insurgencies and Public Relations," ed. Daryl Copeland et al., *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 86, no. 1 (2010): 247-256, 253.

¹⁰² Anna Michalski, "The EU as a Soft Power: The Force of Persuasion," In *the New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen, Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005): 124-44, 131.

¹⁰³ Barry Sanders, "Organizing Public Diplomacy_Web_Ready_5.16.18.Pdf," accessed February 26, 2021, https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u39301/Organizing%20Public%20Diplomacy_Web_Ready_5.16.18.

¹⁰⁴ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 3-27, 6.

public diplomacy is confronting theoretical questions. States are moving towards theories that seek to describe underlying motivations behind the practise and the making of choices.¹⁰⁵

International media does not always capture much issues of PD and therefore, strategic PD reaches out to multipliers of opinion and aims at enhancing foreign investments.

Rational Choice Theory focusses on choice making and the relation that these choices have on foreign policy making.¹⁰⁶ A key instrument of power, PD is dominating diplomatic battles of values and ideas between states.¹⁰⁷ As Crick puts it, multiple actors present in the international system have interests which must be achieved using the limited resources available. These actors therefore compete in their attempt to maximize on the benefits of individual foreign policy. He fronts ideas that PD is about guarding the process, ensuring open democracy, holding tested arguments and conducting debates with courtesy.¹⁰⁸ Success, strength and security of any country rests on its commitment to certain fundamental values and principles. And because these values govern state actions, they give birth to varied forms of governments.¹⁰⁹ The rule of law always governs as countries seek to work with other governments. Public Diplomacy supports national fundamental values and security objectives. Its activities underscore the country's commitment to freedom, reaches out to those who share its ideals, and supports democracy and counter espousers of hate ideologies.

¹⁰⁵ Barry R. Weingast, "Political Institutions: Rational Choice Perspectives," in *A New Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Oxford University Press, 1998): pp. 167-90, 171.

¹⁰⁶ Eytan Gilboa, "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1. (March 1, 2008): 55-77, 59.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (March 2008): pp. 94-109, 98.

¹⁰⁸ Crick, Bernard. "Populism, Politics and Democracy." *Democratization* 12, no. 5 (2005): pp. 625-32, 628.

¹⁰⁹ Henry A. Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," *Daedalus* 95, no. 2 (1966): pp. 503-29, 516.

Diplomatic relation is two-steps influence process in which public opinions are directly communicated through foreign audience to their governments for final endorsement.¹¹⁰ Aimed at harmonization of ideas, cultures and principles, public diplomacy is an instrument of defence through which dialogue and proper articulations of states interests build synergies. Furthermore, effective utilization of credible information sells-on and influences positive understanding, acceptance and policy support.¹¹¹ It is a power tool for countries in advancing their national interests in form of foreign policy objectives.

Makinda questions the development of public diplomacy beginning with how ideas are formed, how they are remembered and what finally what it takes to change minds.¹¹² Looking at it categorically, he sums up the development of the system into either informational, relational or reputational.¹¹³ From messages about national goals and objectives, expected results are intended to make people understand, form long term shifts and attract.¹¹⁴ However, relationships that harmonizes foreigners and lessens conflicts often go on record as manipulated propaganda. The situation however, is not different from Nye's notion of Power. While governments struggle with public diplomacy, a rare arena in which peoples' actions make up for government deficiencies is realised. It is the people who provide sound alternatives in educating new generations of foreign friends.¹¹⁵ The use of tact and intelligence in diplomacy has always maintained its stand against public exclusion from policy realm. And because of

¹¹⁰ Michèle Bos and Jan Melissen, "Rebel Diplomacy and Digital Communication: Public Diplomacy in the Sahel," *International Affairs* 95, no. 6 (2019): 1331–48, 1335.

¹¹¹ Geoffrey Cowan and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, no. 1 (2008): p.7.

¹¹² Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300-319, 307.

¹¹³ Ibid, 311.

¹¹⁴ Rajiv Bhatia, "India-Africa Engagement in the 21st Century," *India-Africa Relations*, 2021, pp. 71–87, 73.

¹¹⁵ W Michael Jones, "A Survey and Analysis of American Public Diplomacy: 1942-2007," n.d., 45.

the changing nature of sovereignty that lie on the people, diplomacy had and still has to adapt to an international system full of actors with varied goals and values.

Rational choice also suggests that from the basis of choices made by states, costs and benefits are put into consideration.¹¹⁶ The outcomes of the power to attract are obtained from the enticement and tactful conviction of the foreign publics.¹¹⁷ However, out of national interests and government gains, there exist a contrast between public diplomacy and improvement of internal image of a state. Nye emphasizes that resourceful public diplomacy is that which originates from roles of credibility and mutual understanding of generated self-criticism.¹¹⁸ Countries have created reputable credibility in ensuring that interstate politics go beyond propaganda and build a long-term relationship. They also create enabling environment for policies to be put into consideration. However, public diplomacy is limited by the capacity of a nation's wealth and prestige.

There are possible reasons explaining the public diplomacy approaches adopted by a state.¹¹⁹ These comprises of state's need to improve its economic situation, preservation of national prestige in the diplomatic system, keeping control over in and out flow of information and management of international impressions. Most government have conventional structures where private sectors are not enlisted and activities are only coordinated under state.¹²⁰ Because states rank their foreign policy goals and chose how to maximize their powers, the intentional

¹¹⁶ David Gauthier, "Rational Choice and Common Knowledge of Rationality," *Rational Deliberation*, 2022, 91–102, 93.

¹¹⁷ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 97.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.98.

¹¹⁹ Ernest Satow, "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice," Cambridge Core (Cambridge University Press, June 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511995194>.

¹²⁰ Henry A. Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," *Daedalus* 95, no. 2 (1966): pp. 503-29, 504.

actions are strategically rationalized towards policy achievements. Public diplomacy strategically communicates directly with foreign publics and provide image of countries' policy to target audience. Thereby modelling PD rational choices to help understand actions and behaviour behind different decisions.

States are moving away from monologue and adopting dialogue-based approaches through new layers of collaborations. It is argued that social capital networks enable collective actions full of trust and reciprocity. Public diplomacy is now creating, maintaining and improving democracies from social capitals of humanitarian, democratic and civil society associations. Approaches that recognize and respect the roles of the local publics carry with them the long-term effects of strength, identity and social cohesion through cultural diversity and technological advancement.¹²¹ Engagement of non-state actors in collaborations and direct dealings with the publics within the venues of negotiation makes it easy for governments to project values, cultures and drive academic exchange programs. External promotion is increasingly demanding in the face of image making.¹²² Decentralised and media-oriented states which go public with public diplomacy often remain regionally focussed with messages of image building.¹²³ These are achieved through outreach activities and targeted communication. Good examples of governments which are committed to the processes of public diplomacy are Canada's rewards of open confrontation and Norway's compatible public policies with its values.

¹²¹ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 69.

¹²² Ibid, 71.

¹²³ Cowan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 6-8, 6.

2.5 Rational Choice Theory in foreign policy

Foreign policy is always held narrow and oversimplified, leaving out aspects of international politics and excluding others on the world scene.¹²⁴ The world is a single homogenising entity separated into distinctive communities. These communities tend to seek some degree of coherence and strategies in a diplomatic environment.¹²⁵ In a world where state actions, values and statements are focussed at advancing individual interests and shaping those of others, diplomatic disputes remain inevitable.¹²⁶ Rational Choice Theory is useful in understanding intention and goals behind foreign policy decisions.

Foreign policy has gone through gradual changes across centuries, questions arise as to whether foreign policy processes are changing or governments are strategizing an already established practice.¹²⁷ The term “foreign” emerged in the 13th Century signifying “being on the outside”, or “not domestic”.¹²⁸ Consequently, in the 17th Century, the term Foreign Affairs emerged as referring to both international issues and cross border concerns of other governments.¹²⁹ The notion of Policy however, implies coordination and conscious intentions which denote decisions and behaviour outputs.¹³⁰ In 1689, the British government after realising that its national interests were conflicting with France in the struggle for supremacy, decided to

¹²⁴ Ibid. 505.

¹²⁵ Steve Smith, “Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview,” *Review of International Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 13-29, 18.

¹²⁶ Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2021):166-91, 173.

¹²⁷ B. Dan Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, “The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting,” *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (1998): 173-84, 175.

¹²⁸ Donald E. Nuechterlein, “National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making,” *British Journal of International Studies* 2, no. 3 (1976): 246-66, 253.

¹²⁹ Henry A. Kissinger, “Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy,” *Daedalus* 95, no. 2 (1966): pp. 203-29, 511.

¹³⁰ K. J. Holsti, “National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy,” *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1970): 233-309, 312.

transform the context in which its foreign policy was designed and executed. Major political developments and moves fostered by French wars sought to balance power in the region. This kind of actions allows better understanding of how actors make policy decisions and how they relate to other foreign governments.

Rational choice theory explains why states chose certain approaches in their diplomatic activities. Having emerged within specific period of time and working with both inside and outside structures of the state, rational choice theory impacts on decision making processes. Leira argues that when external affairs of states were domestically questioned by the relatively free press that had just emerged in the 18th Century, foreign policy was developed.¹³¹ The 18th Century decision making relied on state-level interactions between governments, a practice which is still taking place in the international system.

Assuming availability of complete information to policy makers, rational choice theory views foreign policy as societal self-defining goals.¹³² It covers a state's efforts, objectives, time and instruments, and is continually a state-generated external relations focussed at coordination and projection of societal values.¹³³ According to Shapiro *et al*, government leaders opted for secrecy in dealing with foreign audience on either economic or security issues. This was because such governments were uncertain of their future intentions and to tackle the barriers which come with lack of cooperation, covert agreements were often signed between states. This secrecy was evident in its failure to embrace public opinion that weakened state

¹³¹ Halvard Leira and Benjamin de Carvalho, "Construction Time Again: History in Constructivist IR Scholarship," *ERIS – European Review of International Studies* 3, no. 3 (2017): 99–111, 102.

¹³² Michael J. Shapiro and G. Matthew Bonham, "Cognitive Process and Foreign Policy Decision-Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1973): 147-74, 151.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 155.

interactions. Philosophers believe that the historical ecumenical embassy was often sent to see the world and communicate on the doings, ideas and values of foreign nations.¹³⁴ However, rational choice theorists argue that secrecy undermines democracy and that if more openness and debate is embraced, better policies are produced. Their take is that foreign policy evolves through both domestic and international regimes and requires less government and more governance.

Carr, Morgenthau, Niebuhr and Wolfers ground their views on state-centric aspect of foreign policy. They assume that state is a single coherent actor who pursue its national interest with some degree of rationality.¹³⁵ Any growing political power deploys a more proactive, assertive and effective mechanism to achieve its goals. This is where diplomacy comes in as an official international activity of the state and a tool for its agencies.¹³⁶ However, rational choice theorists explore relations from assumption about rationality, utility and maximization of benefits. As a process by which policy is carried out, the totality of the practical measures, forms, means and methods used in foreign policy decision-making knocks on state doors. Just like governance, it denotes a decline in the formal authority of government¹³⁷ in a way that it includes other actors other than government in communicating foreign policy objectives to foreign publics.

¹³⁴ Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), pp.13-27, 21

¹³⁵ Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2021):166-91, 175.

¹³⁶ Festus Aduol Odiemo and Pontian Godfrey Okoth, "Nature of Media Diplomacy in Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process in Kenya," *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention* 7, no. 10 (2020): 6212–28, 6215.

¹³⁷ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Foreign Policy Analysis and Rational Choice Models," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.395>.

Rational choice theory extends foreign policy making to political activities, presupposing that actors choose a particular action because they believe it to be the most efficient way of realizing a given end. Waltz's formulations of neo-realism viewed the international system as a dominant representation of a logically dominant power. He acknowledges foreign policy discussions of agency. However, his view is critiqued as unsatisfactory and a limiting approach to foreign policy and that it favours a top-down system of operation. Rational choice theorists ignore the open interplay of multiple factors, both domestic and foreign in its foreign policy analysis. States have varied positions and goals. It assumes that states through their power and independence are driven by the need to maximize their security,¹³⁸ a view that has also been disseminated by the Rational Choice Theorists.

Even though Rational Choice has grown out of the individualists' assumptions, power and the drive towards equilibrium, David Lake points out that there is no rationale as to why interests of self-seeking individuals such as heads of states should coincide with national interests.¹³⁹ To some extent, there is relations between motives and behaviour of individual decision making and collective ends of foreign policy. This thought is backed by the idea that collective action or jointly-agreed policies are as a result of individual decisions.¹⁴⁰ For example, during the Iran hostage crisis, President Carter sought to pursue a policy of restraint and his commitment to safely get back hostages while at the same time endeavouring to protect America's interests and prestige. Rational Choice theorists opposes the idea that states are unitary actors. They argue out that states' abilities in generating an understanding in the international system is

¹³⁸ George Modelski, *A Theory of Foreign Policy* (Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1962):73.

¹³⁹ David A. Lake, "Hierarchy and International Relations: Theory and Evidence," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.324>.

¹⁴⁰ Robert Crichlow, *The Impact of Individuals on Foreign Policy Decision Making.*, n.d., https://doi.org/10.31390/gradschool_disstheses.376.

limited by either geopolitics, value competition or variation in conception of what diplomatic society is. Post-positivists confirm state's importance in foreign policy.¹⁴¹

The rational choice assumption that decisions are products of strategic, utility-maximizing individual governments is supported by constructivists' view of ideas and expectations as intellectual filters through which objective realities of an individual are interpreted in response to demand and changes of the context of operation.¹⁴² In the implementation of a state's FP, the choice of diplomacy employed is determined by the key strategic resources. In situations where there are shared resources among international actors, cooperative diplomacy takes centre stage as in the case of Nile River Waters that saw Egypt come up with "Undungu (brotherhood) initiative".

2.6 Chapter Summary

Foreign policies are decision made by governments using specific processes. This process is a government controlled and translates into desired outcomes. The rational decision-making process are often controlled and closed to other actors other than the governments. With public diplomacy communication structures and goal attainment strategies are selectively chosen. Governments frequently employ public diplomacy as a powerful instrument in fostering goodwill among foreign publics. Traditionally, diplomacy focussed on state-to-state relationships and other international actors. Public diplomacy engages a broader foreign public including specialised non-state actors in its decision-making processes.

Rational choice theory holds several assumptions that reflect government decision making process. First, it assumes that actions are purposive in that state actors are engaged in special

¹⁴¹ Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview," *Review of International Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 13-29, 25.

¹⁴² Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), pp.13-27, 26.

actions or make specific decisions in pursuit of particular goals. Secondly, it holds that goals exist in priori to decisions in that decision makers identify ultimate objectives before taking action. Third, preferences that exist in transitive order are ranked, and that choices are ranked and preferred outcomes are chosen. Forth, preferences are invariant and hold steady in the various means of achieving them. Finally, the theory assumes that decision makers are utility maximisers' and that they would select alternative options that give the greatest amount of reward at the lowest cost possible.

Rational choice theory paints government leaders and officials as coordinators of public diplomacy activities and processes. This is because policy makers follow a controlled process of decision making in an environment where effective public diplomacy is limited. From problem identification by the actors, goals are set, options determined and evaluated, decision are made and finally the outcomes are monitored and evaluated after being implemented by the chosen organs.

The internal system is currently full of multiple public diplomacy actors. Due to information and communication technological developments, governments are unable to control information flow and its accessibility. The assumption of rational choice theorists that a small number of like-minded decision makers arrive at consensus position is however challenged by the reality of the existing multiple conflicting power centres. These powers pursue individual objectives and as a result, state interests end up being highly contested.

CHAPTER THREE

Emergence of Public Diplomacy in Kenya's Foreign Policy

3.1 Introduction

The chapter looks into the conduct of public diplomacy and its transformation of foreign policy of countries, the chapter carries out analysis of why public diplomacy became an attractive tool to governments and what made it necessary in foreign policy. The chapter touches on public diplomacy as a strategy, collaborations of actors, inclusivity in decision making processes and consensus- building in carrying out foreign policy processes. It also examines how public diplomacy has impacted on implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. The chapter finally highlights the emerging issues in the conduct of public diplomacy.

3.2 Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy.

Public Diplomacy is boosting foreign policy implementation of most countries.¹⁴³ Promoting national interests, public diplomacy enables achievement of policy goals. Targeting foreign publics and understanding the communication ability of states, governments are setting policy facts straight, making breakthrough in social media and innovating rules.¹⁴⁴ Through public diplomacy, states are supplementing their communication powers to achieve enduring and effective foreign policy strategies. Diplomatic powers are getting integrated into handling international agenda. For smooth and peaceful rise, government diplomats are sharing the diplomatic stage with a wide range of actors who are also integrating public diplomacy strategies. Governments are getting to identify their values with diplomatic vision of the future.

¹⁴³ Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 180–95, 182.

¹⁴⁴ Festus Aduol Odiemo and Pontian Godfrey Okoth, "Nature of Media Diplomacy in Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process in Kenya," *The International Journal of Social Sciences*, 7, no. 10 (2020f): 6212–28, 6215.

Effective public diplomacy is a foreign policy communication strategy which focuses on foreign governments. Public diplomacy emphasises on foreign policy values, projection of national interests and explanation of state goals abroad. There is an urge among state actors to integrate public diplomacy with foreign policy, and reach out to other nations.

The early centuries saw the beginning of reputation management and identity creation among nations in their conduct of diplomatic activities.¹⁴⁵ There were situations when countries diplomatic efforts were directed either towards appeasement for peace, military force and domination. Governments started abandoning coercion and instead tailored their instruments to specific tasks of understanding different foreign publics and more so concentrating on the use of tact and intelligence as a new strategy in advancing foreign policy objectives. Poland used public diplomacy to form perceptions for Western Europe. It started by persuading its own publics of the desirability of its public diplomacy process and later on in 2000, it launched its public diplomacy campaign in EU member countries.

According to Vavrik, exploring new forms of outreach in foreign relations call for openness in a range of PD approaches.¹⁴⁶ He admits that individual relationships packaged as community politics have played vital roles in promoting cohesive international society in the world. Normalization of United States (US) and China relations was brought about by the gifts exchange and conversation between an American player Glen Cowan and Chinese players after Glen missed his bus and was invited to ride with the Chinese players. Diplomacy was also seen to result into good relations as Chinese children had a Japanese song as their favourite in the 80s and 90s. This mutual affection played a positive role in maintaining positive friendly relations between the two states. Lifting of sanctions on China by the Japanese government is

¹⁴⁵ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy", *Soft Power in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹⁴⁶ Dawn Vavrik, "Soul of a Citizen: Living with Conviction in a Cynical Time," *Journal of College and Character* 7, no. 3 (2006).

enough proof that citizen exchange is the best promoter of public diplomacy. A relationship that was between the China Communists Party (CCP) General Secretary Hu Yaobang's daughter and Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's son validated the need for the public citizens to exercise their power to influence national policies. The European Union has a well-developed structure of public diplomacy in which resources are dedicated to the field for the populaces. African continent is rapidly growing in population.¹⁴⁷ However in most African governments, the structures of public diplomacy are muted, full of government-defined actors operating in formal, planned and controlled policy environment.

Diplomatic relations displayed through interactions give way and direction to state negotiations for peaceful settlement of disagreements. Cooperation in diplomatic relations brought about by economic problems have seen states reformulate their foreign policy objectives to the realization of economic goals and expansion of mutual benefits. Because of economic interdependence, communication revolution and democratization, PD has become a possible necessity for every nation. Additionally, it aids communication with foreign publics and gives room for states to establish dialogue, inform and influence behavior of foreign publics.

Public diplomacy emerged among many other reasons to correct and counter the negative perceptions created by governments among foreign audiences.¹⁴⁸ According to Copeland, states establish and maintain contacts, seek tactical advantages and strategic intelligence in dealing with conflicting issues of diplomatic relations.¹⁴⁹ Netherland's case is a good example evident

¹⁴⁷ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32–51, 33.

¹⁴⁸ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 3-27, 5.

¹⁴⁹ Daryl Copeland, "Guerrilla Diplomacy: Delivering International Policy in a Digital World," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 11, no. 2 (2004): pp. 165-175, 167.

in the 2001 murder of a populist politician Pim Fortuyn, 2004 Islamic radical killing of Theo Van Gogh and the No-Vote on the European Union Treaty in 2005. The intention of the Lisbon treaty was to make suitable the European Union for more than 27 member states. Due to influence from different interest groups to Irish citizens, the No Vote idea was that the treaty was not a concern for only Irish people but all the European citizens.

The analysis of Dworkin's unity of value fronts that governments are not expected to make people equal but rather show equal concern for each individual.¹⁵⁰ He adds that values are not consistent with one another and that states in their attempts to balance the values, they make choices. He emphasises the importance of elements of public diplomacy such as personal freedom; a disciplined liberty, equality; and a sense for consideration for others.¹⁵¹ Dworkin argues out that disagreement is only on matters of interpretation and that a state that takes criticisms of its objectives positively, stands a better chance of having its foreign policy aligned to the values of the international system.

Melissen argues that the practice of public diplomacy was altered throughout the global diplomatic community by the 11th September 2001 incident from the then insecure relations between Islamic world and the West. For the United States of America, it was a challenge communicating to the foreign publics and a wakeup call to rethink its public diplomacy approaches. From Canada to New Zealand and from Argentina to Mongolia, foreign policies were re-evaluated and realigned towards state diplomatic interactions.¹⁵² It is believed that the admirations and acceptance of PD was a direct reactive retaliation to the weakening in external

¹⁵⁰ Joseph, Raz, "A Hedgehog's Unity of Value." *The Legacy of Ronald Dworkin*, January 2016, 3–22.

¹⁵¹ Ronald Dworkin, "Justice for Hedgehogs," March 2011. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjf9vkt>.

¹⁵² ¹⁵² Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy", *Soft Power in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

perceptions. The incident implicated on state relations and engagements in that it became a defining issue for foreign policies in most countries.

In the wake of the 9/11 2001 event, the practice of public diplomacy became an issue that triggered global debates. Governments adopted diplomatic exchanges and debates that allowed into the system, rules and structures capable of preventing future occurrence of diplomatic miscommunications.¹⁵³ Melissen believes that it is in the context of broader changes in diplomatic practices that PD is well understood to reflect the conduct of diplomatic relations. He states that there are several possibilities of getting what a state wants from others and that when an actor aims at promoting free flow of ideas and information either through coercion, payment or attraction persuasion its hopes and aspirations of freedom is reignited.¹⁵⁴ An example is when the Berlin wall went down after perceptions and understanding of the actors were influenced. Leaders from both East and West Berlin created values, ideas and people with experienced change of views which attracted and made other governments more willing to listen and sympathize. On realizing that public diplomacy involves getting policy ideas across borders, countries such as China have benefited by just getting their ideas across and investing heavily on public diplomacy since 2007. It has set up Confucius Institutes in most countries it relates with.

After the 9/11 2001 terrorist attacks, and with USA combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, interest in national security and foreign policy tools were renewed. It was a period when concerns about the events in the Middle East focused the attention of policy makers on the need for a sound, well-resourced public diplomacy initiatives. As foundation of foreign policy, states

¹⁵³ John B. Stephenson and John Gaventa, "Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley." *Social Forces* 60, no. 2 (1981): p. 612.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Power: Hard, Soft, and Smart," *The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*, 2011.

strive to secure security of their nations. State decision makers then chose the best diplomatic approach that would effectively communicate their goals.

Convenience by information accessibility, key elements of global agendas are impacted on by public attitudes, opinions, their formation and expressions. Furthermore, the increasing number of actors is necessitating state collaborations and partnerships around diplomatic issues. For example, the South Africa Anti-Apartheid Network of the 1970s and 1980s in which states, African region, commercial actors and NGOs were voiced together. Coordination of all the anti-apartheid activities and apartheid policies were kept at the forefront of British politics. The protestors found ally in Canada and India, and as a result, South Africa was forced to leave commonwealth with United Nations General Assembly calling for trade boycott. Countries such as Spain and Canada began going beyond insincere support and friendship with foreign governments in the development of coherent policy implementation strategies such as public diplomacy. Their citizens were given opportunities to have extensive links and sense of national identity in cross border projections of state policies.

According to Bebbington et al, adopting a practice of public diplomacy that incorporates other actors other than the government alone creates opportunities for influencing foreign opinions and attitudes. Involvement of non-state actors at decision making levels tends to greatly affect the existence of state values.¹⁵⁵ They maintain that approaches to policy development are reflected in diplomatic exchanges and in a country's struggles for international power. They conclude by admitting that local governance arrangements align well for these countries who embrace all public diplomacy actors in a full venture and makeover in foreign policy matters. For example, Czech Republic adopted public diplomacy strategy of promoting its policy

¹⁵⁵ Anthony Bebbington, Leni Dharmawan, Erwin Fahmi, and Scott Guggenheim. "Village Politics, Culture and Community-Driven Development: Insights from Indonesia." *Progress in Development Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 187–205,190.

activities. Its first attempts were directed towards defending its independent existence in Europe after the First World War. Focussed on reporting of public diplomacy activities and regular evaluations, Czech government had its Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in liaison with other government ministries and private individuals coordinate key instruments, messages and audiences mainly through its embassies and diplomats.

Future state's diplomatic relations will require governments' coordination of diverse global diplomatic perspectives in handling global issues and new trends in the practice of public diplomacy.¹⁵⁶ Kleiner argues out that emergence of Information and Communication Technology, multilateral corporations, globalization, terrorism, immigration pressure and more so multiplicity of actors have seen diplomacy take different discourse. As an independent institution and a dependent variable of foreign policy, diplomacy follows its own grammar.¹⁵⁷ This is because a country's success in advancing its national interests depends on its individual communication efforts in the international system.

Information revolution has made public diplomacy an indispensable component in foreign affairs whereby communication revolution took centre stage. Tuch argues out that nations which previously disregarded national boundaries are now penetrating into the tightest systems of thought control and are worried about citizens' ability to access information approximately the same time as governments and act on it.¹⁵⁸ Public opinion is taking centre stage in inter-state relations and because of the pressure it exerts on government decisions and actions, traditional diplomatic practices can no longer effectively handle external affairs.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Juergen, Kleiner, "The Inertia of Diplomacy." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, no. 2 (2008): 321–49, 321.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 324.

¹⁵⁸ Hans N. Tuch, "Defining Public Diplomacy." *Communicating with the World*, 1990, 3-11, 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 11.

Traditional diplomatic activities and interactions gradually got replaced by the communications of all diplomatic actors with the foreign publics. As Carr argues, just like military and economic powers, soft power is crucial in any governmental purpose in diplomatic relations. The multiple transnational linkages brought about by the global information age has raised practical questions about the inextricably linked power of public diplomacy.¹⁶⁰ Joseph S. Nye clarifies that it is easier for states to reinforce their credibility abroad especially when their aim is to shape affair and gear policy objectives towards existing international norms. Practicing public diplomacy gets complicated when actors cannot be controlled and players are no longer clearly identified.

3.3 Formulation and Implementation Process of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Foreign policy involves formulation of choices, decisions and principles of a state.¹⁶¹ According to Devin and Christopher, Foreign Policy is concerned with factors affecting policies and power of state in the system.¹⁶² They argue that through foreign policy, sovereign states conduct their interests and explain their ideas in a way that often exerts influence. Prior to providing instruments for effective foreign policy implementation, states define courses to be pursued and confer a sense of direction involving state decisions and actions.

Diplomacy is assuming various characteristics in modern age from the developments of foreign relations.¹⁶³ Foreign policy is linked to the central concerns of state and are not separable from

¹⁶⁰ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153.

¹⁶¹ Fatou Jannet, "The Gambia's Foreign Relations: Does Leadership Make a Difference?" *Journal of African Foreign Affairs* 4, no. 1/2 (2017): 23–44, 25.

¹⁶² Devin Caughey and Christopher Warshaw, "The Dynamics of State Policy Liberalism, 1936–2014," *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 4 (2016): 899–913, 899.

¹⁶³ Jesmine Ahmed, "The theoretical significance of foreign policy in international relations- an analyses," *Journal of Critical Reviews* 7, no. 2 (2020): 787–92, 791.

the demands of domestic policy.¹⁶⁴ Jesmine argues that foreign policy is formulated to safeguard and promote national interests in the international system. Reflecting a state's traditional values and polices, foreign policies are strategies, methods, guidelines and agreements used by governments in their interaction and transactions.

Framing of foreign policy is a necessary state activity in fulfilling its own national interests. Foreign policy formulation and implementation goes through steps from agenda setting, formulation, adoption, and implementation and finally the monitoring and evaluation.¹⁶⁵ When Foreign Policy steps out of the shadow of a country and begins creating a more independent profile in the today's world, it is said to be sharing its PD strategies. Public diplomacy is thus employed-much as it does justify the building of cognitive communities capable of persuading both internal and external audiences of a country's policy ideas and perceptions of the world.¹⁶⁶

Kenya faced challenges during the non-alignment circles in the 1980s when it granted her military facilities to the United States of America.¹⁶⁷ The period marked a major shift in Kenya's foreign policy. Makinda criticises the process arguing out that the government action deprived Kenya the powers to speak out against the then super powers. During the 1981-2 chairmanship term of the then President Daniel Arap Moi in Organization of African Union

¹⁶⁴ Walter Carlsnaes, "Actors, Structures, and Foreign Policy Analysis," *Foreign Policy*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl/9780198708902.003.0006>.

¹⁶⁵ Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe: EUNIC," *European Public Diplomacy*, ed. Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 137–56, 141.

¹⁶⁶ Anna Michalski, "The EU as a Soft Power: The Force of Persuasion," *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen, Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 124–44, 127.

¹⁶⁷ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 310.

different opinions were held.¹⁶⁸ It seemed like that of enhanced credentials as a sovereign state and demonstrated Kenya's readiness to act in the global arena.

In the early 80s, foreign policy concerns in Kenya were mainly economic and security oriented. However, this period was marred with occasional proclamations of non-alignment and Pan-Africanism.¹⁶⁹ According to Okumu, the international perspective on Kenya's Foreign Policy was that it was a "quiet" one. It had gone through changes since independent with shifting patterns of interests, goals, perceptions and even fears.¹⁷⁰ Okumu also noted that Kenya's behaviour in world politics had evolved through major stages of uncertainty and reassessment, to a period of full identity as an active actor within the region.¹⁷¹ Kenya's independent role in diplomatic relations was diminishing and denied it the opportunity to freely speak out against military challenges in the region.

According to Makinda, the government of Kenya saw the need for a diplomatic shift with new capabilities, techniques and approaches which were to be accomplished only through public diplomacy. This move was necessitated by diplomatic relations influenced by government powers directed towards achievement of individual national interests. Emphases were to be made on the country's reputation with focus on pioneering public participation in formulation of foreign policy in Kenya.¹⁷² The picture was quite different because instead of using public diplomacy domestically to garner support for the already implemented policies just like Canada did in the 1990s when it assigned its ambassadors to internally engage its domestic audiences

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 312.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 312.

¹⁷⁰ Antony Oweke, "Kenyan foreign policy during the Kenyatta and Moi administrations: A role theory analysis," n.d., 66.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 66.

¹⁷² Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 312.

in active dialogue. Kenya's top political elite and authorities exclude the public from FP discussions.¹⁷³ However, an inclusive decision-making process in regards to foreign policy choices strengthen national identity and creates room for coherent narratives.

The question then remains whether Kenya was able to use soft power to foster goodwill towards itself and among its foreign publics. It had to first attract domestic aid, increase its internal peace, and keep capacities and network towards a reputable legitimacy.¹⁷⁴ This was followed by policy projection and promotions across its borders. The country authorities had its successes and failures. Without principles inside the government authorities that valued initiatives for new communication strategy, the public was to a greater extent not given a chance.¹⁷⁵ Public diplomacy initiatives which inspire how policy objectives and goals are viewed and perceived in the public domain.

Foreign policy decision makers value sovereignty and strategic national interests as vital determinants for the implementation of policies.¹⁷⁶ Kenya's agency in foreign policies was mediated through state sovereignty with less regard to collectivity or shared sovereignty. The choice making process was government controlled and pillars were selected and decided upon by the few who were deemed to be a representation of the whole Kenyan population. And the fact that the country lacked a written foreign policy guidelines, diplomatic strategy or approach

¹⁷³ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 32.

¹⁷⁴ Mumo Nzau, "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers While Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 137–64, 139.

¹⁷⁵ Cynthia P. Schneider, "Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works," in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 147–68, 151.

¹⁷⁶ Maria, Nzomo, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India–East African Relations." *Insight on Africa* 6 (2), 2014: 89–111.

guidelines in advancing its national interests, boosting legitimacy of Kenyan government became a challenge.

In determining issues of Kenya's national priorities, governments take control of decision-making strategies.¹⁷⁷ As vision determinants of state affairs, these group of state actors provide an overall direction in policy matters.¹⁷⁸ Their perceptions are held high and even though regarded as self-centred by the general public, they are never held accountable for state failure.

Kenya's policy goals are dominated by government's hierarchy of goals. Instead of emphasising on both internal and external factors, state leadership remains the sole determinant of foreign policy objectives. In Kenya, government leaders influence choices made in line with diplomatic activities. It disregard other actors and their capacity to make choices that would achieve desired outcomes of the set objectives.¹⁷⁹ Foreign Policy choices and behaviour are largely shaped by top leadership, their intellectual capabilities, styles, unique personalities, values and beliefs and not forgetting personal experiences.¹⁸⁰ Goldstein and Pevehouse view is backed by a case made out of leadership personality traits that senior government officials, advisors and think tanks need to be cognisant of internal and external threats.¹⁸¹ It is from leadership traits of non-state actors that goals are shared, abilities coordinated and personalities determine to success.

¹⁷⁷ Godfrey P. Okoth, "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy," *Journal of East and West Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 143–64, 147.

¹⁷⁸ Maria, Nzomo, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India–East African Relations." *Insight on Africa* 6 (2), 2014: 89–111.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 91.

¹⁸⁰ Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations*, Brief edition (Boston: Pearson College Div, 2011).

¹⁸¹ Maria, Nzomo, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India–East African Relations." *Insight on Africa* 6 (2), 2014: 89–111, 90.

The challenging journey of developing Kenya's comprehensive Foreign Policy document with clear national interests, objectives and strategies for its implementation reached its destination in November 2014 with the launch of its FP document. The country took a more calculated, proactive and assertive nature in which it employed necessary statecraft.¹⁸² This was evident in the 2013 transformation of Kenya's ICC cases from individual matter to national and even an African regional issue. With assistance of technocrats, actors were mobilised towards a course giving a clear picture of nation-led public diplomacy and leadership support role. From the act of rallying Africa behind her, Kenya was perceived to have rekindled the Pan-Africanism spirit.

In accordance to the Constitution of Kenya, foreign policy is pursued through its Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs. Foreign policies are developed to guide state foreign relations and its diplomatic engagements.¹⁸³ The policies are inclined towards upholding state sovereignty, promotion of universal peace and fostering credible relations. These are achieved through consolidation of foreign policies, strengthening of state relations and diplomatic engagements across the globe.¹⁸⁴

State interlinked pillars of diplomacy of peace, economic, diaspora, environmental and cultural are anchored on foreign policies. With public diplomacy as one of strategies used in the implementation of these policies these pillars inform the core priorities and strategies for engagements, cooperation and promotion of national interests. By 2014, Kenya had established its diplomatic presence and representation in strategic locations with 54 diplomatic missions in

¹⁸² Mumo Nzau, "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers While Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 137–64, 143.

¹⁸³ Suzanne Graham, "Foreign Policy: Pinpointing Principles and Themes," *Democratic South Africa's Foreign Policy*, 2016, 27–58, 29.

¹⁸⁴ Republic of Kenya, "Kenya-Foreign-Policy," (2014), p. 27.

49 countries and 25 appointed honorary consuls.¹⁸⁵ The country's foreign policy is integrated into national development agenda through the developed strategic plans which run for a period of five years to ensure its realization. Subject to regular reviews, these policies ensure relevance of the objectives to the ever-changing global environment.¹⁸⁶

Formulation of Kenya's foreign policy took a different approach which embraced views and ideas from government ministries, departments and agencies, national assembly, professional and the general public.¹⁸⁷ In order to remain relevant in the international arena, many actors attempt to adapt their structures amid the increasing challenges in the global environment. The complexity of issues and the growing interdependence among states necessitate adoption of a networked approach of diplomacy. And in finding a balance, states strive to cope by tuning their policies towards meeting their national interests and addressing new challenges. Before shifting its FP priorities, countries consider the changes in its environment and focus on citizen-driven policies. This makes it easier to shift to people-focused public diplomacy practices and diplomatic actions considering the fact that there are new threats to diplomatic relations in the international system.

3.4 The Changing Aspects in Kenya's Public Diplomacy

The practice of public diplomacy is expanding as it is starting to integrate diplomatic, corporate and social interests.¹⁸⁸ Including actions by non-state actors, the practice is engaging not only

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹⁸⁶ " Republic of Kenya, "Revised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2018/19 -2022/23," (2018).,pp. 34-36, 34.

¹⁸⁷ Antony Oweke, "Kenyan foreign policy during the Kenyatta and Moi administrations: A role theory analysis," n.d., 66.

¹⁸⁸ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32-51, 33.

foreign but also domestic and diaspora publics. Digital capabilities and strategic ideologies are currently at the core of transforming the practice.

Pandemics like covid-19 exposed states' inability to coordinate required efforts necessary for the containment of the virus. Revealing the realities in state interdependence and the value of cooperation, public diplomacy actors are trying to come up with ways of dealing with shared interpretive challenges.¹⁸⁹ While countries like Russia are focusing on economic diplomacy in Africa, the United States is fighting to maintain its diversified presence in the same continent.¹⁹⁰ According to Huijgh, public diplomacy is the laying of foundation for attainment of interests regionally and globally. Russia's attempts to displace Western influence is pictured in the assistance it offers to the African leaders who struggle to retain power.

Snow notes that shaping foreign perceptions and attitudes towards states, require engagement of actors in a strategic public diplomacy platform and positive alignment of foreign policy goals to the attributes and values the foreign public.¹⁹¹ Additionally, advancing the use of public diplomacy involves getting approval from government leaders and having initiatives from both state-led and non-state-led actors cascaded from supra-national agencies at the top to the grassroots.¹⁹² It is becoming essential for governments to create institutions, enter into broad-based collaborations and develop public diplomacy capabilities directed towards mutual awareness, unity and global understanding. The Republic of Macedonia has an admirable approach to public diplomacy. Although a small country in a poor and weak geographical

¹⁸⁹ Jay Wang, "How 2020 Changed Public Diplomacy," USC Center on Public Diplomacy, December 8, 2020, <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog>.

¹⁹⁰ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32–51, 34.

¹⁹¹ Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

¹⁹² James Mayall, "African Diplomacy - Foreign Relations of African States, *Colston Papers No. 25*. Edited by K. Ingham. London, Butterworth, 1974. Pp. 344." *The Journal of African History* 16, no. 1 (1975): 143–45, 144.

position, its public diplomacy is geared towards survival and creation of preconditions for diplomatic cooperation and regional integration. This was evident in its 2013 representation in Italy and Sweden.

The current diplomatic arena is complicated in a way that governments' inability to manage global challenges is seen as failure in governance which consequently make governments vulnerable in the eyes of the public.¹⁹³ Rise in issues such as xenophobia undermines a state's national appeal and attractiveness to values of tolerance and inclusivity. The 2019 widespread xenophobic violence against non-nationals in South Africa was a clear indication that it is not enough to just launch national action plan, but the need to have long term strategies and concrete measures of implementing policies.

There is a call for governments to renew public diplomacy approaches and to recapture global expectations. A well-coordinated decision-making process enables communication of a country's policies to the entire world.¹⁹⁴ Through collaboration of different public diplomacy actors, a state creates policy values which are strong enough to gain global governance recognition.¹⁹⁵ Unity in public diplomacy activities promote diversity and prosperity in communicating to the foreign publics. In 2010, the Kenyan government adopted a new constitution perceived to be the beacon of hope in a developing nation. The constitution has principles that inspire development and enlargement of Kenya's interests as a nation. To achieve this, the new constitution has provided guidelines on both domestic and foreign

¹⁹³ Juan-Luis Manfredi, Michael-X Delli-Carpini, and Adriana Amado, "Introduction. Strategic Narratives for a Changing World," *Communication & Society*, 2023, 207.

¹⁹⁴ Kathy Fitzpatrick, "Advancing the New Public Diplomacy: A Public Relations Perspective," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, no. 3 (2007): 187–211, 190.

¹⁹⁵ Nicholas J. Cull, "The Tightrope to Tomorrow: Reputational Security, Collective Vision and the Future of Public Diplomacy," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, February 2019, pp. 21-35, 22.

relationships. It contains values that the government aims to advance and promote such as democracy, universality and indivisibility.

Interaction of citizens across borders determines a country's diplomatic connectedness.¹⁹⁶ The international system is a networked system in which non-state actors are seeking diplomatic engagements on priorities such as trade issues, health and climate. However, digital technologies are narrowing communication space by making the evolving rural communities' part of the global economy where public skills and competencies are cultivating and promoting PD capabilities and engagements. Public diplomacy is a preserve of government officials and diplomats who make choices and decisions on behalf of a country. The decision makers weigh options and make choices they think serves the country even though the process does not openly declare civic participation. Fitting the delegation of an authoritative foreign policy decision to a relatively small group of controlled actors, Kenya has had recognizable diplomatic failures in its diplomatic interactions.¹⁹⁷ For example, the diplomatic failure of Somalia when Kenya decided to use divide and rule policies to manipulate and exclusively deny refugees entry into Kenya. This is however elevated by the existence of a public with little knowledge about its own Foreign Policies or valued interests. Consequently, as observed by Henrikson, governments lose track by not redefining policy strategies and not allowing room for individual learning and inclusivity.¹⁹⁸ In other words, openness in public diplomacy activities broadens discussions of different levels of rationality and brings on board non-governmental entities and individuals as co-actors in the practice.

¹⁹⁶ Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe: EUNIC," *European Public Diplomacy*, ed. Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 137–56, 141.

¹⁹⁷ "Republic of Kenya, "Revised Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2018/19 -2022/23.Pdf," (2018),.pp. 34-36, 35

¹⁹⁸ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 72

Diplomatic economy has turned into a technological world and is fast growing across state borders.¹⁹⁹ Providing key capacity for global growth and expansion, innovations are rewriting the rules of decision making and directing the choice making processes of foreign policy. Governments are re-strategizing on the possibilities of bridging the technological world and public diplomacy amid hopes that it will link the roles of all actors. State officials tend to take advantage of their abilities and resources to challenge each other openly in an effort to secure their own interests.²⁰⁰ With a well implemented presence of all actors and clear understanding of specific areas of operations, direction of political issues is influenced. This is because they impose narratives through media with an aim of dominating diplomatic space and consequently reducing the role and position of other governments.²⁰¹ States tend to embrace diversity and by virtue of their political presence in the international system, they use narrative to develop diplomatic relationships.

The struggle to balance power and gain international influence has led to political realignments of states. For instance, the struggle between the United States and China during covid-19 pandemic was a clear sign that countries fail to exercise responsibility. Governments fail to negotiate their expectations, initiate agreements or even build mechanisms for settling disputes. As a foreign policy tool, PD provides the necessary infrastructure needed to moderate the force required in creating relations. Communication of foreign policy objectives is influenced by inclusive community exchanges conducted through public diplomacy initiatives. Local interactions through citizen exchanges are shaping and characterizing the presence of countries. Through public diplomacy, China has managed to promote its culture, public welfares and

¹⁹⁹ Elai Rettig and Eli Avraham, “The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in the ‘Battle over Framing,’” *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 21, no. 1 (2015): 111–33, 114.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 119.

²⁰¹ Sarah Marschlich, “Public Diplomacy Message Strategy (Public Diplomacy) (See Also Public Diplomacy Approach),” *DOCA - Database of Variables for Content Analysis*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.34778/4j>.

intertwine them within African states to end up with complex relationships. States are not free from diplomatic challenges and because citizens are divided in groups with different orientations and interests, implementing policy goal remains a difficult for governments.²⁰² Yanwar Pribadi acknowledges that differences exist in state-society relations and that it is only when actors understand the diversity in social, economic, political and cultural values that they contribute to the societal change.

The realities in modern world relations demands that governments and public diplomacy actors start rethinking their strategies and purpose on policy matters. Influence of public diplomacy is becoming broadened in that in its attempt to link people and policies, it is also bringing together domestic and foreign audiences, and it is connecting the world across economic, political and social dimensions. Governments are adopting new ways of doing things and at the same time exploring possibilities of making strategic relationships that would cultivate capabilities for new engagement models. As the intensity of globalization and technological advancement continues, so is the diplomatic interaction and the practice of public diplomacy.

3.5 Kenya's foreign policy and its orientation in the diplomatic system.

Countries' development of Foreign Policy is attached to economic and political developments within.²⁰³ Choices are made and aligned to national interests with hopes that maximum benefits will be realised. Just after independence, Kenya government began the consolidation of its domestic political power base. This is the period referred to as 'Quiet Diplomacy' by Okumu. This policy period was motivated by Kenya's non-alignment, the structural adjustments in the country, secession threats in its boundaries, its quest to secure policies derived from mutual

²⁰² Yanwar Pribadi, "Village Politics," *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 2018, 179–205, 184.

²⁰³ Faith Maberu, "Kenya's Foreign Policy in Context (1963–2015)," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 23, no. 3 (2016): 365–84, 367.

understandings and to position strong economic policies within the East African Community.²⁰⁴ Focus was aimed at attracting more foreign capital and Aid into the country and since this was not an easy task for the country, in collaboration with Ethiopia and Britain, it secured a defence agreement in 1964.

Kenya's independence provided an opportunity to chart the course of the country's policy messages. Rebuilding Kenya was to take more than just a change in country's governance.²⁰⁵ It took major changes in interactions, strategies and communication behaviours that led to the course of freedom, justice and hope. Sentiments towards the country were expected in varied versions. Ranging from state interests, to those of individual political elites, the system needed public approval of both values and interests.

The system was to be a source of stability to the nation and was meant to set a better example amid the many challenges that were. Kenya is a country with people of different cultures, backgrounds and faiths and even as it seeks to partner for peace and progress within, it needs to establish its strategic objectives that help govern its public diplomacy activities with foreign audiences.²⁰⁶ The country had just passed through to independence and the system was then embarking on a journey of increasing its self-reliance.²⁰⁷ The performance from initial stages was not impressive and continued to dwindle. Instead, it failed to focus on strategic audiences of key influencers, target populations or mass audiences.

²⁰⁴ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 311.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 316.

²⁰⁶ Marta Hereźniak, "Jami A. Fullerton, Alice Kendrick (Eds): Shaping International Public Opinion: A Model for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 16, no. 1 (2018): 107–8, 107.

²⁰⁷ Mario Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230286399>.

Vulnerable to foreign investors who owned the biggest percentage of its investment, it turned into a quiet phase for foreign policy in Kenya.²⁰⁸ At the same time, Kenya's middle class were on a quest for economic balance against a poor nation that was trying to promote its economic and social modernization. With the threats, the Kenyan government started removing from power the radicals before they impacted their anti-capitalist notion to the public.²⁰⁹ This was boosted by President Jomo Kenyatta's neutral position during the era.

The challenging and most difficult period between 1974 -79 was necessitated by the fall of Portuguese African Empire, fall of Haile Selassie government in Ethiopia, the Kenya-Tanzania border closure in 1977 and the death of President in 1978.²¹⁰ The period was then succeeded by a major turning point for Kenya when Uganda's President Amin tactically laid claim to the western Kenya region in order to divert attention and give room for Somalia's invasion. Kenya's government was put to test in 1975 when President Jomo Kenyatta failed to bring together the three movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. These situations tested Kenya's capacity to sustain profound diplomacy and its reassurance to its foreign investors. Uganda- Tanzania reaction over the perceived exploitation and domination through Kenya led to the 1977 disillusionment of the EAC.²¹¹ The three-dimensional verbal exchanges saw the creation of national currencies, rejection of East Africa Federation and restriction of movement across the regional borders.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Samuel M. Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 310.

²⁰⁹ Caitlin Byrne, "Political Leaders and Public Diplomacy in the Contested Indo-Pacific," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 182–97, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004410824_014.

²¹⁰ John J. Okumu, "Party and Party-State Relations," *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania*, Politics and public policy in Kenya and Tanzania. - New York: 1979, p. 43-63, 43.

²¹¹ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48.

²¹² Alex Njenga Kabia, "Kenya's foreign policy behaviour towards the east African community: the role of parliament," n.d., 172.

Foreign Policy of most African states is influenced and oriented by regional and international law policies of institutions and organizations such as the UN Charter, OAU and its successor AU.²¹³ As a member of UN, OAU and AU, Kenya was and is under obligation to factor in and comply with basic legal and policy norms in foreign policy goals.²¹⁴ And with a representative at the capitals, the country is accountable to these institutions especially in peace and security issues.

As for the year 2001 terror attack in Kenya, the country was unable to quickly and effectively respond to the rise of information and communication challenge. Transparent diplomatic actions and initiatives had to be in operation with public diplomacy were conducted and put to use. Efforts were all aimed at securing peace and the target was to ensure that measures taken were appealing to the people.²¹⁵ Kenya's foreign policy approach was government centered. So much into winning the sympathy of the foreign publics and forgetting the fact that it needed to gain support of the domestic population.²¹⁶

Kenya's foreign policy was reactive to external opinion and defensive of its objectives and by the time it began to view public diplomacy as a powerful tool that could expound and explain ideas as well as facilitate cross-diplomatic exchanges, gradual change in self-realization started to unfold. The then challenge was how to increase credibility of Kenya's public diplomacy and make it more assertive and creative.²¹⁷ The country's economic power in the region opened

²¹³ Maria, Nzomo, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India–East African Relations." *Insight on Africa* 6 (2), 2014: 89–111.

²¹⁴ Godfrey P. Okoth, "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy," *Journal of East and West Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 143–64, 147.

²¹⁵ Paul Sharp, "For Diplomacy: Representation and the Study of International Relations," *International Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (June 1999): 33–57, 36.

²¹⁶ Ali ÇİÇEK, "Soft Power, Public Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy Techniques: A Conceptual Evaluation," *Turkish Business Journal*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.51727/tbj.1203804>.

²¹⁷ Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (June 2002): 73–83, 74.

many doors and has given Kenya the leverage and confidence to assist herself as a regional actor. However, at the same time, this economic growth is perceived as a threat by many countries.

As public diplomacy took shape in Kenya, need arose to stretch from national governments to private individual and to the interactions among those governments and non-state actors.²¹⁸

According to Thaler there cannot be a perfect access to information needed to make rational foreign policy decisions because people will always show varied values on things and situations.²¹⁹ It was however crucial to explain why actors sometimes seem to behave irrationally and in scrutiny of the country's underlying rational motivations.

Hocking's networked model had to come into play from its explanations that parties related to many new streams of information beyond government control are taking over the communication channels of diplomatic issues.²²⁰ In 2001, the public was increasingly expectant of transparency and commitment towards national issues such as peace and security which had to be taken into account by the authorities. Consequences were many and governments representatives were expected to enter into dialogues and collaborations within and outside their ethnic groupings of both supporters and critics. Kenya-Israeli's ties has been strong, however, the desire to attract assistance has been taking place in policy environment where non-state actors are excluded. The existence of United Nations policy principles has given its member the opportunity to participate in diplomatic events and be part of decision-making processes.

²¹⁸ Republic of Kenya, "Kenya-Foreign-Policy," (2014), p. 27.

²¹⁹ Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 13–27, 17.

²²⁰ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, 28–43, 31.

The development of foreign policy in Kenya cannot be detached from the demise of federalism and centralism which in turn cannot be detached from the rise of Majimboism after the 2007 national elections.²²¹ The 1963 Kenya's constitution had characteristics of federalism. However, from the creation of regionalism, the country fell short of a full federal system of governance. Rendered inoperable a year after independence through constitution amendments, majimboism vanished from Kenya's political discussions until 1990s when it re-emerged.²²² The increasing powerful and influencing calls for federalism deepened the political divisions and worsened diplomatic tensions as witnessed in the return of multipartyism. The struggle to reach an agreement on a new constitution was however achieved in August 2010 with the approval of a national referendum. Launched in 2010, the new constitution was however characterised by devolution structures of power and governance to smaller units, a development whose 2013 implementation saw the return of majimboism.²²³

Changes in foreign policy and the conduct of public diplomacy in Kenya especially after the promulgation of the new 2010 constitution provided conducive environment for expansion and strengthening of foreign relations. Stressing on regional audience for mutually beneficial growth, Kenya's foreign policy mainstreaming in sovereignty and non-alignment became major areas of focus.²²⁴ There have been a series of adjustment and loosening that have

²²¹ Robert M. Maxon, "The Demise and Rise of Majimbo in Independent Kenya," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 19–48, 19.

²²² Yolanda K. Spies, "African Diplomacy," *The Encyclopaedia of Diplomacy*, ed. Gordon Martel (Oxford, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018), 1–14, 3.

²²³ Robert M. Maxon, "The Demise and Rise of Majimbo in Independent Kenya," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 19–48, 21.

²²⁴ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 31.

contributed to multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian interests in the region with a growing flexibility on how public diplomacy activities are carried out.

Kenya's public diplomacy is evolving from official secret engagements to the promotion of inclusivity of other diplomatic actors though with some elements of secret engagements.²²⁵ From the initial goals of maintaining law and order, fostering obedience and loyalty of colonial authority and promotion of British economic and political interests, Kenya's foreign policy is now determined by its own national interests. Its transforming conditions are aimed at garnering projection of power and shaping public opinion of foreign publics. Nye argues out that regardless of an existing friendly relations leaders may have, their scope of influence may be narrowed by the negative views held of them by their publics and parliaments. Kenya has had some elements of public diplomacy displayed in different dimension. For example, government interactions with media in sharing information in relation to Kenya's representation in Ethiopia and Djibouti began the elevation. The fact that United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) is domicile in Kenya, her participation in Rio climate and environmental issues was fostered. Kenya's participation in Somalia peace and the October 2011 "Operation Linda Nchi" were key to refugees' hostage after the border opening and acted as key initiators of diplomatic interactions.

New power emergence in the Africa region has challenged and compelled Kenya to focus more on regional integration. The Kenya guiding philosophy with respect to regional integration is spelt out in the 2014 Kenya's foreign policy document.²²⁶ Necessary for its economic growth

²²⁵ Poppy Cullen, "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Evolution, Challenges and Opportunities," *The Round Table* 109, no. 6 (2020): 782–83, 782.

²²⁶ Republic of Kenya, "Kenya-Foreign-Policy," (2014), p. 27.

and practice is a stable internal and external environment in which conflict is avoided and integrity is embraced. Foreign policy advancement requires a peaceful diplomatic environment.

As the country is seeking to actively boost its influence in the region and achieve full strategic partnership, Kenya has started focusing on aspects of diplomacy, trade, technology and establishment of stable relationship in the region.²²⁷ Amid fears for Kenya's economic and political growth in the region, policy makers hold concerns that it might rise and soon reinforce itself as a dominant actor in the region and also assert its diplomatic power. Major concern is whether Kenya has looked into how it could improve its public diplomacy, project its policies and whether it has developed answers to several debates and worries on issues of peace, security and sovereignty which are impacting on its diplomatic interactions. Countries such as China came up with the concept of "China's peaceful rise" in response to American threat and Asian worries, a development which later became the cornerstone of its public diplomacy.²²⁸

Kenya is a progressive open and democratic nation. Its foreign policy is influenced by several dynamic global geopolitical issues such as its relations with other countries and how it strengthens policy goals in regard to security and crosscutting diplomatic challenges. As a thought and demonstrative leader in the region, the manner in which Kenya continues to leverage its position for regional stability at the centres of a fragile region influences its contributions to the emerging issues in the conduct of public diplomacy.²²⁹ Foreign policy of Kenya seeks the pursuit, promotion and protection of unique identity of national interest and

²²⁷ Ibid, 27.

²²⁸ "China's Public Diplomacy System," *China's Public Diplomacy*, 2014, 132–83, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004283954_006.

²²⁹ Manuel A. Egea, María Concepción Parra-Meroño, and Gonzalo Wandosell, "Corporate Diplomacy Strategy and Instruments; With a Discussion about 'Corporate Diplomacy and Cyclical Dynamics of Open Innovation,'" *Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity* 6, no. 3 (July 28, 2020): 55.

aspirations to be able to build and consolidate its competitive advantage.²³⁰ Through an all-round coordinated process of choice making the country is well endowed to maximize the benefits and have its long term interests achieved.

Kenya's foreign policy guides key principles that anchor the pillars of diplomacy; becoming a competitive nation in its pursuit for success within the region, its ability to make independent decisions based on its own interests, being a willing friend to all, promotion and belief in a global rule-based order within the framework of international laws, its reliability as a credible and consistent partner in regard to the views it holds. All the mentioned key principles form a basis of measurement for its performance within the international system.

Though perceived as sound by government officials such as ambassadors or diplomats, Kenya's foreign policy has evolved through continuous commitment in public diplomacy activities. The country is continuing to deepen its bilateral relations through global and regional agenda drives and engagements, participation in multilateral forums aimed at supporting its public diplomacy activities. Striving to offer leadership on matters of global concern, Kenya is strengthening its management and operation systems.²³¹ Focus being on sharing and clarifying of information aligned to the Big Four Agenda and attempts to have public diplomacy that is inclusive of other actors other than the government alone.

Kenya's Public diplomacy is slowly transforming foreign policy objectives in the African region. To mention just a few, Kenyan government through President Uhuru Kenyatta expressed concerns o territorial disputes in Western Sahara. President Kenyatta's move boosted

²³⁰ Mumo Nzau, "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers While Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 137–64, 141.

²³¹ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 31.

the African Union linkage on talks about people-people interactions and engagements. His engagement with President Cyril Ramaphosa influenced South Africa's move to support the work of United Nation mission and the reconvening of negotiations by the former Secretary General of the UN personal envoy. The 2018 Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit to Kenya, President Uhuru to the initiative to talk him into pulling out the inter-ethnic classes in Ethiopia that were taking place along Kenyan border. Other example includes the East Africa Community-led Nairobi peace process for restoration of peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

3.6 Emerging Issues in Public Diplomacy

All over the world, priorities have shifted from secretive state diplomatic activities to governments' ability to listen to messages, their transmission and the need by audience to be heard and understood. In a public diplomacy system, several activities are taken together in such a way that governments engage in policy focus groups and audience research in forming ideas which may change. Besides gaining access to the minds of the audience, public diplomacy is also keen in getting past the communication barriers to get attention and achieve credibility of its messages either through careful considerations or quick filter of received information.²³² Kenya reviewed its ICT policy in 2019 with an aim of facilitating and advancing its technological innovations and place its public diplomacy activities at competition with global-based economies.

Most countries around the globe have matured into democracies; a political system of liberty and economic policy.²³³ Advocating for democratic elections, freedoms within a theoretical

²³² Guillaume Devin and Marie Toernquist-Chesnier, "Burst Diplomacy, the Diplomacies of Foreign Policy: Actors and Methods," 2010, 18.

²³³ Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997): 22–43, 23.

liberalism such as that of speech, assembly, religion and property does not necessarily bring about constitutional liberalism but the international peace.²³⁴ As a foreign policy tool, public diplomacy concerns itself with the implementation and shaping of policy objectives.²³⁵ The increasing interdependence of actors and complexity of issues has changed and is altering agendas in the international system. Kenya reviewed its 2015 Diaspora policy in order to mainstream its diaspora population into its development and promote their participation in democratic processes like voting in national elections.

Currently, there are issues in diplomatic relations that have profound impact on security, politics, environment and economy.²³⁶ These issues are shaping the development of contemporary diplomatic order and shifting the world policy environment. Actors are retreating to rebalance across the time-tested public diplomacy strategies.²³⁷ From around the turn of the millennium, new circumstances resulted to a kind of diplomacy which was increasingly making contact with and building relations to foreign non-state actors.²³⁸ It is that which is influencing foreign governments through its citizens.²³⁹ A critical view of Sharp's idea of public diplomacy as a process by which direct relations with people in a country is pursued to advance self-interest and external values of the actor. The 2021 multilateral initiative between Kenya's Ministry of Environment and Forestry and European Union aimed at partnering around issues of biodiversity, climate change and waste management.

²³⁴ Ibid,27

²³⁵ Stuart Murray et al., "The Present and Future of Diplomacy and Diplomatic Studies," *International Studies Review* 13, no. 4 (2011): 709–28, 711.

²³⁶ Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 67, no. 3 (1991): 431–51.431.

²³⁷ Yvonne Kleistra, "Globalization and Diplomacy," *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, 2018, 1–13, 3.

²³⁸ Volker Stanzel, "New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century," 2018, 72.

²³⁹ Marta Hereźniak, "Jami A. Fullerton, Alice Kendrick (Eds): Shaping International Public Opinion: A Model for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 16, no. 1 (2018): 107–8, 107.

Globalization of public health issues has been challenged by a global health crisis of Covid-19.²⁴⁰ The world has dealt with disease epidemics such as Malaria, HIV/AIDS, Ebola and many more. Currently, the world is debating between balancing the mitigations and maintaining economic activities. A global enemy, Covid-19 has disrupted all levels of human interactions and destroyed diplomatic relations.²⁴¹ From global to transnational engagements, major focus is on saving the lives of citizens from the many unknowns about future behavior of foreign publics. States have to remain conscious of their neighbors and any existing relations amidst the ever-changing international system. Countries are starting to frame policies that would help in establish diplomatic relations. Since its independence in 1963, Kenya has established diplomatic relations with several countries regionally, internationally and global with the most recent one being the bilateral labor agreement with Saudi Arabia. This came at a time that allegations of mistreatment of Kenyan domestic workers in the Saudi Arabia marred social media and other international networks of communication.

Disagreements are normal among neighbors but at a time like this, states find middle grounds to interrogate the complexities and challenges and define identities in a way that does not complicate unity and togetherness.²⁴² Policies are being geared towards diplomatic development and with the emerging digital diaspora and CIT, actors are learning to tolerate and communicate their after-action reviews with love, care and work towards turning

²⁴⁰ Robert Broadhurst, "Policing the Pandemic: Crisis without Boundaries," *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8, no. 1 (2021): 136–38, 136.

²⁴¹ Rod Jarman, "Power, Politics and Policing: How the Pandemic Has Highlighted Fractures and Fault Lines in Our Society," *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8, no. 1 (2021): 100–113, 111.

²⁴² Sebastian Kevany, Deon Canyon, and Aoife Kirk, "International Relations Implications of the Pandemic," *Outbreaks, Epidemics, and Health Security*, 2023, 257–76, 261.

challenges into diplomatic opportunities of promoting more equitable regional order and relations.²⁴³

States are trying to embrace historical geographies, political economies and socio-cultural engagements as well as striving to maintain partnerships of goals because each community's contribution is specific to a situation context.²⁴⁴ Therefore, to counter diplomatic disagreements at regional levels, states are limiting divisive arguments and are avoiding problems that are global in nature.²⁴⁵ It is true that health differences exist and that economies are dwindling forcing governments to rethink their linkages and start unlocking policies which will educate their publics about own safety compliances.²⁴⁶ This therefore calls for liberalization of institutions to empower citizens in scaling up connections for more resilient and efficient interactions. How leaders respond to this crisis must also include political engagements, human and socio-cultural capitals of regional identities. Pushing countries towards regional integration, pandemics are opportunity for development of strong, meaningful and restructured partnerships capable of enhancing mutuality of interests. It is a chance for countries to come together in the fight for survival and better implementation of foreign policy objectives that would be of benefit to the international system as a whole.

Effective foreign policies result into progressive values and improved diplomatic relations.²⁴⁷

States tend to formulate policies that are self-centered and those which are aimed at realizing

²⁴³ David P. Fidler, "Health and foreign policy: Vital Signs," *The World Today* 65, no. 2 (2009): 27–29, 27.

²⁴⁴ Karen Duckworth, "Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Manoeuvred Policing in England and Wales towards a Single National Police Organisation," *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8, no. 1 (2021): 114–30, 118.

²⁴⁵ Rod Jarman, "Power, Politics and Policing: How the Pandemic Has Highlighted Fractures and Fault Lines in Our Society," *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8, no. 1 (2021): 100–113, 100.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 113.

²⁴⁷ Robert Broadhurst, "Policing the Pandemic: Crisis without Boundaries," *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8, no. 1 (2021): 136–38, 136.

individual state interests. Whenever disagreement occurs, governments distance themselves from dialogues and negotiations and as a result, attempts to address diplomatic issues are never made. From functional diplomatic relations, long term collaborations of core interests are built.²⁴⁸ For a better tomorrow, states' point of care has to switch into pointing out flaws in interstate relations and through inner strengths and rebuild the engaged communities.

Diplomatic cooperation and engagements often face threats from lack of peace and security. The emergence of these policy issues is calling for new approaches geared towards collective action by public diplomacy actors in the international system.²⁴⁹ In order for a country to have peace, its diplomatic relations require serious considerations and prioritization.²⁵⁰ A public diplomacy that puts more value on dialogue and focuses on policy systems that discourage violence and promotes national cohesion.

Progress and predictability of the international system is reflected in the type of leadership and the adopted PD approach.²⁵¹ When focussing on diplomatic threats, greater attention is put on social identity because a number of issues involve different actors and stretch across the international system. Consequently, diplomatic disputes arise and the call for strategic leadership, collaborations and partnerships becomes a necessity. Aspects of terrorism such as extremism, cyber warfare and cyber terrorism are taking form of networked organizations such

²⁴⁸ David P. Fidler, "Health and foreign policy: Vital Signs," *The World Today* 65, no. 2 (2009): 27–29, 28.

²⁴⁹ Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 67, no. 3 (1991): 431–51, 433.

²⁵⁰ Barry Buzan, "Economic Structure and International Security: The Limits of the Liberal Case," *International Organization* 38, no. 4 (1984): 597–624, 599.

²⁵¹ Chris Brown, "The Emerging Shape of 21st Century International Politics," in *Understanding International Relations [4th Ed.]*, ed. Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 294–321, 294.

ISIS and Al Shabaab.²⁵² These challenges require diplomatic interventions that are inclusive of all actors with knowledge and standings in public diplomacy.

The international system is seeing a decline in state privacy and is going through an era where political freedom and civil liberties are taking control of information flow.²⁵³ The case of Japanese gender issues and the gender gap is categorised not just as economic drain but as a “global embarrassment”. Japan government is called upon by its own individual citizens to advance and interact with foreign public on ways of promoting women empowerment and equality.

Another emerging issue in foreign policy is multilateralism. Public diplomacy actors are increasingly focussing on being heard and finding solution to global problems through collective actions. According to Hockings, states strive to remain significant through networked and inclusive channels.²⁵⁴ Issues which are global in nature are necessitating collective actions through thought leadership. Based on rational choice processes, the logic of multilateralism is captured on the following conditions: free trade; mutual relationship; cooperation; taming of power politics from stable and mutually gainful relations; and the spread of democracy.²⁵⁵ States have different interests which are not easily aligned. And when it comes to guarding their sovereignty, states either go inter-national or supranational. The direction

²⁵² Ibid, 296.

²⁵³ Valerie M. Hudson and Christopher S. Vore, “Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow,” *Mershon International Studies Review* 39, no. 2 (1995): 209–38, 210.

²⁵⁴ Dan Caldwell and William G. Hocking, “Jet Lag: A Neglected Problem of Modern Diplomacy?” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 9, no. 3 (2014): 281–95, 284.

²⁵⁵ Andreas Kruck and Volker Rittberger, “Multilateralism Today and Its Contribution to Global Governance,” *The New Dynamics of Multilateralism*, 2018, 43–65, 44.

taken towards cooperation is driven by the desire to shape the world order and exercise global leadership in an inclusive practice of public diplomacy.²⁵⁶

Environmental challenges are many and plans to achieve a fairer, more prosperous and more respectful world environment are underway.²⁵⁷ Countries have become aware of environment protection benefits and the urge to protect the environment has undoubtedly become a common understanding and development strategy of all countries of the world. As countries attempt to fulfil respective duties and obligations, environmental governance is taking form of joint efforts which are aimed at realization of mutual wins and world sustainable development.²⁵⁸ States are taking individual steps in addressing environmental issues, however, no nation working alone can solve certain issues of environment which spill over across the national borders.

There are a number of environmental problems and challenges wreaking havoc on global health and livelihood.²⁵⁹ Without cooperation, issues of global warming, sustainable urban development and mobility, biodiversity protection, climate change, energy transition and water pollution, conservation of marine resources and other international externalities become a nightmare. In such cases, international environmental law is made applicable to all parties as agreed-upon outcomes with legal force.²⁶⁰ Regulations directed towards environmental control and protection by governing problems that arise between and among states. Critical moment for enhanced environmental conservation is continuing to rise and the need to double efforts to

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 47.

²⁵⁷ Mark Kristmanson, "International Gifts and Public Diplomacy: Canada's Capital in 2017," *Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 209–29, 214.

²⁵⁸ Peter Dauvergne and Jennifer Clapp, "Researching Global Environmental Politics in the 21st Century," *Global Environmental Politics* 16, no. 1 (2016): 1–12, 3.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 5.

²⁶⁰ Martin List and Volker Rittberger, "The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in the Formation and Evolution of International Environmental Regimes," in *The Politics of International Environmental Management*, ed. Arild Underdal, European Science Foundation (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1998), 67–81, 68

implement agreements and collectively made choices is crucial. Organizations such as IPCC and the UN are playing their roles in environmental conservation with aims of restating and raising ambitions to already signed agreements and pledges.²⁶¹

3.7 Chapter Summary

Conscious of its active roles in negotiation, national identity, nation building and its efforts in defending particular interests or ideas, governments and state roles in interstate relations are challenged. The transformational system of public diplomacy is aiming at positive engagements and is geared towards the waking-up realization of reaching out to multipliers of opinions.

Different views are held concerning transformational impact of public diplomacy on foreign policy. Ranging from aspects of practical measures, power dominance, systems of operations to state maximization of its security, this force behind nationalism and state culture is believed to be influenced by state approaches to policy processes. Held as a substance of foreign relations and national efforts, foreign policy is associated with institutions and embassies. It is a possibility of border demarcations and existence of state interests which revolves around politics of identity when it comes to making of policy choices.

Kenya is both a target of public diplomacy and a shaper of other countries foreign policies. The country's diplomatic activities in Africa are geared towards shaping other countries' perceptions and interactions in the region. Influencing peaceful negotiation in African. The government of Kenya has stood together with the international community in the struggle for determination and nationhood.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 69.

In 2014, Kenya government decided to re-evaluate its strategies and realign its policies and its engagement with the rest of the world. With no formal foreign policy and the ever-changing global milieu, it was time to search for greater role of public diplomacy. Consequently, attempts to secure widespread international support using the then existing national policies were effortless. As the country struggled to develop its economy and tried to enhance its foreign investment, formidable challenges were faced. The country's international political environment was not stable enough to foster its policies or even uplift its diplomatic profile thus the need for a formal policy document

Kenya's efforts to build capacities and its influence to advance its core foreign policy goals is evident in its policy realignment, the new 2010 promulgated constitution, vision 2030 and its government strategic plans. A look at the consolidated trend of its diplomatic ties gives a clear picture of a country that is bracing itself for greater challenges and making efforts to understand the complexity of a diplomatic system. As a country, Kenya has inadequacies and consequently, its attempt to rise as an influencing actor in the region is facing challenges.

The changing aspects in the practice of public diplomacy are becoming impactful. Due to progress in interstate relations and connectivity of state functions, the influence of government-centred public diplomacy is diminishing. States are striving to efficiently realize policy goals. They are making attempts to understand the tension between public diplomacy actors, their interests and how to tactfully engage foreign publics.

Globalization has brought changes in diplomatic systems and agendas. Being the creation of a worldwide system that impacts on all the local levels, globalization is confronted with a high number of opportunities to move and communicate. It has generated the expansion of a worldwide diplomatic market. However, multiplicity of actors, increased complexity of issues and digitalization of the world diplomatic practices are creating challenges between diplomatic

concerns and policy threats and thereby shaping the process of choice making. Globalization has brought new dynamics to state interactions and influenced diplomatic abilities to communicate directly with foreign publics. The rise of this rapid evolution in the international system has created changes to global diplomatic initiatives and the communication process of foreign policy objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

Challenges in the Practice of Kenya's Public Diplomacy

4.1 Introduction

The chapter critically analyses Kenya's public diplomacy and its deployment in Foreign Policy activities. The chapter examines the challenges faced during decision making processes and in the management of constructive openness and policy priorities. An examination of Kenya's public diplomacy is carried out after brief discussion on specific challenges it faces even after the promulgation of the 2010 new constitution. The chapter also ventures briefly into the current debates about Kenya's government-centred public diplomacy and the obstacles in its choice making processes.

4.2 Determining factors in the Practice of Public Diplomacy

In an era of global interconnectedness, policy disagreements have potential to quickly develop into miscommunication among international actors.²⁶² Searching for a greater role in diplomatic affairs, countries are framing foreign policies that they believe would help them secure international support. Public diplomacy improves state relationships and promote diplomatic activities in the international system. Countries such as Mauritius have public diplomacy strategies which aim at strengthening ties with the United States and Seychelles through projects which support core government priorities. Costa Rica's public diplomacy allows dialogue between actors and through different strategies, its government gives room for understanding, mutual recognition and it appreciates the differences between the involved actors. Governments are the primary actors in foreign policy matters, however, in some

²⁶² Elena Gurgu and Aristide Dumitru Cociuban, "New Public Diplomacy and Its Effects on International Level," *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People* 5, no. 3 (September 30, 2016): 46–56, 47.

countries, non-state actors are complementary to state officials with little or limited role in challenging state actions and decisions concerning foreign policies. The questions then remain as to who are the promoters of public diplomacy and whether domestic public can impact as co-actors in foreign policy decision making processes. Former Barry Goldwater speech writer turned Vietnam War opponent Karl Hess once wrote, “to carry the message of cause in a community when you are a generally respected neighbour is far better than when you do it as virtually your sole activity in public.” Communication outreach overhauls the process of public diplomacy in extended offices and encourages people to take interest and begin responding to issues.²⁶³ Successful efforts of public diplomacy aim at build networks on existing bonds of neighbour-neighbour connections.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, there is a feeling that without a solid ‘local public diplomacy’, foreign relations are not sustainable.

As an art of communicating strategically to the world, public diplomacy facilitates dialogues focussed on finding solutions to global problems that concerns all actors.²⁶⁵ Through education and exchange programs, the United States is expanding its public diplomacy tool and is emphasizing on students and key influencers whose interactions impact wider segments of the international society. In today’s world, the greatest challenge of public diplomacy is how to reach the vast audience in ways that are different from in the past. This however, makes it even more important now than ever to have public diplomacy in the communication of policy objectives and goals.

²⁶³ Mario Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient near East, 1660 - 1100 BC*, Studies in Diplomacy (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).

²⁶⁴ Egea, Parra-Meroño, and Wandosell, “Corporate Diplomacy Strategy and Instruments; Corporate Diplomacy and Cyclical Dynamics of Open Innovation.”

²⁶⁵ Elena Gurgu and Aristide Dumitru Cociuban, “New Public Diplomacy and Its Effects on International Level,” *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People* 5, no. 3 (September 30, 2016): 46–56, 48.

Changes in communication technology has impacted on the conduct of PD.²⁶⁶ There are technological advances and complicated market-place of ideas in the international system in that the public is no longer limited to one source of information. Information on policy communication around the world is influenced by government tools such as public diplomacy aimed at improving trust among nations.²⁶⁷ However, it is becoming difficult for government to sift through and find relevant, verifiable and meaningful information that meet the challenges in the increasingly complex diplomatic world.

A three-phase process of new technological tool is changing the conduct of public diplomacy. From communication technological inventions or improvement of existing channels of information flow, inventors are applying and spreading the use of the tools to the multiple social media users across the globe. That is, from symbolic television events and the capabilities of new technology, qualities of communication form are brought out to help build relationships and bring actors together.²⁶⁸ Cull noted the change in technology and wondered what could be done or how it could be empowered to change the situation. He added that social media platform is creating new generation of actors who are able to operate at a high level and build their own network of audience. This accordingly, leads to loss of inherent messages of social media platform. Despite the fact that democracies embrace media, underlying trend of inherent personal understanding is missing, making it difficult to rebuild and reach out and engage foreign publics of the world.

With the changing communication patterns in the international system states are building relationships within and outside. They are working towards improving possibilities of

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 48.

²⁶⁷ Stanzel, "New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century." 2018, 72.

²⁶⁸ Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (March 2008): 31–54, 32

maintaining lasting relationships.²⁶⁹ However, through social media, interest parties are greatly accumulating relational networks of social power with the publics.²⁷⁰ Dissemination of internet and communication technologies amongst the greater publics has changed individuals' framing of social media relations. In short, it has changed states maintenance of internal governance and policy implementation to that in which governments are unable to make audience understand their messages. Diplomats have lost credibility, trustworthiness and expertise needed to carry out public diplomacy. This is because the public have lost trust in governments and its aligned corporations.

Governments are acknowledging the power of the internet on communication of information. As a sphere of information communication, its exchanges, dialogues and collaborations are often beyond the control of authorities. They take place at a speed which no one can monitor and consequently bring challenges related to handling publicly available information flow. The public have lost trust in governments and its ability to address and resolves problems or use PD to ethically and effectively communicate foreign policy objectives.

There is lack of unity and solidarity of all public diplomacy actors in joining efforts that meet challenges both at the local as well as world stage.²⁷¹ More involvement and engagement with the public forms part of the revolutionary paths through which mutual understanding is attained.²⁷² Within the domain of public diplomacy, issues are mostly oriented towards dialogue and collaborations with the foreign publics, diplomats and political leaders but not through

²⁶⁹ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 28-43, 28

²⁷⁰ Stanzel, "New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century." 2018, 72.

²⁷¹ Dan B. Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting," *American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (March 1998): 173-84, 174.

²⁷² Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300-319, 310.

social media in the service of foreign policy agendas.²⁷³ Governments are putting little efforts to provide information, leadership and communication training to the multiple actors on strategic and diplomatic social campaigns that help educate the public on foreign policy objectives.

Challenges and answers to both domestic and international problems are rooted in the attempts to manage reputation and in public diplomacy efforts made by governments to understand the public. Listening to the public thoughts and beliefs is important in fostering government's understanding and explanation of policies. Government authorities which are familiar with dialogue processes of social media poses 'social power'- a relational-networked and collaborative approach which when coupled together with digital diplomacy, directly overt competition within the communication platform. Given the dynamics of foreign policy agendas, implementers are advocating for grass root decision making strategies and leadership that is ground up – not top down. However, this desire is a direct contrast for the management style that is so prevalent in most governments.

There have been unsuccessful attempts to pull out of states' authoritative past and public diplomacy practices. The world is experiencing increased number of diplomatic authority figures who easily mobilize their domestic publics to generate content.²⁷⁴ Further along the path of globalization, other social media like twitter, a highly cost effective and central tool that allows users to bypass authorities with great openness is influencing publics in other countries.²⁷⁵ A new belief in the power of dialogue, openness and honest communication is

²⁷³ Dan B. Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting," *American Political Science Review* 92, no. 1 (March 1998): 173–84, 174.

²⁷⁴ Marta Hereźniak, "Jami A. Fullerton, Alice Kendrick (Eds): Shaping International Public Opinion: A Model for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 16, no. 1 (2018): 107–8, 107.J

²⁷⁵ Sue Jansen, "Review - New Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century," *International Relations*, n.d., 5.

collectively transforming the public to one that values the power of individuals in the decision making and leadership processes. It is never easy for authorities to accept social media as a game changer even though state dialogic involvement and relationship goals has had significant discrepancies.

Discretions and secrecy in diplomatic practice can be costly to governments with regard to the action of non-state actors of public diplomacy.²⁷⁶ Pamment's notion of public diplomacy as a tool for stabilizing one's authority during transition to a new political environment is supported by Nye's view of PD as a self-interested tool aimed at strengthening a country's diplomatic power. Few diplomats are willing to enter into dialogue with target groups. Even where governments give impressions to involve target groups in dialogues, they are viewed as strategically manipulating the tool and disseminating unilateral communication information aimed only at promoting own national interests.²⁷⁷ Foreign policy decisions of countries like Iran and China are based not on individual own analysis but on directives from governments who find it hard to appreciate divergent perspectives or separate people from the policy problems.

4.3 Transformative Period in Kenya's Diplomatic Practice

Throughout diplomatic history, governments and other international actors have interacted.²⁷⁸ Various colonies were founded on diplomatic engagements which involved interaction of actors across the world. The rapid expansion of Ottoman Empires led to the spread of Muslim culture across North and East Africa in the early century. Europe left a profound impact on

²⁷⁶ James, Pamment, "New Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice, (2012): 1-172, 4.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 4.

²⁷⁸ James Mayall, "African Diplomacy," ed. K. Ingham, *The Journal of African History* 16, no. 1 (1975): 143-45, 143.

diplomacy in the African region leading to the formalization of “Scramble for Africa” and later colonization.²⁷⁹

States have values geared towards diplomatic interactions. Expressions such as “Harambee” and “Ubuntu” movements have seen diplomatic activities evolve as seamless ventures in all levels of state engagements.²⁸⁰ These strategies are aligned towards the use of language to communicate to the participants. (EAC Example) Countries are different in their formations not only in terms of national diplomatic values but in terms of experiences they have had in the international system.

The 1884-85 Berlin West Africa Conference in which fourteen European countries and the United States came together without the presence of African representatives was considered not worth interacting with. Even though discriminated against, African countries achieved some kind of unity, in which its effect was echoed by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan who referred to the situation as a wind that was sweeping the African Continent. Countries were breaking ties from the colonial powers and informal and unofficial discussions were being held.

Back in 1955 at the Bandung Conference, countries began their journey towards communication and identity of interests which has since seen decades of diplomatic links.²⁸¹ Later on with the birth of dozens of African states, a global momentum for decolonization was reached which left a lasting diplomatic legacy. There were already spheres of influence in a

²⁷⁹ Mark J. Davidson and Alan Henrikson, “Elements of Credible Cultural Diplomacy: ‘Landmarks of New York’ in Tokyo,” *THE FLETCHER FORUM OF WORLD AFFAIRS* 32 (2008): 9.

²⁸⁰ Hasan Saliu, “The Evolution of the Concept of Public Diplomacy from the Perspective of Communication Stakeholders,” *Medijska Istraživanja* 26, no. 1 (June 23, 2020): 69–86, 71.

²⁸¹ Leonard J Baldyga, “The Practice of Public Diplomacy and Its Perpetual Critics,” *THE FLETCHER FORUM OF WORLD AFFAIRS* 32 (2008): 7.

few North African countries which had recognizable state structures.²⁸² Diplomatic relations in Kenya began in 1963 with the establishment of Kenya-Japan relations as one of the countries. In 1964, Japan mission in Nairobi was set followed by the 1979 establishment of Kenya mission in Japan. Priority areas were set in economic infrastructure, agriculture, health, education and environment. As the hub and gateway for East and Central Africa with Nairobi and as the regional headquarters for most cooperation, Kenya has managed to achieve a very special position in the diplomatic arena.²⁸³

Wider diplomatic arenas portray African-derived diplomatic relationships through commonwealth role in international affairs.²⁸⁴ After the 1999 rebirth of African Union (AU) from Organization of African Unity (OAU), a non-indifference to regional disagreements was adopted. Pointing to lesson from activities worldwide, public diplomacy is setting off as the substantial modifier of interstate relations. For instance, United States, Belgium, China, Singapore, the affluent Norway and even countries like Ethiopia have begun displaying great interests in public diplomacy after realizing inconsistencies within their foreign policy actions.²⁸⁵ These countries resulted to development of deeply rooted public diplomacy strategies and synergistic policies that enabled their interaction with foreign audience. Additionally, others adopted market-oriented approaches and objectives beyond their regions of alignment.

²⁸² Stephen Chan, "African Diplomacy and the Development of Self-Awareness," *International Relations*, n.d., 6.

²⁸³ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 32.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 34.

²⁸⁵ Jan Melissen and Emillie V. de Keulenaar, "Critical Digital Diplomacy as a Global Challenge: The South Korean Experience," *Global Policy* 8, no. 3 (2017): 294–302, 296.

Two-way conversation flow reaches public audience in ways that are different and attracts right people to the right target.²⁸⁶ The 9/11 2001 event triggered a robust public diplomacy operation that were aimed at addressing ideological misunderstandings perceived to harm state interests.²⁸⁷ Public diplomacy practitioners came in to coordinate efforts and correct the world public views. In a world where there are borderless communication revolutions, states tend to up their diplomatic communications and ensure that their relations with the foreign publics tap into the networks of the many non-state actors in the system.²⁸⁸

Most countries have not only begun having serious diplomatic relations but are also engaging in diplomatic outreach with the rest of the world such as the Chinese spheres of operations, the United States of America and with other aligned movements.²⁸⁹ With some resistance coming from some nations such as India, the practice of public diplomacy slowly began taking off through solidarity among developing countries. Having reached a level where much more material and diplomatic relations are developed with the rest of the world; individual states employ new aspects of diplomatic practices and harmonised approaches to addressing disagreements.²⁹⁰ Attempts by the African Union were not a complete success due to infrastructural barriers and challenges. However, diplomatic and economic relations with the Chinese was to create links and bring about a genuine collaborations and partnerships.

²⁸⁶ Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1997): 87–112, 91.

²⁸⁷ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 29.

²⁸⁸ Dawn Vavrik, "Soul of a Citizen: Living with Conviction in a Cynical Time," *Journal of College and Character* 7, no. 3 (2006).

²⁸⁹ Bernard L. Simonin, "Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities," *the fletcher forum of world affairs* 32 (2008): 17.

²⁹⁰ Stephen Chan, "Observation of Selected African Elections," *Journal of African Elections* 18, no. 1 (n.d.): 22.

It is through state interactions that values and democracy in the practice of public diplomacy is achieved.²⁹¹ Respectively, the 2007 and 2008 Kenya and Zimbabwe disputed election results gave room to public diplomacy and its application in the region. As the two governments worked towards inclusivity and safety of their civilians over the results of democratic exercise, peace and cooperation ensued in a collective manner. This became a gift to the outside world via the medium of public diplomacy.²⁹²

A states' ability to articulate policy goals is key to the management of diplomatic disagreements.²⁹³ Government policies rarely prioritize on civil wars. They focus on state empowerment and better ways of reflecting their country's foreign policy objectives. When an internal disagreement arises in a nation, activities get initiated among the publics who are sensitized along different beliefs. During the 2007/08 Post Election Violence in Kenya, public diplomacy came into use and saw peaceful negotiations. Resolution attempts to disputes required public diplomacy that could change the transmitter and engage persons, with possibility of having a completely successful engagement.

It is crucial for governments to have local community leaders' support as a step towards involvement of domestic publics in decision-making processes.²⁹⁴ However, understanding the nature of disagreements and issues of contention are key to a credible discussion. Non-state actors are pushing states from within and work hard to collaborate in the choice making processes. According to Jenkins, "the presence of innate goodness that trickles down to all societies balance the peaceful community life against the interests of governments whose tools

²⁹¹ James Mayall, "African Diplomacy," ed. K. Ingham, *The Journal of African History* 16, no. 1 (1975): 143–45.

²⁹² *Ibid*, 144.

²⁹³ Bernard L Simonin, "Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities," *the fletcher forum of world affairs* 32 (2008): 17.

²⁹⁴ Yanwar Pribadi, "Village Politics," *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 2018, 179–205, 184.

break under pressure.”²⁹⁵ More so, societal spheres shape decisions by giving room to domestic engagements on foreign policy matters directed towards social engineering, preservation of mixed communities and reasonable continuity of settlement.

After the 2007 national election, it became important for Kenya to embrace public diplomacy in its coordination and communication with the international community. Public diplomacy was used to shape Kenya’s actions and behaviour at a very critical time when other forms of conflict management such as internal negotiations had failed. Information got communicated through multiple channels. Consequently, because of the historical ethnic animosity along tribal lines, the cause of dispute could not be clearly defined or get related to elections.²⁹⁶

There was disbelief among Kenyans over the degree of ethnic enmity which became apparent and public diplomacy resources had to be promoted by non-state actors such as the African Union who saw it fine to apply public diplomacy.²⁹⁷ Public diplomacy actors came along, employed their mediation skills and peace building strategies. Incorporating opinion from all actors and parties involved, the aim was to normalize the conflict situation and create conducive environment for dialogue.²⁹⁸

Expectations were that common policy communication strategy for Kenya nationals was to be established and was to be coherent with and able to continue with peace messages. Initially, the mediations had limited effect due to the fact that there was communication rift between

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 85.

²⁹⁶ Hervé Maupeu, “Revisiting Post-Election Violence,” *Les Cahiers d’Afrique de l’Est / The East African Review*, no. 38 (April 1, 2008): 193–230, 195.

²⁹⁷ Susanne D. Mueller, “Dying to Win: Elections, Political Violence, and Institutional Decay in Kenya,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2011): 99–117, 100.

²⁹⁸ “BBC - History: World Wars In-Depth,” accessed February 26, 2021.

the party leaders.²⁹⁹ After the conflict, it only became more important for the leaders to spread the narrative of peace and their good intentions to become more receptive towards public diplomacy efforts provided. The two leaders then sought to depict common values and inclusivity in decision making processes within its borders.

Conducted in practice, public diplomacy was then a newly interpreted strategic tool used in attaining diplomatic influence within a new or more complex international system.³⁰⁰ With an intention of increasing reputation even in a digitalised information age, public diplomacy had contributed to winning Cold War and could potentially contribute to winning an internal conflict that was impacting on international interaction of states who were in relationship with Kenya. Either reinstated or as a wholly interpreted practice, public diplomacy received civilization from the so-called paradox of plenty.³⁰¹ This is because diplomatic influence is created from a state's persuasiveness and its configuration of information that it passes to the foreign publics.

According to Mueller, Kenya domestic population lost trust in political leaders especially those from government side.³⁰² Public diplomacy practitioners such as Kofi Annan, former secretary general of the UN led team of Benjamin Mkapa and Graca Machel designed a strategy. From gaining recognition and trust from citizens, they created an open conducive situation in addressing the conflict. There were two major target groups of President Mwai Kibaki of the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).

²⁹⁹ Susanne D. Mueller, "Dying to Win: Elections, Political Violence, and Institutional Decay in Kenya," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2011): 99–117, 101.

³⁰⁰ Daniel Solomon, "Pyramids of Peace: Violent Participation, Uncivil Society, and Localized Peacebuilding during Kenya's 2007-8 Post-Election Crisis," n.d., 11.

³⁰¹ Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): pp. 73-83, 74.

³⁰² Susanne D. Mueller, "Dying to Win: Elections, Political Violence, and Institutional Decay in Kenya," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2011): 99–117, 103.

Avoiding too many contradictions, the Annan's team managed to maintain consistency in their message communication.³⁰³

Communications between government authorities and non-state actors form message targets from which any conflicting parties reaffirm the value of combined efforts to bring peace.³⁰⁴

Kenya has a mutually dependent groups of interaction which are so networked towards achievement of political interests.³⁰⁵ However, in 2007/08, Kenyans took ownership of the peace process and built support that generated lessons for public diplomacy used on them to other international actors in the region. Through public diplomacy, the conflict was contained and the situation in Kenya became a theme for international advisers in the region. The quest for effective use of public diplomacy rose and became a genuine national and regional phenomenon in Africa. Unable to get the most out of the discussions, the mediating team adopted a people-people diplomatic strategy.

The Annan 2007 and Mbeki's 2008 mediations created different perception of public diplomacy that seemed to represent African value of inclusiveness. Their interventions resulted into the removal of violence from the struggle as well as promotion of the universal value of human lives.³⁰⁶ Kenya's public diplomacy is developing and keeping pace with modern diplomatic practices. It brought about changes in electoral outcomes. Slowly towards the year 2013, public opinion was gaining relevance and with the emergence of communication technology tools, even though dialogue and collaborations were part of the diplomatic

³⁰³ Jan Melissen, "Wielding Soft Power," n.d., 34.

³⁰⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 95.

³⁰⁵ Cynthia P. Schneider, "Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works," in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 147-68, 149.

³⁰⁶ Stephen Chan, "African Diplomacy and the Development of Self-Awareness," *International Relations*, n.d., 6.

environment, the role of Ministry of Foreign Affairs as gatekeeper and central authority was maintained.³⁰⁷ MFA adjusted its working culture and methods throughout the environment of political transition and slowly, interactions with non-state actors were well coordinated.

The 2019 Blue Economy conference in Nairobi sealed the presumed gaps in Kenya's diplomatic relations. In view of South Korea-Kenya relations, focus is on better understanding of what others perceive as well as the shared principles of foreign policy objectives. The August 2019 Korea-Africa Youth Camp had substantial benefits for the promotion of Kenya interests abroad. According to the Korean Act, public diplomacy aims at influencing foreign citizens' understanding and confidence either directly or in cooperation through cultures, ideas or propositions.³⁰⁸ With participation of twelve African states, Korea's policy resources and achievement were made known to foreign publics.

4.4 Understanding Challenges in Kenya's Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy means different things to different audiences and no single approach can work for every situation, message or government. The challenges rely on measuring outcome in terms of who is reached, how to reach them and how to measure both success and failure of government direct communications of foreign policy objectives. According to Costas and Sharp, the practice of public diplomacy is a peaceful pursuance of foreign policy objectives with biggest view on activities undertaken.³⁰⁹ They believe in an interestingly focussed process by which messages get delivered. A preserve of the government and its top officials, public

³⁰⁷ Cowan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 6-8, 6.

³⁰⁸ Nawnit Kumar, "Strengthening Relations with South Korea's Public Diplomacy: Korean Language in India," *International Journal of Innovative Research in Engineering & Management* 8, no. 3 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.21276/ijirem.2021.8.3.5>.

³⁰⁹ Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp, "Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, by Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 13-27, 17.

diplomacy challenge is not getting what states want, but the process of choice making and the communication of decisions to the foreign publics. It lies in what states are prepared to do or give in order to get what they want. Triggered by questions for whom and for what purpose, issues of public diplomacy are no longer government centred.

4.4.1 Information flow in Kenya's public diplomacy

Public diplomacy efforts require expansion, refining and coordination. Proliferation of information flow and lack of domestic constituencies by diplomats who never emphasize on the outreach activities reflect negatively on the management of public diplomacy activities.³¹⁰ Livingstone addresses government's need to embrace and voice-in the non-governmental public diplomacy actors in the choice making processes. Echoed by Cohen, there occurred a shift from old to new roles. Emergence of new issues pose threats which require interconnectedness, change in technology, strategy, human behaviour and interdependence among actors. It is mainly through collaborations that these threats can be contained. If this is so, then change in societal attitude coupled with credible public diplomacy strategies go beyond government borders. For example, the current threats from epidemic disease of Covid-19 require collaboration of medical professionals, change in social attitude and behaviour in the wider world population.

Governments are the primary actors in public diplomacy with the foreign governments as the target audience. However, advocating for decentralization of diplomatic relations, Hoking encourages a public diplomacy which engages audiences and that which build relationship networks. In the current diplomatic system, communications that acknowledge contributions from diverse range of actors largely develop constructive management to complex problems.

³¹⁰ Sonia Livingstone, "New Media, New Audiences," *New Media & Society* 1, no. 1 (1999): pp. 59-66. 61.

For example, the Ottawa landmine process, the Global Witness of British, De Beers' establishment of diamond regime among others.³¹¹ Centralised use of public diplomacy in pursuit of policy objectives face difficulties in delivering effective coherent information. Although a foundational concept of PD, soft power has taken over state-state interactions. With no foreign exchange programs, governments' response to crisis situations often remains intractable displaying poor forms of collaborations and exhibit inflexible non-rapid response to crisis situations.³¹²

Kenya's diplomatic system is much faster in transition as manifested in its policy reforms. Though not aimed at delegating powers to lower levels of government and to the society,³¹³ the reforms enable non-state actors to only play a still limited role in diplomatic activities. The Kenyan public do not have a stake in the choice making processes and their suggestions or ideas are overshadowed by governments' international concerns and interests.³¹⁴ This exclusion is making the country lose the kind of influence that originates from local citizens and their interactions with the foreign publics. The stake of Kenya's success is left in the hands of a government which will never seek to encourage its locals. The public are ignored and even the non-state actors who thought it wise to intervene and have their information factored-in in the country's decision-making processes are either frustrated or not listened to at all.

Approaching non-state actors for collaborations is the best possible way of tapping public diplomacy potentials. To the question, whose objectives are prioritized in the collaboration and

³¹¹ Ibid, 31.

³¹² Brian Hocking, "Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline,'" *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, 1999, pp. 21-42, 21.

³¹³ Stephen Chan, "African Diplomacy and the Development of Self-Awareness," *International Relations*, n.d., 6.

³¹⁴ Marta Hereźniak, "Jami A. Fullerton, Alice Kendrick (Eds): Shaping International Public Opinion: A Model for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 16, no. 1 (2018): 107-8, 107.

who proposes collaborations, focus is made on direct communications, understanding of cultures, behaviours and attitudes of the networked collaborators. Different actors develop and build trust from the interpersonal communications at societal levels. Traditionally, the public was not consulted and the views they held were taken as destruction tactics to policy makers. Moreover, the government of Kenya has not carried out sensitization of its citizens on what PD is, and neither has it taken steps to define non-state actors' roles and functions within its public diplomacy framework.³¹⁵

The practice of public diplomacy focuses on foreign publics with an inherent purpose of knowing the target audience and understanding the foreign policy objectives.³¹⁶ According to Cummings, diplomacy is a mutual promotion of understanding through exchange of information, ideas and policy values among nations. Few governments embrace two-way exchanges when promoting national interests. Through public diplomacy, states attempt to explain to the rest of the world their policies with hopes of having positive impact.³¹⁷ Kenya's public diplomacy has not gotten other countries to want the outcomes of its policy decisions. It is seen to be failing in its attempt to entice and attract other countries. In Kenya, value admiration has not begun and public diplomacy which is a foreign policy tool for resource mobilization is not being emulated. Kenya government has done very little to have foreign countries aspire to the levels of prosperity and openness it claims to have.

Often, states fail to take into consideration opinions from non-state actors. According to Cullen, for small countries like Kenya, maintaining flexibility in the practice of public diplomacy is a challenge. Inclusivity in the country's choice making processes is just but impossible reality.

³¹⁵ Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

³¹⁶ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 98.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, 101.

As an international actor, what is important is to gain public trust and work towards creating credibility in foreign policy activities. Ehrenreich connotes that failure by governments to actively listen and convince the publics is a sign of negligence. Kenya has failed to understand its audience and neither is it taking steps to be understood in angles which could correct the diplomatic stalemate among its foreign publics.³¹⁸

Disabling environment that could foster individual transactions, diplomatic confidentiality has been lost, however, focus has moved from government officials to the multiple actors with access to information from the boundless mass media. The move is majorly influencing actions of the foreign public and targeting audience who are not familiar with the actor's ideals and values. The internet has made it difficult for governments to regulate information flow. Addictive and hard to escape power of the internet is re-defining the practice of public diplomacy in most countries.³¹⁹ According to Nye, a country's attractiveness is rooted in its communication tools, ideas and values meant to encourage other foreign public to embrace its projected policy goals.

The system demonstrates a state-centred participation in diplomatic agendas and fails to encourage its domestic publics to work together with it. Kenya's local population feel excluded and this make it difficult for the government to create buy-ins or even promote its foreign policy objectives through networked partnership.³²⁰ Getting out information is determined by state actions however, content of messaging has to be that which achieve objectives of public diplomacy campaigns. This includes both what is said and how that message is said. Striving

³¹⁸ Poppy Cullen, "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Evolution, Challenges and Opportunities," *The Round Table*, November 18, 2020, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00358533.2020.1850051>.

³¹⁹ Joseph S. Nye, "Hard, Soft, and Smart Power," *Oxford Handbooks Online*, January 2013. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.013.0031.

³²⁰ Agustina Marchetti, *Review of: "Recognition Ambiguity! Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Israel, and Palestine under Moi Era (1978-1990),"* 2023, <https://doi.org/10.32388/w32yy3>.

to manage diplomatic environment, redirection of policies follows from use of collected and collated data.³²¹ Ethical standards of public diplomacy help craft messages from a good listening actor and generate well told consistent narratives of collaborative activities leaving no space for public manipulation.

4.4.2 Communicating foreign policy goals to the publics

Public diplomacy is a process of harvesting the many benefits of collective individuation, community outreach and cultural loyalty through hearts-to-hearts meeting of people.³²² While critics advocates that individual calculations of interests leads to beneficial national outcomes, scholars such as Morgenthau and Herz undermines the reign of reason, stating that individuals do not always make rational utility-maximizing decisions.³²³ They question the ideology behind “reason” with a view that domestic politics demand a public attention for a country to experience improvement in its diplomatic affairs. Most governments are not comfortable with supporting their own policies’ critical views, moreover, in situations where citizens are not only spectators to the process, but also opponents of state actions, reconciliation of critical divergent issues remains a nightmare. This is because emotions and external factors such as conflict of interest affect the making of optimal decisions on government policies.³²⁴

Public diplomacy communications in Kenya is a government centred activity majorly through its Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs. Kenya attained its self-rule and ended up adopting

³²¹ Alexander V. Kozhemiakin, “Foreign Policy Formulation in Three Democratizing States: Serbia, Hungary and Ukraine,” in *Expanding the Zone of Peace? Democratization and International Security*, ed. Alexander V. Kozhemiakin (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1998), 71–101, 74.

³²² Joseph S. Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 95.

³²³ Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2021):166-91, 173.

³²⁴ Catherine H. Zuckert, “On the ‘Rationality’ of Rational Choice,” *Political Psychology* 16, no. 1 (1995): 178-198, 191.

a pragmatic non-aligned approach to diplomatic relations. This was guided by one driving force of national interest, security and welfare of her people. Older days of Kenya's interstate relations lacked civil society involvement because they were seen as bodies which undermined the very package of marketing of the country done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and diplomats.³²⁵ Even though Kenya engaged in world affairs and made major contributions, it is believed that false misleading information was given about its foreign policy.³²⁶ Kenya did not bring on board civil societies and non-state actors to take part in or support its foreign policy objectives. Working against these civil bodies made it difficult for Kenya to synchronize its national interests forgetting that the non-governmental actors could be recruited to work for the interest of other countries not in support of its interests.

Diplomatic groups have stopped questioning the trust towards certain information of state relations. This is because relations of authority monitor interactions between diplomatic actors and ensure that information flow from top dominant operators down to the subordinates. The system is proving ineffective at inspiring trust and is weakening any attempts aimed at promoting common national interests at the moment³²⁷

Melissen and Sharp depicts a period in which interstate relationships expose public diplomacy as a tool for attaining narrow political goals of a state. In such situations, the public is often expected to be a passive power instrument of government that benefits only individual interests. In Kenya, authorities are not willing to initiate inclusive decision-making processes and the intention is to affect the public's apparent view and change the non-state actors' behaviour.

³²⁵ Joyce Nyairo, *Kenya's 50 Years of Diplomatic Engagement: From Kenyatta to Kenyatta* (Nairobi, Kenya: Moran Publishers, 2018), 1-7, 3.

³²⁶ Ibid, 4.

³²⁷ Guillaume Devin and Marie Toernquist-Chesnier, "Burst Diplomacy, the Diplomacies of Foreign Policy: Actors and Methods," 2010, 18.

There has been a consistent increase in lack of consensus between actors in the international system. Universal values are being neglected and focus is only on strengthening individual own interests. State centred public diplomacy seems to be failing and is getting replaced by a model through which state and non-state actors seek to solve the diplomatic challenges.

While recognizing the changing framework and what it subsumes, public diplomacy explains the roots of its strategies and expectations which might differ, conflict or be pursuing different aims and objectives of an actor. Unaware of the power of direct public involvement, states overlook the non-state actors and voluntary associations, forgetting that they are the main initiators of credible relationships.³²⁸ Hocking emphasized the presence and purpose of scope offered to individuals for direct action in diplomatic affairs. As a country, Kenya lacks effectiveness in its public diplomacy activities to carry its policy messages across borders and showcase its diverse diplomatic skills. For example, media houses like Voice of America (VOA) and Aljazeera utilize their own internet visits. China's establishment of Confucius Institutes across Africa is a diplomatic strategy aimed at countering negativities with inexpensive initiatives and exchanges.

Government communications form the smallest fraction of the total virtual global interactions. Public diplomacy is capable of taking more risks in its presentation of views; however, governments are never willing to support policy criticism, yet such criticism are most effective in establishing credibility among international diplomatic actors.³²⁹ Kenya's governmental and non-governmental players involved in daily activities of publicity rarely embrace open channels of communication.

³²⁸ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 28-43.

³²⁹ Ibid, 30.

Mistrust on government communications has made it difficult for Kenya to explore diplomatic positions in the practice of public diplomacy. Anchored on interlinked pillars of diplomacy, Kenya's policy approach has not been strong and effective enough in linking credible relationships. Kenya's internal relationship at the top is silent to highlighting the power of the non-state actors on decision making processes.

When a country is struggling with diplomatic stalemate, the government's approach will in most cases determines information handling strategies, risk mitigation and evaluation of its performance.³³⁰ Because they lack skills and expertise governments find it difficult maintaining fruitful conversation with publics on what they do and why they take certain decisions. This therefore, leaves them with no appropriate agendas to put forward to citizens and foreign publics.³³¹ These include visions such as those which surround partnerships, international collaborations, information warfare and those which resonate with both internal and external audiences. The remarkable challenges brought about by radicalized non-state networks is changing perspectives public diplomacy from foreign policy communications to crucial tools with agendas. Re-evaluating focus areas of foreign policies, most countries still lack strategic coordination of both public and private actors.

It is believed that Kenyan government failed to crumble to political pressure from external governments. Emphasizing on Nye's paradox of plenty, no matter how good government communication is, advancing a domestically unsupported idea to a foreign public. When policy and diplomacy match, skilled connections across the borders get reinforced giving room for

³³⁰ Hervé Maupeu, "Revisiting Post-Election Violence," *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est / The East African Review*, no. 38 (April 1, 2008): 193–230.

³³¹ Takashi Yamano, Yuki Tanaka, and Raphael Gitau, "Haki Yetu (It's Our Right): Determinants of Post-Election Violence in Kenya," *Discussion Paper*, n.d., 35.

public diplomacy communications.³³² States diplomatic power rests primarily on cultural, political and policy resources.³³³ Availability of multiple information to the public on policy matters often create confusion leaving room for very little attention on government attempts to explain and distinguish valuable background information.³³⁴ State's internal and external attraction is legitimized by its diplomatic ability to influence and command authority in the system.

In the process of re-thinking PD, actors must first of all re-evaluate their choice-making processes, re-examine arguments and decisions intertwined by public diplomacy, establish its place in the networked diplomatic system and finally work towards the reconstruction of their communication systems.³³⁵ With sports as an element of cultural exchange, Kenya has tried in its branding but the inadequate use of PD is evident in its failure to leverage the promotion and empowerment of non-state actors and other relationship builders in the communication of its foreign policy objectives.

Domestic politics is diplomatically influential. It is a source of influence, basic-level power of networks and diplomatic influence.³³⁶ Governments which undermine domestic public's democracy and independence will always encounter resistance. "One thing worse than a bitter enemy is an imprudent friend", and when a country's population decide to go silent on

³³² Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 96.

³³³ Marina Fomina and Olga Borisenko, "Strategy Cultural Resources Chinese Version of 'Soft Power,'" *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n5s3p184>.

³³⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 98.

³³⁵ Riordan, Shaun. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, 180–95, 186.

³³⁶ Yanwar Pribadi, "Village Politics," *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 2018, 179–205, 184.

government actions, state's attempts to push for policy agendas would always remain a challenge.

Huge task still lies ahead even after Kenya opened its high commission in Islamabad, Pakistan. Its diplomatic activities are evolving and are transforming conditions necessary for advancement. It is garnering and shaping public opinion of other states such as Uganda's perceived authoritarian government. Despite foreign leaders being pleasant and welcoming, negativity from the public citizens and other international actors are limiting the county's scope of influence. Diplomatic relation carries a force for good to state actors especially during decision making. Physical engagement of non-state actors should not be put out of the choice making processes. Additionally, they explain the kind of people a country has and occupy a leading position with focus on sustainable foreign policy values.

4.4.3 Public diplomacy strategies

Public diplomacy requires different skills and strategies for its implementation. This calls for economic and political interdependence and state's ability to see value in non-governmental actors and their interconnectedness. Governments strive to influence foreign publics, however, with the increasing diplomatic network, they are required to renew their attention and move away from one-way information flow.³³⁷ Melissen argues that as a strategy to keep off external influence, governments tend to pass information to individual foreign publics. He emphasizes that giving domestic publics free engagement grounds with the foreign audience would make it easy to establish beyond opinion gatekeepers, a link with non-state actors for collaboration among citizen.

³³⁷ Daya Thussu, "Book Review: Jan Melissen (Ed.) the New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 240 Pp. ISBN 978 0 230 53554 1 (PBK)," *Media, War & Conflict* 2, no. 3 (2009): 359–63, 359.

In situations where public diplomacy is not closely linked to policy goals, achievement of national interests is often left to chance.³³⁸ A well-tuned public diplomacy focusses on achievable goals. It is therefore important for governments to broaden their focus and remain open on policy agendas and strategies. Inclusivity of non-state actors and local networks in choice making processes and in activities of public diplomacy is however very important for effective diplomatic relations³³⁹

States who willingly reinforce public diplomacy by the activities of non-state actors always get boosted capacities and have their policy interests advanced.³⁴⁰ There exist contradicting interpretations of techniques appropriate to the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals and the significance of its public diplomacy strategies. Application techniques of public diplomacy are frustrated by the inability of states to filter or resist global policies.³⁴¹

Besides the existing link with foreign policy, public diplomacy of most governments do not incorporate crucial questions within the changing framework of diplomatic relations. They get pre-occupied with implementation of strategies of public diplomacy and development of new mechanisms within the foreign ministries. This ends up misleading the publics and their understanding of what PD is, its significance and expectations.³⁴² The role of public diplomacy has been to some extent confused to be modes of power exercise within the ever-changing diplomatic system. Combining aspects of public diplomacy with soft power, Henrikson brought a new dimension to the practice by arguing out that PD is a form of intellectual,

³³⁸ Ibid, 361.

³³⁹ Riordan, Shaun. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: a New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, 180–95, 183.

³⁴⁰ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 28-43, 29.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid, 185.

political and social engagement geared towards influence of external opinions and actions.³⁴³ According to Henrikson, high levels of intercultural tensions and conflicts in world politics demand networked approaches to acquire global transparency in public diplomacy activities. Public diplomacy is braving both interpretive and unified mechanisms of foreign boundaries.³⁴⁴ Power of diplomats is falling into decline and is no longer deemed as persuasive as before globalization. There is a rapid disintegration of traditional secret diplomacy by the blend of both ICT and increase in number of non-state actors.³⁴⁵ Ham proposes the selling of national ideas by the general public from the grassroots and local villages. Most of African countries rely on the government elite for advancement of interests and always view citizens as misinformed individuals who try to halt the unidirectional arrow of diplomatic progress. Cases of confrontations with violent hatred against each other group and everything they stand for are rampant within Africa. For example, the Xenophobic South Africa and Nigeria's retaliation are exposing governments' disabilities in serving the people. Failure to take views of other actors into account during the choice making processes of foreign policy make it difficult for states to have their actions understood better and more effectively accepted. Most African states have lost monopoly of processing and diffusing information because in their interactions with the wider public, networked approaches are neither preferred nor adopted.³⁴⁶ Failures of a "one-size fits all" type of public diplomacy occur in situations when there is lack of focus on both

³⁴³ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 81.

³⁴⁴ Raymond Cohen, "Reflections on the New Global Diplomacy: Statecraft 2500 Bc to 2000 Ad," *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, 1999, pp. 1-18, 3.

³⁴⁵ Peter Van Ham, "Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 47-66, 47.

³⁴⁶ Simon Anholt, "Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations," *Brands and Branding Geographies*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857930842.00027>.

what is said and how it is heard.³⁴⁷ Most governments condescend and ignore their publics thus they lack successful and convictive efforts towards sceptical foreign populace on policy and benevolence standards.³⁴⁸

Countries with weak niches for imposition of policies on the diplomatic market also lack necessities and incentives needed to generate meaningful gains from specified concentrated resources.³⁴⁹ Elusive unpredictable challenges from foreign publics not only require change management but well calculated strategies and ability to mobilize support at a daunting speed. Taking into account the changing framework in diplomatic relations, states and non-state actors are adapting to the multiple changes in the international system and are increasing their assertive participation in public diplomacy activities.³⁵⁰ Increasing the visibility of the ordinary individual in public diplomacy enactment makes it easy for nations to address policy issues and concerns of ordinary citizens in line with its foreign policy objectives. The international system is experiencing a volatile growth of non-state actors whose influence especially with the rise of soft power and access to information require different mind-set from the traditional tactics of government centred practice of public diplomacy. Development and evolution of public diplomacy has seen emergence of independent actors who are virtually connected and are playing key roles in influencing both domestic and international opinions.

The changing social demands and rapid growth of Kenyan population operating in neighbouring countries call for cooperation and coordination between governments in solving

³⁴⁷ Peter Van Ham, "Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 47-66, 49.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 49.

³⁴⁹ Gareth Evans, "Foreword: Indonesia, Australia and the World," *Indonesia Rising*, 2012, p. 15-18, 15.

³⁵⁰ Daya Thussu, "Book Review: Jan Melissen (Ed.) the New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 240 Pp. ISBN 978 0 230 53554 1 (PBK)," *Media, War & Conflict* 2, no. 3 (2009): 359–63, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635209350014>.

different diplomatic issues. Public diplomacy, just like security, does not exist without the people and as societies change so too does the practice.³⁵¹ For example, institutions in Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan and Uganda such as communication, banking and education exchange programs are developing proactive roles in re-modelling diplomatic communication methods. They are adjusting to new conditions, reinventing and strengthening international ties in all aspects of diplomatic relations. However, not enough support is gotten from governments to enable empowerment of these actors to advance policy interests across the borders they transcend.

Determination, assessment and success of foreign policy is based on the good foundation laid by a country's public diplomacy.³⁵² Kenya thumbed a series of stale consensus behind a package of policies that kept failing. The September eleventh terrorist bombing in Nairobi and that of Israeli hotel in Kikambala left Kenya' public diplomacy in confusion and disorder. Before the attacks, Kenya was viewed as among the potential states in Africa whose diplomatic activities could be used as reference. It had played key roles in appeasing its neighbours and in negotiating the signing of Sudan Peace Agreement at Nyayo National Stadium in January 2005 which leveraged its diplomatic position and made it the guarantor of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The Somali negotiations in Eldoret and Mbagathi Kenya are some of the few elements of dawned public diplomacy by Kenya that were but postponed.

International terrorism is challenging the world with heavy damages inflicted on affected diplomacies where attacks are carried out. Capacity of governments to respond are put to test and more vulnerable countries which have already made progress are being taken aback. New

³⁵¹ Christer Jönsson, "Theorising Diplomacy," *The Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 2022, 13–26, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003016625-3>.

³⁵² Pauline K. Njagi, "Kenya's Foreign Policy in a Changing World: Themes, Fora and Prospects" (Thesis, 2008), <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/17795>.

international security agendas are emerging and are aimed at restructuring the diplomatic system.³⁵³ Of particular potential to the pressing challenges, countries fight to maintain their purpose, vision and vigour for better future. Wiser and stronger re-emergence is the only option for clean and inclusive future. International terrorism is evolving to diplomatic challenges because the affected countries go through painful and slow relationship recovery. Capacities to access diplomatic arenas get lost. Governments, United Nation agencies, private diplomatic institutions are all struggling to service debts with revised budgets. Increased price of debts and limited access to finances restrain achievement of sustainable goals.³⁵⁴ Terrorism attacks destabilizes developing countries and undermine the capacity of emerging diplomacies in almost all sectors of development including state communications to the foreign publics.³⁵⁵

4.5 Chapter Summary

Public diplomacy concerns itself with millions of people exposed to diverse information from the public and information that worsen disagreements. There has been a concentration of Kenya's public diplomacy activities to the government as the sole actor in policy issues. Though the country has withstood numerous challenges and stumbling blocks, its internal peace has always remained a greatest source of its soft power. There are elements of Kenya government that do not satisfy the general opinion of public diplomacy. However, looking from the previous experiences and continuity, the study found out that the practice of public diplomacy in Kenya is limited because it is highly controlled by government. It is believed to have down played the past post-election violence incident because of the then incoherent policy

³⁵³ Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm," in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 180–95, 181.

³⁵⁴ William Rugh, "7. Syria: Public Diplomacy in Syria: Overcoming Obstacles," *Isolate or Engage*, 2020, 205–30, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804795555-010>.

³⁵⁵ Michael H. Creswell, "Wasted Words? The Limitations of U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 42, no. 5 (May 4, 2019): 464–92, 467.

which did not give non-state actors necessary freedom to coordinate the people-people dialogue. Internal relations suffered changes that were not anticipated. And with no intervention from the region, the struggle to break from the conflict went through a period of taking sides. It was however during this period that each political party tried to secure legitimate position in government.

Kenya's public diplomacy took a new turn after the 2007 when it was applied by the Kofi Annan led team and successfully ended the conflict during the post-election violence. Constant national election protests often bring confusion to states whose foreign policy objectives are not documented or are unknown to other actors other than the government alone. There are certain factors which impact on policy execution. For instance, decision-making processes, state interest, government leaders' capabilities, perceptions and role conceptions are key to public diplomacy. Kenya is a diplomatic power state in East Africa positioning itself as an anchor state in regional peace and security. Its foreign policy orientation has also situated it as a regional leader and edged the country towards a more assertive policy position. Previously, its non-alignment faced serious territorial challenges which began with shifter insurrection in north frontier districts. Kenya's diplomatic future is in strapping credible relationships; however, it is believed that regional prosperity is dependent on diplomatic integration of all potential states.

Kenya's major public diplomacy challenge lies in the lack of integration of non-state actors into the practice. It remains unknown to the public as to what Kenya's public diplomacy brand is, its values and whether it allows structural opportunities for change in the practice of communicating to the foreign publics. Taking note of the diversity in the country beyond the political outlook and democracy form of governance, Kenya's challenge is in reaching people across the digital divide. The country is finding it expensive to fund public diplomacy programs. Consequently, the rise in public opinion and non-state actors is making it difficult

for Kenya to clearly identify its policy goals and key audiences, design its message strategies or use appropriate platform to communicate and evaluate the message strategies.

CHAPTER FIVE

Public Diplomacy in Kenya

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines new PD opportunities and priorities in Kenya's foreign relations. Public diplomacy that introduces newer environment beyond the traditional government scope. This chapter evaluates the broad, open global thinking in the globalized world and transformation of both domestic and foreign publics into global citizens through a choice making process. The chapter analyses public diplomacy practices, it briefly examines the less expensive approaches and focus on reputation increase, reconciliation and broader endeavours of the public diplomacy. The chapter also analyses the different forms of state expression and its public diplomacy strengths in communicating foreign policy objectives. This chapter also gives attention to a dialogue-based public diplomacy as an inclusive choice making process, a community driven approach and it further assesses the tools needed in this era of new order and information age. The chapter finalizes by venturing into the revolutionary path and approaches of the public diplomacy with the emergence of private non-state actors and other interest groups in matters of diplomatic relations aimed at understanding the hopes and fears of foreign publics. It then brings out themes that provide differing perspectives on policy goals and on communication revolution.

5.2 Phases in Foreign Policy Processes

In response to societal changes such as globalization, democratization and communication revolution, public diplomacy continues to evolve. The core of public diplomacy engagement is about government relationships and its capacity to build partnerships for instance the development of abilities to critically evaluate policies, and contribute to development of

choices and outcomes of policy goals.³⁵⁶ However, public diplomacy goes beyond governments and foreign publics. Primarily, it focuses on government efforts to influence the target audience and secure continued dialogue.

There are certain debates which focus on how effective a country's foreign policy is and how well its decision-making processes are coordinated.³⁵⁷ For instance, the agent structure debate on individual action determinant and whether they take actions as free agents or as directives from social structures such as governments and other organs of diplomacy. It is not easy to isolate countries from international affairs. Countries focus on diplomatic issues, challenges, attempt to limit outside influence and try as much as possible to avoid getting dragged into other countries diplomatic disagreements. Public diplomacy communications are key to fostering cooperation, engagements and partnerships.³⁵⁸ Through strategic communications and outreach decision makers, opinion leaders engage meaningfully with foreign audience.

Decision to create public awareness of national interests on policies and development topics is a government activity.³⁵⁹ Public diplomacy communications are core to a country's influence of attitudes, perceptions and overcoming of disinformation which occurs in the international system. With no guarantee of non-interference from other countries, public diplomacy translates into people-people dialogues and communications, delivers effective foreign policy messages and attempt to tell the right stories to the right people.³⁶⁰ However, with the

³⁵⁶ Ashvin Gonesh and Jan Melissen, *Public Diplomacy: Improving Practice*, Clingendael Diplomacy Papers, no. 5 (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2005).

³⁵⁷ Adam Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

³⁵⁸ Michael J. Shapiro and G. Matthew Bonham, "Cognitive Process and Foreign Policy Decision-Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1973): 147–74, 148.

³⁵⁹ Nicholas John Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009).

³⁶⁰ Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 919–41, 921.

information age marred by challenges that ignore state boundaries, it remains difficult for a country to shut itself from the outside world and operate as a unitary actor on matters of foreign policy. Nevertheless, the situation still calls for engagement with others in order to increase opportunities.

The various communication and public diplomacy exchanges which take place with the foreign publics involve the use of a wide range of practices designed to influence or persuade foreign audience.³⁶¹ Working on how public diplomacy should be geared to gain non-coercive influence, governments are redirecting their efforts towards public diplomacy with comprehensive approaches on both domestic and foreign dimensions. Here, the publics are viewed as stepping stones of public participation and central necessities to foreign policy making and implementation. Governments tend to involve the public as a formality to policy process and if not necessary, they would pass into practice policies without considering public opinion.

Public diplomacy communicates a country's foreign policy with other countries both at high level meetings between leaders and in regular interactions between countries representatives such as ambassadors and diplomats.³⁶² Such interactions can be in public or in private and can include both consultations as well as negotiations. Public diplomacy allows direct, clear communication of goals and priorities, negotiated agreements that address problems and coordinated actions. Well-coordinated decision-making processes generate goodwill, help stabilize the country and increases its capacity to govern at an international level

³⁶¹ Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361–87, 365.

³⁶² Jack S. Levy, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1997): 87–112, 88.

A country's domestic values are reflected in its foreign policy decisions. Through foreign policy choices, governments tend not to prioritize the shaping of what other countries do in their policies rather than what they do at home.³⁶³ States prefer making choices and decisions that lead to policies that can be balanced and those which serve individual national interests. However, such policies require difficult choices which are effectively weighed at early stages of foreign policy formulation. States also make decisions on how to accomplish foreign policy goals either through unilateral, bilateral or multilateral engagements.³⁶⁴ Sometimes states prefer to go it alone, taking independent actions and allowing its decision-making processes to act fast without compromising with other countries.

Foreign policy in Kenya embraces both bilateral and multilateral engagements. Its pillars seek to deepen engagements and partnerships and is leveraging on skills and expertise of its diaspora population for national development.³⁶⁵ Through its Ministry of Foreign affairs and Diaspora, its public diplomacy activities and policy objectives are aimed at shaping its interaction and engagements with the foreign publics. Working towards maximizing outcomes from its diplomatic engagements at all levels, its public diplomacy activities are government centred and its international engagements are coordinated and directed by government's top leadership.

More often, countries work together with other countries and they embrace multilateral efforts in addressing global challenges because solution to such issues require collective actions.³⁶⁶ This togetherness however, works better if right from individual country's decision-making

³⁶³ Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361–87, 367.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 369.

³⁶⁵ Faith Mabera, "Kenya's Foreign Policy in Context (1963–2015)," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 23, no. 3 (2016): 365–84, 367.

³⁶⁶ Ashvin Gonesh and Jan Melissen, *Public Diplomacy: Improving Practice*, Clingendael Diplomacy Papers, no. 5 (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2005).

processes, non-state actors and their contributions are incorporated in the choice making approaches.³⁶⁷ Foreign policy formulation and implementation is often a complex activity for states. Governments encounter difficulties, so are their policy approaches as well. Decisions might not always fit neatly into one policy or the other, instead, they lie somewhere in between state's policy choices and government leaders' individual interests. Countries pursue policies with an aim of influencing each other and to advance national interests. Moreover, different situations require different approaches into decision making processes.

Public diplomacy is greatly impacted on by the changing environment in the diplomatic system and the need to bring in more actors into the practice public diplomacy. Policy goals are interdependent and with the emergence of broad number of actors beyond governments who not only have interest but whose every decision and action determine the outcome of policy objectives, public diplomacy becomes an integral part of policy making and delivery. Governments with the help of virtual engagements made possible by the technological changes,³⁶⁸ are going beyond messaging towards collective efforts of dialogue and cooperation in order to find solutions to global challenges.³⁶⁹ For example the digital adaptation brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic which saw MFAs and UN oblige to the development of solutions to have virtual engagements via video-conference platforms.

5.3 Approaches in the Practice of Public Diplomacy in Kenya

Diplomacy has various ways of communicating policy messages. Public diplomacy being government direct communication with foreign publics, employs official efforts of convincing

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Corneliu Bjola , Ilan Manor, The rise of hybrid diplomacy: from digital adaptation to digital adoption, *International Affairs*, Volume 98, Issue 2, March 2022, Pages 471–491, 476.

³⁶⁹ Nicholas Hawton & Shahrokh Shakerian, *Crossing the Rubicon: virtual diplomacy in a changing world*, October 20, 2020

audience to support foreign policy objectives. Within the domain of value and in attempts to accomplish goals, governments are adopting alternative public diplomacy approaches. The branding and marketing approach is no longer effective because policy values of countries are shifting from solidarity and equity to competitiveness and efficiency. States are developing cultures of mutual relations in winning the hearts and minds of foreign publics.

Almost all governments implement one-way model of approach in public diplomacy practices. Through Ministry of Foreign Affairs, states communicate directly to their foreign publics. This approach is however limited in both scope and outreach and as a result, governments are altering their communication strategies on policy issues. With increased focus on internal population, Ministries are establishing all-round relationships with citizens and non-state actors. The kind of relations that covers a wide range of issues and incorporate actors from around the world. Countries like Japan, New Zealand and Canada are abandoning one-way model approaches and through their Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they are adopting strategies beyond the traditional models of communicating their foreign policy objectives to the foreign publics. Canada adopted an approach branded “The dialogue on foreign policy”, fifteen town hall meetings in 2003 which was attended by over 3000 people. The objective of these meetings was to understand to Canadian citizens’ opinions and views on the country’s foreign policy.

The change in the international system and the growing importance of non-state actors are pushing states to re-strategize their goal accomplishments and chose different ways to engage the diplomatic actors. Challenged by the rise of hegemon and structural factors that appear to rule over agency in making things happen, public diplomacy is regaining strength in the international system.³⁷⁰ It is either in form of balance of power or structural transformation where states shift to new sectors or levels without requisite training. As an instrument of foreign

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 7.

policy, public diplomacy if properly used, confers the advantages of national ability, and allows states to effectively achieve what they want. This involves taking into account the existing differences and embracing universal values and ideologies.

Diplomatic aspects of state interactions reshape societal politics.³⁷¹ Amid the unfriendly relationships in the international system, people-people exchanges is gaining importance. Regardless of the situation, citizen exchanges will always niche diplomacy of a country and generate returns. This in turn result into careful selection of policy products gotten from accurate reading by an all-inclusive diplomatic economy. When supporting benevolence and at the same time using it courteously, moral image projection of a nation become known and admired by the general public.³⁷² For example, when Canada pioneered in the field of peace keeping or when Norway's efforts in the Middle East OSLO process earned it a Nobel Prize for Peace. Collaborative approaches in diplomatic undertakings eases the identification of the most intimately allied state or actors in the international arena.³⁷³ Accordingly, the adoption of like-mindedness approach to global and regional issues cultivate goodwill relationships. Norway's leading role in soft power and its priority to contribute to world peace and development of global governance is anchored on clearly formulated ideas on foreign policy messages.

The growing connectivity of people and the thought shaping perspectives of public diplomacy are of challenge to the establishment of foreign policy and its impact in the international

³⁷¹ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 70.

³⁷² Paul Sharp, "The Modern Diplomatic System of States," *Diplomacy in the 21st Century*, 2019, 32-46, 33.

³⁷³ Ibid.

system.³⁷⁴ Through international exchange programs, people-people exchange is an important aspect of public diplomacy because the several community outreaches provide access to information and result into lasting ties. Thinking in global terms, especially in the 21st century with focus on the young citizens, the exchange programs transform them into global citizens who passionately broaden their perspectives in harvesting the public through international collaborations. Understanding people with different perspectives other than its own makes it easier for governments to establish dialogue around issues which they do not fully agree on and address conflicting ideas.³⁷⁵ There is a wide network of non-state actors getting engaged in the practice of public diplomacy. Governments of Canada and Norway have developed frameworks in which government potentials are supported by recognised public-private actors whose efforts are integrated. From this kind of approach, a more knowledgeable and experienced public is brought in the decision-making processes, making easy the realization of policy goals and values.

Public diplomacy is a form of intellectual, political and social engagement.³⁷⁶ Ideas of influence driven by the public often offer publicity to state values and goals in the current attention-seeking global arena.³⁷⁷ Possession of good leaders' moral authority is something that the foreign public will always want. For example, governments whose public diplomacy officers are well connected and have wide range of recognition attain secure positioned results of foreign policy objectives. These officers directly engage the publics and work towards

³⁷⁴ Caiyun, Qu. "Thematic Session on People-to-People Connectivity." *Routledge Handbook of the Belt and Road*, 2019, 403–7, 405.

³⁷⁵ "People-to-People Diplomacy." *Beyond Shangri-La*, 2012, 272–85, 274.

³⁷⁶ Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 69.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 71.

maintaining of close collaborations with non-state actors in foreign countries. These groups provide useful advices which contribute to diplomatic solutions to policy goals.

Nation-branding as a tool of public diplomacy rely on the foundation of listening both to the domestic audience and foreign publics.³⁷⁸ It involve communication interventions aimed at quality branding, promotion of experience and partnering networks.³⁷⁹ Networks that promote learning, advocacy and partnerships also mobilizes image promoting forces to foreign publics.³⁸⁰ Since public diplomacy recognizes and accepts its limitations, nation-branding adopts a can-do approach and clarify strategic vision for states with weak, invisible diplomatic image. The humble, thoughtful but unfocused population tend to have their self-image re-shaped and identity moulded.³⁸¹ Identity and aspirations of a state are projected through nation-branding and articulated to the foreign publics. With vital important domestic dimensions, public diplomacy and nation-branding complement each other. Whenever this happens, diplomatic relationships are smoothly maintained and promoted. Information exchange strengthens foreign relationships with non-official target groups, reduces misconceptions and creates goodwill of the constructed partnership.

With diplomatic agreements, international peace is maintained making it easier for states to promote opinions and beliefs.³⁸² Additionally, its net results require fundamental honesty and consistency in taking into account the international community expectations. In the current

³⁷⁸ Simon Anholt, "Towards 'Governmental Social Responsibility,'" *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6, no. 2 (2010): pp. 69-75, 69.

³⁷⁹ Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe," *European Public Diplomacy*, n.d., <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137315144.0011>.

³⁸⁰ Ilan Manor, "The New Public Diplomacy—Fact or Fiction," *Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 177–216, 179.

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, 181.

³⁸² Alan K. Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 81.

globalized era of information flow, a country's self-identity must be reinforced through its public diplomacy. In order to achieve one's purpose and enjoy a diplomatic clout, positive effects on others behaviour and policy interest definition must include attractive causes like peace making and economic aid.³⁸³ Kenya is shifting priorities and is changing its approach to peacebuilding in the East African region. Considering the issues Kenya has had with Somali on diplomatic issues in Juba land and Kismayo, Kenya is starting to embrace "good neighbourliness" by tying its growing confidence in its potentials and successes as an economic hub determined by its foreign policy trajectories.

State competition on foreign policy issues aimed at seeking international attention often strive to bridge diplomatic gaps and boost states' interactions in the global arena.³⁸⁴ There are significant, complex and interdependent challenges facing public diplomacy which call for sufficient follow-through and understanding of liable changes in the practice. Browning talks of the impacts on external audiences expanded beyond political identity. Policy branding and knowledge sharing in the changing nature of relationships between actors' favours governments which are willing to engage in reforms that tackle the root causes of alienation and political disenfranchisement.³⁸⁵ The world is in the middle of profound diplomatic challenges. Therefore, the rise in networked populism and the increase in population makes public diplomacy an essential tool in the projection and advancement of policy interests.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 7–20, 9.

³⁸⁴ Christopher S. Browning and Antonio Ferraz De Oliveira, "Introduction: Nation Branding and Competitive Identity in World Politics," *Geopolitics* 22, no. 3 (2017): pp. 481-501, 481.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 483.

³⁸⁶ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32–51, 33.

However, as the world becomes increasingly interconnected, perceptions of state image become more important.³⁸⁷

Coherence in values is a partnership aspect that impacts positively in any diplomatic relationship. As an international actor, states work towards deepening their global interconnections, strengthening their actors across borders and ensure their governments are conjoined with the non-state actors and the foreign publics. Snow proposes adoption of measures such as promotion of freedom of information, promotion of communications as worldwide-right and greater coordination of diplomacy in a way that it directly and indirectly leverages public attitudes and opinions.³⁸⁸ Active engagement in partnerships with dominant powers increases saliency in official thinking. When national policies are presented as serving the global good, states ability to compromise their powers with ordinary actors and their private strategies in the international arena increases.³⁸⁹ Kenya has embraced among many, promotions such as Denmark and USAID Peace building and conflict transformation, a thematic area in the 2010-2020 engagement of peace stability and security cooperation³⁹⁰. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) a commission that has succeeded in taking Kenya through a journey of constructive cohesion and integrity.³⁹¹ Projecting the ability of non-state actors in messaging information that governments cannot.

³⁸⁷ Tianduo Zhang and Guy J. Golan, “Mediated Public Diplomacy as a Function of Government Strategic Issue Management,” *Bridging Disciplinary Perspectives of Country Image, Reputation, Brand, and Identity*, 2018, 192–211, 194.

³⁸⁸ Nancy Snow, “Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s,” *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

³⁸⁹ Joseph S. Nye, “Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited,” *Debating Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 7–20, 9.

³⁹⁰ International Monetary Fund, “Denmark: 2016 Article IV Consultation-Press Release; Staff Report; and Statement by the Executive Director for Denmark,” *IMF Staff Country Reports* 16, no. 184 (2016): 1, <https://doi.org/10.5089/9781475533460.002>.

³⁹¹ “Beyond Exclusion – Building a Cohesive Society,” *Social Security in Contemporary Japan*, 2013, 168–95, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203813669-13>.

Efforts to make a country attractive involve selling of cultural values and policies which are attractive to others.³⁹² At times making values count to the foreign publics and ensuring attractiveness of ideals require networks which insulate strenuous social challenges and segregate systems. Confucius institutes in countries like USA and many in African countries are prime examples of diplomacy. Reputation of governments rely on valuations and accurate projection which have beneficial effects in different settings. Language, sports, education exchange programs, art and music are promoters of soft power with PD in a strategic centre. Power reinforcement between soft and hard power takes a step-in message conveyance and country representation in the global arena. Successful public diplomacy is an accurate representation in the modern world that requires greater capacity to communicate to broad audience and which lay out robust and resilient designs for pushing critical collective issues.³⁹³

In transcending boundaries, the long-lasting relationships between or among publics leverage cross border positions and help unleash new waves of innovation and economic growth needed.³⁹⁴ Sustainable relationships with emphasis on grass-roots participation in politics and diplomatic affairs minimize the impacts of officialdom in the practice of public diplomacy. Focussing on the receiver end of foreign policy messages with public and individual as objects of influence. It is when a state choses public diplomacy practices in which public opinion formation is not dependent on the communicator intention but on opinion and attitudes of the audiences it is targeting.

³⁹² Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 307.

³⁹³ Paul Rogat Loeb, "Against Apathy: Role Models for Engagement," *Academe* 87, no. 4 (2001): p. 42.

³⁹⁴ Ernest Satow, "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice," Cambridge Core (Cambridge University Press, June 2011).

5.4 Establishing Power of Influence in Kenya's Public Diplomacy

States embrace ideas and appreciate interactions that correlate with values of diplomacy. In enhancing diplomatic communication, cooperation and cross border trades, governments focus majorly on agreements, alliances and peaceful resolutions. States are niching and are learning to efficiently and successfully apply diplomatic methods that encourage government and non-governmental actors and their coming together to strategically find solutions to public diplomacy challenges. These are made vibrant through intercontinental diplomacy with other actors in the international system. Therefore, Africa, though is depicted as “dark continent”, it has been home to institutions and organizations in which diplomacy is much utilised.

In Africa, there is a history of shared values which is built on partnerships of influence and visibility through dialogue. It depends on how quickly and quietly a state unconditionally carries out its public diplomacy activities. Because every state has something to offer, notions of well-articulated concepts and power utilization of better arguments extend diplomatic outreaches for positive influence and realization of policy goals.³⁹⁵ To be able to generate beneficial outcomes, it is important for governments to keep the non-state diplomatic actors in close working partnerships and in resource concentration within specific areas of national interests. Public diplomacy programs directed at domestic audiences work best with the adoption of parallel moves to opposition on policy and values.³⁹⁶ Many countries have neglected practicing public diplomacy within their domestic audience. However, with the current developments in technology and information flow, some states are coming up with ways of implementing domestic public diplomacy. Australia took a step in 2007 after realizing lack of awareness among its citizens of its public diplomacy. The government recommended

³⁹⁵ Alan K. Henrikson, “Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global ‘Corners’ of Canada and Norway,” *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 67-87, 72.

³⁹⁶ Evan Potter, “Canada and the New Public Diplomacy,” *International Journal: Canada Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 58, no. 1 (2003): pp. 43-64, 44.

the implementation of a public communication strategy which aimed at not only informing the public, but also the non-state actors' facilitation to participate in Australian public diplomacy and policy processes.

Since 1895, Kenya was under British colonial rule and with the 1963 independence, it gained recognition from the United States. Having undergone major changes in its internal rule and documented its foreign policy, the country has since formed stronger diplomatic relations with global powers such as China and is now focussing on regional integration as cornerstones of its foreign policies.³⁹⁷ Kenya is a member of over 31 regional and sub-regional blocs whose main aim is cooperation and fostering of peaceful relationships.

Following brief history of countries with successful and effective foreign policies, their potential lies on the integration of public diplomacy activities aimed at increased understanding and relationship building. In efforts to convince the outside world of the strengths of their policies, these countries invest towards follow up reports of activities from the diplomatic relations they hold. The United States through its state department is incorporating latest ICT into diplomacy. As a follow-up strategy. The state regularly holds working sessions of varied actors who collaborate and network. These exchanges consequently lead to incorporation of technological services into American foreign policy and further the state interests abroad.

Information communication technology is transforming the conduct of diplomatic practices and impacting on state interactions.³⁹⁸ Consequently, there are multiple actors across the globe with access to, and control over information. However, governments are not in a position to

³⁹⁷Mumo Nzau, "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers While Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect," in *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*, ed. Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich, African Histories and Modernities (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), pp. 137-64, 158.

³⁹⁸ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, 28-43, 30.

control what comes in or out from these group of actors. Woven together with some aspects in the legacy of people-people exchanges, certain threads of public diplomacy seek and target active role for publics with non-state actors within the interactive parameters of diplomatic relations.³⁹⁹ The African continent has the advantage of numbers, shared history and shared resources. Through digital media, Kenya is represented virtually in all parts of the world. Even though Kenya lacks the economic and military power leading to its capacity in the global arena being undermined, it has efficiently established itself in maintaining harmony and synchronization needed for a frictionless journey towards policy goals and achievement

Modernization and development of East Africa Community structures re-established in 1999 with its membership increasing to five from three, was a sign that Kenya was re-engineering to change the dynamics of its engagements in diplomatic institutions.⁴⁰⁰ Kenya started re-defining its relations and critical evaluation of its foreign policy objectives by balancing the interests of the development partners with its vital national interests.⁴⁰¹ Even though the country did not listen, did not persuade and did not take time to understand foreign audience who did not understand its policies, it took steps and started re-aligning to global public diplomacy. State capacity in global arena is the matching of cultures and ideas with prevailing global norms.⁴⁰² Kenya is packaging necessary international support to achieve foreign policy objective interests and embrace public opinion needed to exert influence on decisions and actions of other government.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 32.

⁴⁰⁰ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 311.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 313.

⁴⁰² Henry A. Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," *Daedalus* 95, no. 2 (1966): 503–29, 503.

The 2004 Arab Youth Initiative together with a high school exchange program between Arabs and Muslims, Partnership for Learning (P4L) are to date good examples of successful public diplomacy campaigns spearheaded by public citizens. Collaborations in form of parliamentary engagements if adopted within a region, advances modern diplomatic and bilateral relations. The Kenya-Ukraine parliamentary engagement is a strategic pattern to earn foothold in Africa. Through the two states self-determination, they are able to tap from the best patterns and policies in both countries and effectively bring on board other actors with the same interests.

Kenya's establishment in global public diplomacy began in 2010 with the matching of cultures and ideas with prevailing global norms in its new promulgated constitution.⁴⁰³ The packaging of necessary international support to achieve foreign policy objective interests went a niche higher with this promulgation. The big markets in Kenya's public diplomacy navigated are for example the establishment of consulate in Juba Sudan which opened a levelled ground for economic agreements, the peace diplomacy task force in Somali and the hosted talk that was key to ending the conflict in Eastern Congo. Kenya is trying to unite in diversity countries such as Tanzania where in the capital of Dar es Salaam, it opened a modern embassy.

People-people interactions help overcome the gap between the dis-hearted populations who are unwilling to resolve their problems. When targeted at a wider population, these kinds of activities remain as the only means for mutual understanding and policy projection. Agency enacted by government and its people exert assertive agency in its interstate engagements.⁴⁰⁴ Civil societies play important role in improving diplomatic relationships. If not viewed with suspicions or as agents of regime change, they partner effectively in negotiating various deals

⁴⁰³ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 310.

⁴⁰⁴ Adams Oloo, "The Place of Africa in the International Community: Prospects and Obstacles," *OALib* 03, no. 04 (2016).

with external partners for the benefit of a whole nation. Apart from Canada, the pioneer of face-face interactions, other countries such as Finland South Korea and Nigeria just to mention but a few are combining efforts and expressing their interests in promoting dialogue with citizens through interactive forums. In 2011, Nigeria through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations organised a seminar in which all diplomatic actors participated and gave responses which were later reviewed and analysed as part of the country's foreign policy.

It is not just the dollars spent or the number of people convinced, but the hearts and minds won and changed effectively that define public diplomacy.⁴⁰⁵ For instance, China, unlike the well-established donors such as the United States and European Union countries has deepened its involvement in foreign interactions in Africa. The ability of public diplomacy instruments to translate cultures into soft power of attraction rely of people-people exchanges and its effective subjection of communication through diplomatic filters. Rarely heard as intended, declamatory statements not only have negative effects on foreign audiences, but also become fruitless to the domestic audience if the words and images communicated are not reinforced.⁴⁰⁶ Understandings gotten from listening to the minds and values shared by both internal and external audiences often lead to a two-way strategic public diplomacy agenda. Through its Diaspora Policy. Kenya is well endowed to leverage on the contribution of the diaspora in terms of skills, expertise and transfer of knowledge across its borders. This if effectively implemented, boosts and strengthens support and participation of Kenya's diaspora population in the democratic processes and public diplomacy activities.

⁴⁰⁵ Godfrey P. Okoth, "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy," *Journal of East and West Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 143–64, 147.

⁴⁰⁶ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, 2019, 7–20, 9.

Influencing foreign governments by states flow through citizens who, when in a position to explain the benefits of a country's foreign policy to other nations and people, focus their efforts of public diplomacy on the successes.⁴⁰⁷ When the ties of civilized society are loosened, hearts and minds of foreign audiences are filled with its dreams and desires.⁴⁰⁸ In the end, the benefits of people-people exchanges and public diplomacy hit home when hearts and minds are won from peaceful interactions. In short, a good public diplomacy practice go beyond the message communicated out. It set up its corners of public diplomacy across the international system and the entire world and further maintains effective communication machinery with both the domestic and foreign public.

The reality of foreign publics being drawn to a nation's value lies in the match between the people tasked with management of state publicity and the product of public diplomacy itself.⁴⁰⁹ Whenever policies are put in place for a more open communication channel between government and non-governmental players, formation of true allies is expedited. Getting through a nation's positive message calls for restoration of constructive relationships.⁴¹⁰ By observing equality, listening carefully and identifying convergent points within maximized points of disagreement inclusive choice making processes are adopted which in turn stabilize foreign policy objectives of a country. Kenya hosts a number of diplomatic missions who manage and facilitate communications between nations.⁴¹¹ As contact point for citizens, these missions are privy to information that if taken into consideration, provides guidance and

⁴⁰⁷ Stuart Murray et al., "The Present and Future of Diplomacy and Diplomatic Studies," *International Studies Review* 13, no. 4 (2011): 709–28, 710.

⁴⁰⁸ Peter Van Ham, "Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 47-66, 47.

⁴⁰⁹ R.S. Zaharna and Amelia Arsenault, "Relational and Collaborative Approaches," *A Research Agenda for Public Diplomacy*, 2023, 157–71, 158.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid*, 159.

⁴¹¹ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 310.

analyses on government policy initiatives.⁴¹² Therefore, public diplomacy coordinated in liaison with political officers in the diplomatic missions help in strategizing government actions on current and global affairs.

There are changes in both internal and external environments because Kenya's foreign policy concerns are derived from its domestic, international and regional factors.⁴¹³ The dictatorship tendencies of the previous government regime of President Daniel Arap Moi conducted more dogmatic foreign policies. The current government is having a more flexible approach that is trying to adapt to the global environment.⁴¹⁴ Kenya's interaction with the world actors is shifting towards a more strategic policy making and implementation. For example, the unprecedented engagement in Somalia peacekeeping represents a break from the past. However, the country's willingness to take part in complex peace initiatives most likely require a balanced approach towards achievement of its interests in the region. Therefore, considering the situation, it is only possible when Kenyan government decide to view its public diplomacy outreach similar to political campaigns. Starting with identification of key audiences to the policy goals, a state then designs a strategy based on extensive research and uses appropriate platform to communicate and evaluate the available message strategies it wishes to adopt.

There are several success lessons in the areas of public diplomacy that a country like Kenya can learn from.⁴¹⁵ These are states like Turkey, Israel and Qatar just to mention but a few. Israel though the most problematic with short term challenges on how it is viewed in some parts of

⁴¹² John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 31.

⁴¹³ R.S. Zaharna and Amelia Arsenault, "Relational and Collaborative Approaches," *A Research Agenda for Public Diplomacy*, 2023, 157–71, 157.

⁴¹⁴ Lisa Tam, "Interpersonal Approaches to Relationship Building: Diplomat as a Human Agent of Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 15, no. 2 (2018): 134–42, 135.

⁴¹⁵ Lisa Tam, "Interpersonal Approaches to Relationship Building: Diplomat as a Human Agent of Public Diplomacy," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 15, no. 2 (2018): 134–42, 136.

the world such as in Europe and Middle East, it is going out with its innovations, engaging in focus groups and is surveying the world with an aim of identifying its strengths and opportunities. Despite its many innovations, most people still think about Israeli's part in conflict, a situation its government is countering by creating positive image campaigns. Qatar, on the other hand is prioritizing on international broadcasting efforts – as public diplomacy tactics. Its government is moving beyond penetrating difficult media markets to persuasion and activities focussed at shifting the mindset of the international community.

State agency lies in changing the system in Kenya's foreign services to include public diplomacy, develop a closer tie and encourage stronger public diplomacy strategies. The process includes creation of means through which people can rise and professionalize the practice of public diplomacy.⁴¹⁶ It is not easy for most governments to allow public diplomacy practitioners become part of the decision making. This comes as a result of the fear that the non-state actors will interrogate the activities and decision-making processes which are normally controlled by government top leadership and interest group. However, it is also important when a state listens and understands how it is viewed by others and how its foreign policies affect foreign publics. A call to find ways that not necessarily change policies but better ways to accommodate the foreign publics in the achievement of state's policy goals.

5.5 Credibility in the Practice of Public Diplomacy

Credibility in diplomatic practice is the perception or judgement of the believability of a communicator or the policy message.⁴¹⁷ States work hard to establish credible relationships in the international system. In cultivating diplomatic relationships, the persuasiveness of actors,

⁴¹⁶ Pablo León-Aguinaga, "US Public Diplomacy and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Spain: Approaches, Themes, and Messages," *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain*, 2015, 93–117, 94.

⁴¹⁷ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 155–68, 155.

tools and processes account for the success of foreign policy objectives. The current fashionable notion of soft power has come out as a new kind of diplomatic recognition which brings people together.⁴¹⁸ A people who under normal circumstances would not even listen to one another. Public diplomacy has changed into a guiding principle to the detailed political, economic and social changes that states and other international actors are experiencing in their interactions.⁴¹⁹ In telling a good story of a country, ideals and development stories which support such narratives and secure reputations of nation states are taken into consideration. Public diplomacy, however as a guiding principle and a tool of foreign policy, its priorities are realised through various forms. It focusses on how and why to partner in a world where old ideas meet new rules in a rapidly changing world.⁴²⁰

The new era in practice of public diplomacy has opened up fresh possibilities but has not erased the relevance of the history of public diplomacy.⁴²¹ However, it has left the world with lessons applicable to an age in which communication of decisions is unprecedented. The practice of public diplomacy requires all-round credibility right from the first to the final step of foreign policy formulation and implementation.⁴²² This takes into account the following; credibility in behaviour and character of government leaders and state's decision makers, the choice making processes, the policy decisions made, credibility of the communication and implementation tools and strategies, and finally, credibility in handling critical views on policy objectives.

⁴¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 96.

⁴¹⁹ Kejin Zhao, "The China Model of Public Diplomacy and Its Future," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, February 2019, pp. 169-181, 172.

⁴²⁰ Nicholas J. Cull, "The Tightrope to Tomorrow: Reputational Security, Collective Vision and the Future of Public Diplomacy," *Debating Public Diplomacy*, February 2019, pp. 21-35, 21.

⁴²¹ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 155-68, 157.

⁴²² BEN D. MOR, "Credibility Talk in Public Diplomacy," *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 2 (2011): 393-422, 393.

Countries are sensitive to foreign perceptions and policies which focus more on examination of ideas aligned to public diplomacy and corresponding developments derived from existing partnerships. Relationship building in the diplomatic arena is often marred with human contact among foreign ministry officials, government leaders, resident envoys and consular staff. The deeper the trust in such relations, the easier it is for policy communicators to be believed. For countries such as China, credible relationship is not a luxury but an essential instrument in its diplomacy in which corresponding efforts are made towards its relevance in fostering people-people relations. According to Cull, good reputation takes time to build thus requires adherence to human rights and security. Therefore, to many nations, the essence of public diplomacy is building deep relations with key foreign policy players available in the international system.

There are various challenges in reaching the global audience which any credible public diplomacy strategy would strive to address.⁴²³ Because most governments including Kenya direct their public diplomacy efforts towards building alliances with other countries foreign publics but not with ordinary people, the purpose-driven alliances with non-governmental actors are often ignored. However, with technological connections of digital media, separate motives are created within the diplomatic system.⁴²⁴ Therefore, a well strategized public diplomacy of a country would focus on maintain relationships, allies and building of trust among the various actors in the system. Such governments counter disinformation by figuring out ways of reaching foreign publics and any other audience relevant to the foreign policy objectives in question. Government decision making process which emphasize on achievability of choices made.

⁴²³ BEN D. MOR, "Credibility Talk in Public Diplomacy," *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 2 (2011): 393–422, 395.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid*, 394.

Credibility of public diplomacy lies in government's ability to leverage its digital and social media tools towards advancement of foreign policy.⁴²⁵ This entails encouraging communications that support agreements based on confidentiality in negotiations and public mobilization. Public diplomacy tools which support policy mediations, spread interpretations, activate and spread pro-state's policy frames in foreign country media with different points of view. Moreover, governments which focus on motivation of both foreign elites and publics ends up with audiences who through media, comprehend and believe in its policy values.

Within the practice of public diplomacy, due to societal influences such as globalization and ICT development, offices dealing with foreign services are more reluctant to adapt to societal changes in the increasingly interconnected world of today.⁴²⁶ Solution lies in attitude of both state and non-state actors concerning these reforms. Credibility of public diplomacy communication tools is gotten from a government's reputation to provide trustworthy and accurate information. The information age came with exposure of world politics to certain degrees of visibility and transparency. As a result, states are striving to maintain consistency and conformity in their policy communication elements. Through credibility talks, technologies of information collection and dissemination are consolidated to bring together the different aspects, goals and understandings.

Credibility of policy communication officers is determined by the way they handle critical views from foreign publics. There is an increasing vibrant domestic political pressure on authorities pushing for reforms on government decision making processes. Similarly, more sources of information make it difficult to criticize opinions and even maintain clear distinction

⁴²⁵ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 155–68, 159.

⁴²⁶ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (May 1968): 29–48, 31.

between formal diplomatic work of press and public affairs.⁴²⁷ So far, increase in migration is increasing the sensitivity of most countries' domestic population and related foreign policy goals. Cultivation of networks among ministry of foreign affairs officials, embassy personnels, diplomats and consulate are dependent on the quality of interpersonal communication and their ability to work with people from diverse backgrounds. Being close to the source of foreign policy, these officers are able, if empowered, to feed into policy and speak about state values with real authority and confidence needed to build trust among the foreign publics.

Initially, public diplomacy had limited goal of creating favourable image. However, after weighing the true price of nation branding, most countries started building alternative identities through collaborations.⁴²⁸ They begin by listening, partnering and forming relevant relations. In wanting to be seen as stable and reputable partner, China majored more on cultural and ethical relevance after realizing that some brandings they had earlier on taken were limiting its partnership. Ukraine however, after its independence in 1991 could not still connect with members of the European Union nor easily gain presence in the international arena. Ukraine's public diplomacy and its inability to identify where things went wrong has barred it from talking about alternative ways of managing collecting community of international practice. Cull talks of development of vision of the future in countering victim narratives

Public diplomacy is gaining more importance than ever in this information age.⁴²⁹ Hopes are rising and people expect to see more in public diplomacy of credibility and not propaganda. There is an extraordinary growth of internet and cyberspace and the challenge now is how to reach the vast view audience in ways different from the past. States have to be enamoured of

⁴²⁷ "Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961," n.d., 16.

⁴²⁸ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 97.

⁴²⁹ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 155–68, 159.

soft power of attractiveness in taking out-of-the crisis and the diplomatic heat. During turbulent periods, countries' effectiveness in explaining ideas to the world are challenged. Efforts are made to increase political control, reduce their budgets and increase the effectiveness of their respective foreign policies. With a well-integrated public diplomacy into policy making processes, reaching out to other nations becomes an easy task. Therefore, credibility in mechanisms used in persuasion and reporting accounts for success in a state's public diplomacy. Emphasizing on timing and methods of handling instructions and directives from governments, public diplomacy that focusses on the receptivity of its policy information field's measurable results.

There is importance in people-people linkages.⁴³⁰ Through soft power means, image and status of countries are improved. Defined by Zha and Lei as various ways of conducting diplomacy or fostering of bilateral exchange beyond state level with other countries, public diplomacy allows room for non-state actors' occupation of central role in foreign policy endeavours.⁴³¹ He maintains that for friendly and peaceful nations, a country's public diplomacy when hinged on the concept

of people-people relations achieves beyond the expected outcomes of any foreign policy goals. Linking people with governments and channels through which their concerns can become policy issues on state agenda. For example, America's interest groups such as National Rifle Association, the National Organization for Women and the Anti-Defamation League have access to government decision making tables and opportunity to have their issuers brought to the forefront of America's policy agenda.

⁴³⁰ Sarah Marschlich, "Public Diplomacy Message Strategy (Public Diplomacy) (See Also Public Diplomacy Approach)," *DOCA - Database of Variables for Content Analysis*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.34778/4j>.

⁴³¹ Tony Tai-Ting Liu, 2015. Regional Integration as Political Strategy? The Case of China's Economic Offensive against Taiwan. *Asian International Studies Review*, 16(1), pp.25-39, 25.

Synergistic communications allow all public diplomacy actors on board and provide opportunity in decision making processes. In such situations, message outcomes tend to resonate with government values and strengthen communication processes. Favouring direct dialogue, the all-round communication chooses to have rational and meaningful arguments and replaces suspicion discussions with trust and understanding. The kind of understanding and respect of differences that furthers dialogues of public diplomacy. Changing attitudes of foreign publics towards a country that is believed to practice propaganda is not an easy task.⁴³² It requires reinforcement of existing beliefs that are fair to a country's commitment, re-evaluation of ideas and communication of information in a way that brings back trust.

Hoping to build influence overseas; adopting a no-hierarchy model of connecting talents inside borders to the like-minded minds abroad is a better consideration for governments.⁴³³ Based on the fact that public diplomacy is developed through ideas, values and people's involvement, governments can empower non-state actors to go global and be better positioned to reap the rewards of public diplomacy.

5.6 Chapter Summary

In any given situation, government leaders must clearly communicate what they stand for. Backed up by the will and capacity to have values which are consistent, honest and truthful, public diplomacy is linking governments, people and foreign policies. The current information age has come with new with definition of public diplomacy focussed on new players, new engagement methods, new vocabulary and approaches and new strategies. In response to the new environment, the many players are adopting different new methods of connecting people

⁴³² Sarah Marschlich, "Public Diplomacy Message Strategy (Public Diplomacy) (See Also Public Diplomacy Approach)," *DOCA - Database of Variables for Content Analysis*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.34778/4j>.

⁴³³1. Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe," *European Public Diplomacy*, n.d., <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137315144.0011>.

in addition to the new diplomatic concepts such as soft power and people-people exchange. The direction of public diplomacy is currently much more horizontal. That in which communities around the world are connecting to each other in international network facilitated by state governments.

The current diplomatic system does not only require public diplomacy approaches which are exclusive but that which also incorporate all actors in the communication of foreign policy objectives. Public opinion is expected to play greater role in foreign policy processes and to bring accountability mechanisms which are able to adjust policies from people influence point of view. Diplomatic representation is about engagements and the current Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget allocation is targeting strategic diplomatic interests. Kenya's foreign policy priority is to foster strong ties with foreign leaders aimed at making Africa a cornerstone of its foreign policy. The country is yet to start working closely with non-state stakeholders. Collectively, Kenya is trying to embrace dialogue-based negotiations and discussions towards the renewal of its shared vision and reformed relations. Kenya began employing its soft power influence through public diplomacy. Its efforts towards a relative political progress began offering some rays of hope for stability, more so, sound economic visions and a new paradigm for both domestic and international peace and security of the country. The country has opportunities to introduce non-state actors to the process of achieving internal peace and counter future conflicts both internally and externally.

Country which embraces credible public diplomacy practices ensure that at policy development stages, public diplomacy aspects are taken into account, made not only as a marketing tool but as an integral and substantive part of foreign policy processes. Through this, they effectively tackle new agendas using public diplomacy based on value assertions and genuine dialogue engagements.

CHAPTER SIX

Data Analysis, Presentation and Research Findings

6.1 Introduction

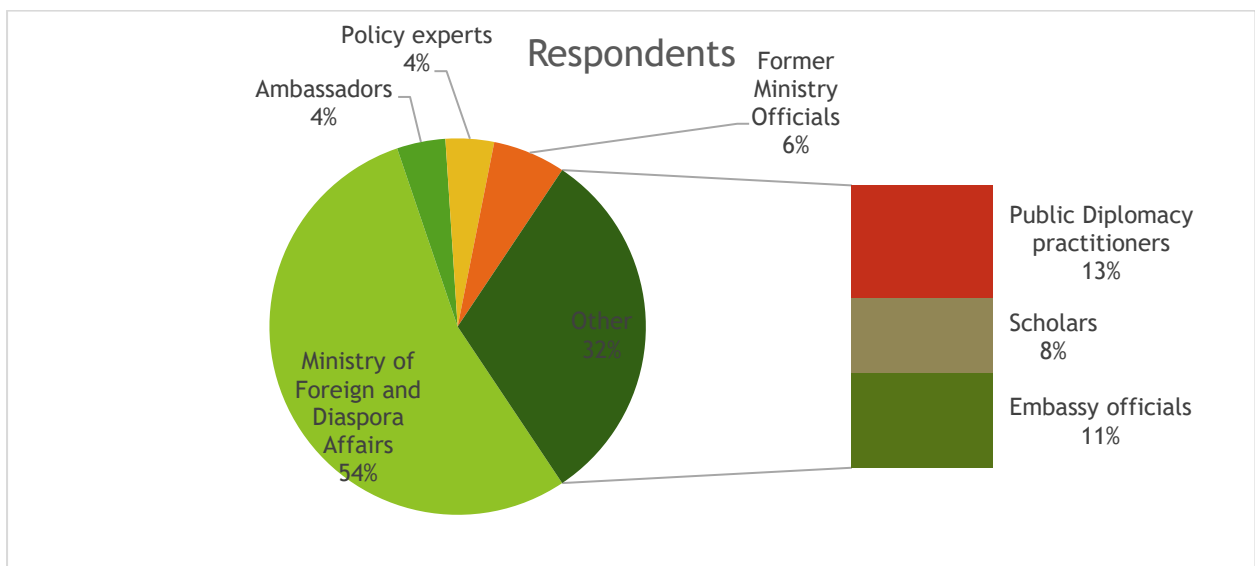
This chapter focusses on data analysis and presentation of findings. From a sample size of respondents, the study managed to gather data both physically and from online surveys. It presents a summary of findings and their implications. The chapter is a hypothesis testing quest that explores the debates and discussions on the emergence of public diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy. The Chapter answers the following research questions as outlined in chapter one and subsequent chapters of literature review. How has public diplomacy changed the communication approach of foreign policy objectives? How has public diplomacy influenced Kenya's foreign policy? What challenges are governments experiencing in their practice of public diplomacy? And if Kenya can adopt new approaches within its public diplomacy domain? A mixed research method of both exploratory and descriptive designs was used to collect data by the interview guide and questionnaires. Content analysis from both primary and secondary data was carried out whereby the study analysed the presence, meaning and relationship of words and concepts as collected from the respondents. Inferences were then made from the study findings. The study targeted a population of public diplomacy practitioners and experts such as Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs top officials such as ambassadors, directors of foreign and diaspora affairs, Top officials in diplomatic missions such as diplomats and consuls, public diplomacy experts from international organization and opinion experts on public diplomacy. A representative sample sized data was collected which was useful in improving validity of the research findings. The following is a table of research respondents, pie chart and a bar graph on the number of respondents that the study collected data from.

Table 6.1: Research Respondents.

Type of Respondent	No of Respondents	% of respondents
Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs	26	54
Ambassadors	2	4
Policy experts	2	4
Former Ministry Officials	3	6
Public Diplomacy practitioners	6	13
Scholars	4	8
Embassy officials	5	11
Total	48	100

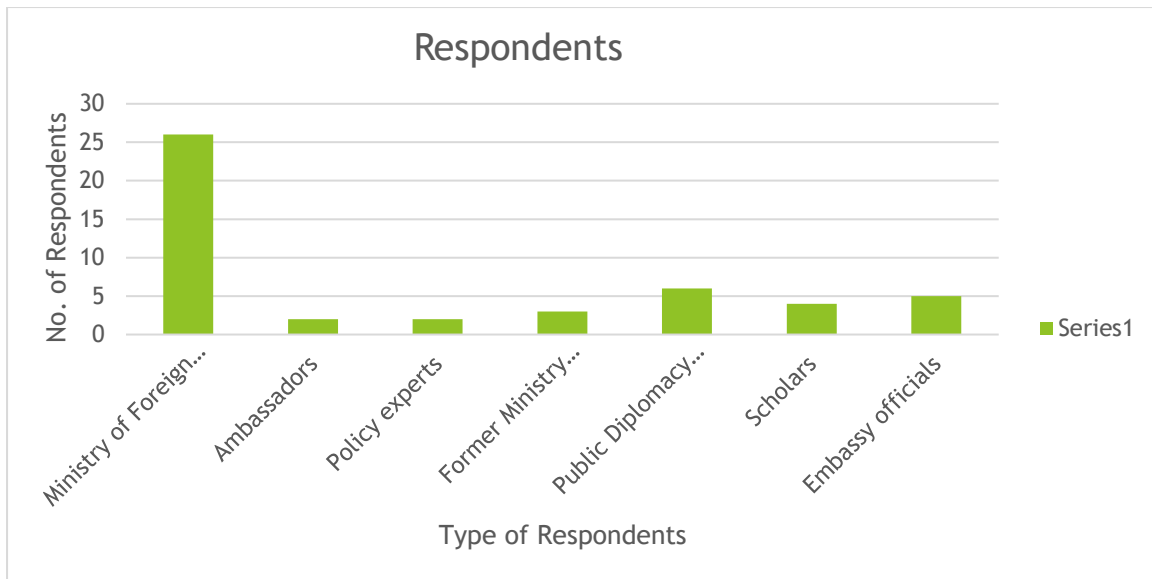
Source: Author

Pie Chart on the Research Respondents.



Source: Author

Bar Graph on Respondents.



Source: Author

6.2 Rethinking decision-making processes in Kenya’s Foreign Policy

Decision making is a difficult process and there is no single decision-making process for governments. It is argued that there is an imperfect link between policy processes and policy outcomes which oversimplifies the state problems. According to the study, rational choice model like any other theory, brings certain elements into focus by offering analytical tools which can be combined to provide useful insights into decision-making processes. The study found out that as a good starting point for understanding foreign policy making, decision makers tend to first identify and clarify goals in policy situations, they order the choices according to their importance to the state’s interests, list alternatives for achieving the set goals, investigate the consequences of each alternative then finally chose the alternative that best achieves state goals with minimum cost.

The findings of the study align with Hermann's argument that government decisions making processes are assumed to lead to better decisions but not necessarily better outcome.⁴³⁴ This is because government decisions are communicated through public diplomacy. Operating according to and in order of authority with the president at the top, government leaders exercise power over public diplomacy actors, its activities and overall policy activities. There is a constant conversation with different experts and institutions.⁴³⁵ However, according to Ambassador Martin Kimani, decision-making has a lot to do with how the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs and the president. Information from advisors and from bureaucracy flow to the president and government leaders who then make choices based on these advice and information.

The study infers that foreign policy offers more potential for influence from the non-state actors and that diplomatic decisions are concerns of government officials and the MFDA through a routine decision-making process. The study notes that foreign policy is a calculated response to the actions of other states which leads to readjustments and revaluation of national goals. Seen as unitary and rational actor in their decision-making processes, states tend to exclude from the process the non-governmental organizations, domestic politics and individual personalities. This is done a government control measure on information flow and decisions on national interests.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361–87, 367.

⁴³⁵ Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.

⁴³⁶ Interview with Halima Shariff, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

The findings of the study resonate with Cull's argument that before a state set its foreign policy goals, it goes about the process of mobilizing the available tools to achieve the set goals.⁴³⁷

Focusing on the available options for pursuing interests and achieving goals, governments chose the least coercive diplomatic tools. Since diplomacy are efforts by governments to influence the conduct or decision of foreign governments, its activities are often through dialogue, negotiations and other non-violent means such as persuasion.

From the study, there are concerns on the aspects of national interests which are not addressed or the ones which are overlooked by the decision makers yet they are also important in developing a country's foreign policy. According to the study, as a foreign policy theory, rational choice asks questions which most governments find difficult to answer or take into consideration during foreign policy making and implementation. For example, question on what the problem is, the alternatives, the strategic cost and benefit of each alternative, the observed pattern of national value, and the pressures placed on government chosen strategy of policy implementation by the international system. This finding agrees with Nzomo's argument that bilateral and multilateral negotiations attract societal interactions from pressure groups and non-state actors.⁴³⁸

From the study, Kenya's foreign policy is first in a handbook, a fact indicating the direction it is taking in its diplomacy. The process is not open to other non-state actors because any direction that government of Kenya pursues are never shared to the public but only through the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs.⁴³⁹ Even though parliament, a representative voice of

⁴³⁷ Nicholas J. Cull and Francisco Javier Rodríguez Jiménez, "Introduction: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, and Democratization," *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain*, 2015, pp. 1-14, 10.

⁴³⁸ Maria, Nzomo, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India–East African Relations." *Insight on Africa* 6 (2), 2014: 89–111, 90.

⁴³⁹ Interview with Amba. Josephine Awuor, Former Kenyan Ambassador to Zimbabwe, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

the people is involved in putting checks and balances to Kenya's foreign policy such as in vetting of Ambassadors or requesting for public opinion on Foreign Service Bills the processes are often not inclusive

On the question whether Kenya's Foreign Policy making is open and inclusive, the study hints that Kenya has a foreign policy is in between and that it is majorly government centred and not all actors are involved in the decision-making processes. This finding aligns to Cullen's idea that Kenya's public is believed not to follow foreign policy issues very closely and that they have no clear signal to foreign policy makers on what they need incorporated right from the choice making stages.⁴⁴⁰ Public diplomacy is about government communications aimed at winning the hearts and minds of the foreign publics. Each and every government strives to make choices and then develop priority on diplomatic powers to effectively communicate its foreign policy objectives. Additionally, Kenya's governing system, its diplomatic resources and its geopolitical situation in the region, reveals that its foreign policy objectives are not well aligned to a mind-set of inclusive decision making by all actors.

The study found out that Kenya has a broad public that has constrained the freedom of its government and is shaping priority given on policy-by-policy makers. Its citizens are knowledgeable, highly motivated and of a good number to have constructive input in foreign policy matters. However, they do not form part of foreign policy decision making. Government still retains extensive regulatory powers to information flow, but with reduced grounds for quiet compromises.⁴⁴¹ And even though it allows stake holder negotiations, elements of government-control levels still exist whenever wrong reviews of what the public wants to hear goes to the general public.

⁴⁴⁰ Poppy Cullen, "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Evolution, Challenges and Opportunities," *The Round Table*, November 18, 2020.

⁴⁴¹ Interview with Raphael Tuju, Former Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer, The Nairobi club, November 2nd, 2022.

The study gives a clear indication that policy making process is often characterised by inaccurate and incomplete information. It notes that the public communicates in different ways and instead of governments paying attention to the public desires and responding accordingly, they use the public opinion to shape their response to foreign policy issues and craft messages that they think would be acceptable to the public. This however, subjects a country to a controlled implementation process which is either delayed or miscommunicated resulting to uncertain goals.⁴⁴² Additionally, the study findings establishes that a well-coordinated and strategized public diplomacy often limits realization of policy outcomes that are ineffective, contradictory or self-defeating.

6.3 The evolutionary Path of Kenya's public diplomacy

Modern diplomacy is generally governed by the rules under the 1961 Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations. The practice of modern diplomacy operates through two avenues; states engaging in direct discussions through bilateral diplomacy and through multilateral diplomacy. States exercise diplomatic tools of foreign policy in a number of ways such as recognition, communication and negotiation.

Public diplomacy or people's diplomacy as sometimes referred, are government efforts aimed at establishing dialogue and promoting understanding and support of government policies abroad. Traditionally, diplomacy focussed on government-to-government relations. Shaped by experiences and established state visions abroad, countries are now engaging in more structured forms of public diplomacy.

According to the study, governments are the key players in public diplomacy. They spend so much resources in impressing foreign publics. Public diplomacy and its tools were

⁴⁴² Interview with a United Nations Expert in Economic and Social Council, UN Headquarters in Nairobi, November 2nd, 2022.

institutionalized during the cold war with Soviet Union and United States of America as the key players. Working to improve the image of a country in target foreign publics, there are various definitions as to what public diplomacy is. However, for this study, just like Tuch, public diplomacy deals with influence of public attitudes and goes beyond traditional diplomacy to the following; cultivation of public opinion in foreign publics, interaction of private groups and interests in one country with the other, foreign affairs reporting and its policy impact, communication between government officials and intercultural communications.⁴⁴³

The practice of public diplomacy has expanded beyond the reach of governments to include several other actors other than the government alone. The study argues out that governments are going beyond bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and are focussing on construction of mutual relationships, building of networks and alliances.⁴⁴⁴

According to the study the practice of public diplomacy has shifted. From actors' level of government's secrecy and exclusivity, public diplomacy activities have evolved from influencing only governments to influencing even the foreign citizens. This finding resonates with Snow's thinking that the traditional top-down information flow is getting replaced by two-way and daily communication strategies that are believed to yield long lasting relationships.⁴⁴⁵ Efforts of blended communications between nations are offered and through public diplomacy, countries project their foreign policies to the international system.

⁴⁴³ Hans N. Tuch, "Defining Public Diplomacy." *Communicating with the World*, 1990, 3-11, 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Interview with a Zambian High Commission official, Zambia Embassy, Nyerere road in Nairobi, May 6th, 2022.

⁴⁴⁵ Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3-12, 4.

The study notes that public diplomacy has several elements such as listening, advocacy, cultural, exchanges and international broadcasting. Agreeing with Cull's argument that as governments present their foreign policies, they have opportunity to be listened to in the international system, the study found out that government representatives in other states advocate and present their country's foreign policy objectives and interests using soft power aspect in their diplomatic relations.

According to the study, there are three major aspects of public diplomacy that its development takes to effectively and positively impact on foreign policy of a country. First, the communicating aspect that explains to and engages foreign publics about the country's policies and the context of those policies. Secondly, the program aspect of public diplomacy that supports policies and what the policies are trying to accomplish. Last, the facilitating aspect offers opportunities for people to people exchange and allows room for domestic public to be in touch with their counterparts around the world. Public diplomacy involves communicating foreign policies and the practice is gaining speed both in theory and practice. The findings resonate with Melissen's argument that considered a concept of truth by many policy experts; public diplomacy has its root in international relations as a social science whose rise is attributed to the need of credible relationship across the diplomatic system.⁴⁴⁶

There are debates over the very definition of public diplomacy. A lot of people talk about soft power and Nye's concept on the need to engage governments and foreign publics. Scholars such as Melissen talk of soft power programs such as education exchanges, cultural exchanges, sports, music and many more.⁴⁴⁷ Missing from the conversation is the discussion about the roles of non-state actors in today's diplomatic relations. The need for governments to realize

⁴⁴⁶ Jan Melissen, "*The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*," (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁴⁴⁷ Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 3-27, 11.

the importance of non-governmental actors in policy decision making tables and their attempts to fill the mutual beneficial relationships with foreign publics. Another missing aspect of public diplomacy is nation branding and country's reputation. Situations in which long term campaigns are carried out by a country as they try to get foreign publics think about their state goals. For example, Kenya branding itself to the international system through athletics and Brazil through soccer.

The study found out that public diplomacy is defined by a more relational and a collaborative form of communication. It argues that public diplomacy has become an attractive tool for most governments and that there is a belief that Kenya as a country has had a changed profile. And because Kenya wields a lot of influence in shaping national policies of its neighboring countries, it is starting to export best practices in development of policy in a way similar to what China has done.⁴⁴⁸ Coming from a sophisticated political nation in which diplomacy, though a state centric activity was not much utilized, the findings align with Makinda's, idea that Kenya's public diplomacy is explained from a historical perspective of guiding pillars of foreign policy, its quest for peace, equality, unity and its journey towards the integration of its policy objectives and goals.⁴⁴⁹

According to the study, public diplomacy in African countries has evolved as a seamless venture in all levels of society. This finding agrees with Okoth's argument that as a continent, Africa has been able to shape support for its decisions with countries backing each other

⁴⁴⁸ Interview with Sylvester Kasuku, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

⁴⁴⁹ Samuel M Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1983): 300–319, 310.

without influence of the West.⁴⁵⁰ A good example is that of ICC case in Kenya. There have been periods in the past that the attractiveness of PD in Kenya was very low. Though initially challenged in its journey towards coherence and was greatly influenced by issues of colonization, through mediation on values and democracy, multilateral diplomacy was adopted. The country managed to attain a very special position in the diplomatic arena and this is because its policy agenda is driven by forces of national interests, security and public welfare. Its quest to stand on its own after independence has been bumpy.

The study sought respondents' views on the path that Kenya as a country has taken in its public diplomacy and found out that Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved through unwavering commitment in international relation activities. Secrecy in the practice of diplomacy has been irreversibly damaged by the information age which exposes double standards in policy making by countries.⁴⁵¹ Oweke supports the findings stating that there have been changes in Kenya's foreign policy to incorporate public diplomacy as a new communication tool.⁴⁵² It is noted that other international environments have changed and with the development of ICT, global audience are allowed to hold public officials accountable. As states are struggling to understand the fusions in interacting with other new actors on the new platforms, agenda setting roles of the globalized public is getting elevated.

The study is of the idea that Kenya's foreign policy objectives are neutral and focused towards a positive development of its diplomatic activities. However, the country's image is said to be drifting with a lot of weak and negative perceptions. The study establishes that countries

⁴⁵⁰ Godfrey P. Okoth, "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy," *Journal of East and West Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 143–64, 147.

⁴⁵¹ Interview with Sylvester Kasuku, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

⁴⁵² Antony Oweke, "Kenyan foreign policy during the Kenyatta and Moi administrations: A role theory analysis," n.d., 66.

experience double wish situation when their publics and government have conflicting impositions to foreign policy objectives. And because government deals with specific countries on specific interests, for instance, Kenya's foreign policy towards China might be different as compared to the one towards Somali. Relations are based majorly on the aspect of security and results from policies are informed either by objective interest, subjective or discursive aspects of policy goals

It is believed that Kenya's constitution is impacting on transnational negotiations, consensus building and channels of state relations. State diplomatic objectives are getting driven by broader transitions in diffusion of state powers and strategic arguments among public diplomacy actors. The study also acknowledged that Kenya's constitution is not rigid and that it supports interaction with other nations seeking to build it.

6.4 Kenya's public diplomacy shortcomings

Public diplomacy is no longer just a foreign policy instrument but an indispensable tool in diplomatic relations. Challenges experienced in public diplomacy runs across the globe and are affected by factors ranging from information age, globalizations, strategic engagement, multiplicity of actors and choice making processes.

The study infers that the information age has transformed the way states interact. It has changed how citizens obtain and share information, and how political leaders organize, mobilize and win communications. Ross supports the findings of this study by stating that information age allows each and every citizen to receive customized news feeds to serve as own executive producers and editors.⁴⁵³ From so many sources such as traditional media to social media, the very notion of objective, partial and detached public diplomacy are being challenged as never

⁴⁵³ Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): pp. 73-83, 81.

before. Additionally, the study notes that public diplomacy reflects these changes in its communications and in the larger global world.

Public engagement is becoming a new norm in public diplomacy. With the information age getting more sophisticated, strategic engagement is becoming a distinguished feature of public diplomacy initiative. The study agrees with Hermann's argument that governments are under pressure to identify the different types of audience and the strategies needed to communicate their policy goals.⁴⁵⁴ Presenting challenges to diplomats and governments, the study notes that international communication is getting dominated by social media and network strategies which are in turn shifting public diplomacy initiatives.⁴⁵⁵ First, in regard to identification of who the strategic publics are such as the agents and the audience, the study found out that domestic publics have the ability to reach out and effectively communicate a country's public diplomacy initiatives. Secondly, the study notes challenges on who the external audience and publics are and whose goals and shared interests intersect with public diplomacy initiatives. From the study, it is noted that, traditionally, diplomatic engagements involved diplomatic isolations and contacts only between government representatives or heads of states. However, the study found out that the 21st Century diplomatic engagements go beyond official government interactions to involvement and participation of audience in public diplomacy initiatives and relationship building. Resonating with Elena's idea that there is absence of domestic publics in government engagements,⁴⁵⁶ the notes variations on foreign policy objectives and lack of familiarity with state interests among the publics of a particular regime

⁴⁵⁴ Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361–87, 367.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with a United Nations Expert in Economic and Social Council, UN Headquarters in Nairobi, November 2nd, 2022.

⁴⁵⁶ Elena Gurgu and Aristide Dumitru Cociuban, "New Public Diplomacy and Its Effects on International Level," *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People* 5, no. 3 (September 30, 2016): 46–56, 47

or country. This therefore supports the study suggestion for a move by government to incorporate latest technologies that are able to provide the needed motivation and platform for people's long-lasting connections.

Foreign policy decisions offer more potential for influence from non-state actors. In the context of choice making processes, the study found out that diplomatic choice-making processes follow a routine with government top-leadership giving direction on policy initiatives. The study demonstrates a belief that there are new challenges in the management of foreign policies of countries. According to the study, non-state actors exert powerful influence on policy making and implementation processes. The study argues out that skillful use of media is placing little-known information in the public and is exposing state responses to public outcry over relationship issues.

Globalization came and rose with opportunities but not without challenges. Increased inequality and situations where states experience migration of people and increased competition of states is shaking the international system. The study notes that it is a post-truth world in which truth does not matter as long as decision on actions resonate with belief or feelings. The study found out that based on one-way communications rather than a two-way process, states are pushing out information and not listening to what is coming back from the foreign publics. They are unable to find influencers among their diaspora population with the ability to fully comprehend the values and core identity of the target audience. However, because states lack the connections between public diplomacy and foreign policies, governments are being over defensive and unable to strategically counter fake news from social media. The findings of this study agree with Buzan's argument that public diplomacy only comes in at the end because states get their policies first before coming up with strategies on

how to communicate to the foreign publics.⁴⁵⁷ More than ever, when policies are being made, public diplomacy officers are often missing at the tables of decision making. They do not always have a voice on the choices made but are rather served with what to communicate to the foreign publics.

There is essential change in the nature of diplomacy from classical to public diplomacy. Due to globalization and the presence of multiple actors, diplomatic issues are becoming contemporary global challenges. The study notes that the changing trend of interactions in the international system has brought into the diplomatic space the involvement of non-state actors. As international actors, states have weakness and cannot handle all issues on their own.⁴⁵⁸ Resonating with Huijgh's calls for involvement of non-state actors and their vital role in the improvement of social relationships,⁴⁵⁹ the study found out that Kenya as a state is not open to all actors on choice making tables, opinion evaluation and criticism concerning its Foreign Policies. Elements of foreign policy process is domiciled in the docket of Foreign Ministries with local government working as an asset which only conduct assigned activities. Additionally, the study notes that Kenya has not explored the potential power of public participation in its conflict resolution agendas

The study acknowledges that foreign opinion leaders are not encouraged in Kenya, neither are they engaged nor empowered on matters of public diplomacy. This gives room to competitors in the region to see through Kenya's policy loopholes. Government underestimates the impact

⁴⁵⁷ Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 426.

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with a United Nations Expert in Economic and Social Council, UN Headquarters in Nairobi, November 2nd, 2022.

⁴⁵⁹ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32–51, 33.

of ethno-politics and do not know how to develop and apply a coherent public diplomacy internally. Kenya needs support in taking up international jobs as this would be of great impact on diplomatic activities.⁴⁶⁰ However, this has to be backed by government's lobby to have Kenya citizens join UN and be part of public diplomacy activities.⁴⁶¹ Inability of political leaders to reach consensus within a state and form a more fruitful partnership without foreign intervention brings to light the kind of internal enmity and mistrust citizens have on each other.

Communication Information Technology is empowering individuals and groups. With the emergence of global society that operates independently of state actors, public diplomacy communications are facing challenges. The study indicates that focus is shifting to the public and governments and its one-way communication method is seen as failing to communicate to the right people and with the message. Agreeing with Snow's argument that two-way symmetrical communication and community outreach is taking control of the interactions in the diplomatic arena,⁴⁶² the study found out that, not only is Kenya lacking press attachés in its embassies but the outsourcing of communications agencies is raising questions regarding competency of its own diplomatic officers and citizens.⁴⁶³

The study found out that threats to peaceful coexistence are not state-state as it was in cold war but majorly ethnic and from identity-based violence. It argues out that looking at the past which

⁴⁶⁰ Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, November 2nd, 2022.

⁴⁶¹ Interview with a United Nations Expert in Economic and Social Council, UN Headquarters in Nairobi, November 2nd, 2022.

⁴⁶² Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

⁴⁶³ Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

connects individuals, the ever-increasing power of non-state actors in the information age has contributed to variety of emerging and evolving phenomena. This finding aligns with Buzan's idea that the rise of security threats has altered global government structures with the networked forms of organizations contesting global norms.⁴⁶⁴ Additionally, attempts to bring in constitutional changes are faced with political interventions from actors who estrange themselves from the system giving impression of belonging to certain communities of allegiance. The society's lack of understanding on specific global issues has become a barrier to resolution of misunderstandings.

Consequently, the study notes that in 2007, communities in Kenya raced towards securing new alliances and finding shelter in political groupings that they believed strengthened their manifesto, protected their interests and would have helped in developing government structures. However, government's focus shifted towards internal social problems of post-election violence.⁴⁶⁵ The study reveals that the 2007 incident altered Kenya's diplomatic environment and reduced international collaborations because the political elite were only flexible in garnering votes but had little in place to manage public diplomacy or put an end to image tarnishing propagandas. The study discovers that conflicts escalate politics of identity while media amplifies negative and skeptic perceptions. However, the study also found out that not all conflict cases are identity based and that in a government political system where your closest opponent is dangerous and your closest ally is unpredictable, any attempt to cope with the changing environment of diplomacy are challenged. This finding is supported by Mueller's argument that Kenya's 2007/08 PEV marked an era of comprehensive non-strategic stagnation

⁴⁶⁴ Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 67, no. 3 (1991): 431–51.431.

⁴⁶⁵ Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

that lacked mutual trust in the political sphere.⁴⁶⁶ The country's top leadership did not take seriously people-to-people exchanges that could have helped build closer bonds. However, Ambassador Bethwel Kiplagat and General Sunbelywo played critical mediation role in the PEV, impacting positively in Kenya's foreign policy and mediation of regional conflicts.⁴⁶⁷

Kenya is considered a better partner within the East African region. The study maintains that the country has undergone significant political and governance transformation and has laid down more stable and democratic systems aimed at changing governance and interaction structure. However, it has failed to empower its citizens, boost their understanding of the dynamics in its policy processes and their ability to propose collaborations and priorities in line with the country's foreign policy objectives.⁴⁶⁸ According to the study, human agency of foreign policy and its possibility to affect and even change diplomatic systems are never explored because it is believed that Kenyan government is negatively bureaucratizing the socialization and practice of public diplomacy.

The study also found out that cases of undemocratic regimes which encourage nationalist attitudes and promote anti-foreign campaigns or xenophobia are rampant in Africa. Consequently, the study notes that politics gets integrated into policy discourse which generate negative reactions and result into confrontations among actors. Meanwhile, Kenya's foreign policy structures are not clearly understood by its people, thus deterring the government from delivering fruitful partnership or creating harmony-seeking diplomatic actors.

⁴⁶⁶ Susanne D. Mueller, "Dying to Win: Elections, Political Violence, and Institutional Decay in Kenya," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2011): 99–117, 101.

⁴⁶⁷ Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with Amba. Josephine Awuor, Former Kenyan Ambassador to Zimbabwe, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

From the study findings, it is believed that the relationship Kenya has with its neighbouring countries is a bit complicated and has turned into a strategic asset for enemies as well posing challenges to Kenya's attempts in using public diplomacy to approach Somalia. The study acknowledges a number of issues that are impacting on Kenya's potential as a regional competitor. Most importantly, conflicts in the Horn of Africa, refugee and trade issues in the region have forced the uncooperative regimes to moderate their positions under popular pressure. Issues related to human rights are never brought on board because while individual states endeavor to fight corruption and minority rights issues, relations which would hurt or create dangerous links are highly avoided by government decision makers.

6.5 Reconsidering opportunities, priorities and approaches in the practice of public diplomacy.

The new era in practice of public diplomacy has opened up fresh possibilities but has not erased the relevance of the history of public diplomacy. However, it has left the world with lessons applicable to an age in which communication of decisions is unprecedented. The practice of public diplomacy requires all-round credibility right from the first to the final step of foreign policy formulation and implementation. This takes into account the following; credibility in behaviour and character of government leaders and state's decision makers, the choice making processes, the policy decisions made, credibility of the communication and implementation tools and strategies, and finally, credibility in handling critical views on policy objectives.

There is shift in how countries carry out their public diplomacy activities. These changes are brought about by factors such as the proliferation of international actors, the survival of global digital and real time technology and the rise of theoretical models of nation branding. Leading to reorientation of public diplomacy from top-down communication patterns to greater

emphasis on people-people interactions, the study agrees with Riordan's argument that the practice is experiencing a doubling significance of peer-peer social media and their lessons from the historical past.⁴⁶⁹ Kenya should keep playing the game with competence and strategic nuance.⁴⁷⁰

According to the study, relevance, importance and potential of public diplomacy is often subjected to the forces of globalization. Policy issues confronting states are increasingly becoming global and are calling for public diplomacy that fits the information age. If governments are to identify and implement solutions to the global challenges, then engagement of publics both at home and abroad is necessary. The international system is complex, full of differences and has networks which require understanding and engagements conducted through public diplomacy. A public diplomacy that is coordinated, more open and inclusive of a wide range of actors beyond government. This is because foreign policy goals are achieved not only through cooperative engagement and ability to have a country's public diplomacy fit the challenges but also with a government which has the capacity to adapt to global changes.

The study holds that connecting with the global publics has become one of the many priorities that states pursue. The finding resonates with Fisher's idea that states will still need to engage other states, small groups of particular influential individuals and from time to time, bring in military force in international affairs.⁴⁷¹ The publics have become vital players in issues of international policy. Though viewed as passive recipients of diplomacy, according to the study, the public has greater say in government decisions. Each and every government has foreign policy priorities which are shared with other states and require joint action. However, reaching

⁴⁶⁹ Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 180–95, 182.

⁴⁷⁰ Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.

⁴⁷¹ Ali Fisher, "A Network Perspective on Public Diplomacy in Europe," *European Public Diplomacy*, n.d., pp. 137-138, 137.

out to these publics is very important because to some extent, actions of these publics affect government's ability to deliver. Kenya has a lot of work to do when it comes to its public diplomacy activities and the communication of foreign policy goals.⁴⁷² Moreso, governments need to work with the publics in the development and implementation of international policy solutions.⁴⁷³

There is call to put the public back into public diplomacy. The study suggests that starting with what government officers are familiar with and applying it to engage with more diverse range of actors and with broader publics, Foreign Affairs ministries should move beyond just messaging and seeing public diplomacy as a public relation activity to genuine diplomatic engagements at all stages of policy process. It advocates for co-creation and co-implementation of policy solutions whereby government officials' niche messages to specific groups about a country's foreign policy pillars.

The changing diplomatic environment and the need to bring more people into the practice of public diplomacy is gaining attention among states. Through internet, ambassadors are engaging differently into the World Wide Web by connecting with those who do not get invited to the decision-making processes. The study findings align with Huijgh's argument that the practice of public diplomacy is taking a shift and that the information age has brought civilian surge in that diplomatic engagements are based on knowledge and ideas that solution to common problems lie in the hands of the people.⁴⁷⁴ Accordingly, the study finds out that diplomatic engagements are effective with governments but more so with civilians. It argues out that governments understand their biggest diplomatic threat from other states'

⁴⁷² Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.

⁴⁷³ Interview with Amba. Josephine Awuor, Former Kenyan Ambassador to Zimbabwe, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

⁴⁷⁴ Ellen Huijgh, "Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension," *Public Diplomacy at Home*, August 2019, pp.32–51, 33.

indifferences, inactions and withdrawals. Therefore, for a more seamless interaction, public diplomacy requires fusion of diplomatic challenges, of domestic and international agendas and of governments and the foreign publics around the world. Kenya needs to communicate its foreign policy successes a lot better both externally and more specifically to its people.⁴⁷⁵

According to the study, modern public diplomats are starting to dominate the diplomatic system. Hocking supports the study finding by stating that core diplomatic skills of negotiation, organization, representation and reporting still remain as valid as ever. However, with the changing international system, delivering real and timely progress on global problems is the new sense of activism and flexibility that can only be realised when states adapt and find new ways of interacting.⁴⁷⁶ Realization of policy goals is pinned to diplomat's ability to know who affects state interests and where to find these people. Modern diplomats are inhabiting every corner of the world – not just the corridors of power and because they know the key partners, where to get information, where the influence is and who can make it happen, they see the world from other actors' perspectives and use the knowledge to inform own country's foreign policy making. It is critical that Kenya develops a world class conferencing facilities and embrace technology in its public diplomacy practices.⁴⁷⁷

The interconnected world is becoming more complex and unique definition of state values and identity is starting to engage public diplomacy through value-based activities. The study argues out that diplomatic secrets will always be there, however, by bringing more people into the practice of public diplomacy, the study finding is supported by Anholt's argument that opportunities for dialogue are created, non-state actors are engaged and their views taken into

⁴⁷⁵ Interview with Mr. Wallace, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

⁴⁷⁶ Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy," *The New Public Diplomacy*, 2005, pp. 28-43, 30.

⁴⁷⁷ Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.

consideration.⁴⁷⁸ To get to know what other actors think of a country's foreign policy and where state interests lie, governments have to embrace creativity. Additionally, governments must attract interests by listening, explain and compete against the opinions of other voices in the international system.

It is argued that public diplomacy should be everyone's activity – people-people exchanges and a government which allows its citizens the opportunity to play a role in promoting messages and persuading the domestic publics to live up to the reputation held by a state in the eyes of the foreign publics. In trying to achieve foreign policy goals, the study discovered that policy experts who use public diplomacy as a means, stand a better chance of understanding the changing international system and its need to overcome limited diplomatic assets as well as address the weaknesses of its country's national image.⁴⁷⁹

The study found out that strategic public diplomacy develops from cross coordination between governments, its consultative efforts in decision making processes and discussions on policy matters. Additionally, well channelled policy efforts give room for establishment of long-lasting peace and comprehensive public diplomacy information system.

Dialogue-based approaches in decision making processes aim at minimizing government costs. They focus on maximizing pressure on diplomatic tools with the ability to bring actors back to the negotiation table. Table 2 gives a clear comparison of dialogue-based public diplomacy and the traditional method of diplomacy.

⁴⁷⁸ Simon Anholt, "Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations," *Brands and Branding Geographies*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857930842.00027>.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

Table 6.2: A comparison between Traditional model of diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

	Traditional Diplomacy	Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy
Actors	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government. - People
Target	Foreign publics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foreign publics - World – Citizens
Major means	Controlled government media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Global contributors - Intellectual leadership - Conveners
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manipulation of public opinions - Publicity - Change in foreign perception 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International influence - Mobilize support for country’s foreign policy - Enhancement of national status
Power focus	Hard power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soft power
Orientation	Policy-oriented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy-oriented - Culture-oriented - Knowledge oriented

Source: Author

According to the study, when a government decides to adopt dialogue-based public diplomacy as its collective enterprise towards renewal of shared vision and relationship reforms, three major achievements are obtained. Riordan supports this finding by arguing out that a country’s foreign publics get encouraged to participate in its cultural activities and exchanges; awareness and better understanding of the country around the world is created in a correct and accurate manner; and that from opinion reflections, foreign policies of the country are informed and promoted in a two-way communication network.⁴⁸⁰

The study also demonstrates that Kenya’s attempt to explain its foreign policy objectives does not come out clearly to both domestic and foreign publics. Policy experts feel that for the

⁴⁸⁰ Shaun Riordan, “Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?” *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 180–95, 182.

country to impact effectively, it has to work on its global contributions in policy matters. This is by making sure that the country's goals and intentions have been well understood by the general public in ways that allow active participation in global agendas.⁴⁸¹ Moreover, there is need to encourage regular hosting of global conferences and events such as the 2019 Blue Economy Conference in which all public diplomacy actors are given room to make choices and contribute to policy decisions. According to the study, there is a call to re-strategize and perfect Kenya's public diplomacy.

On the question whether dialogue opportunities have been created, the study reveals that Kenya is sharing its policy experience with other nations through its SDG initiatives and the Big 4 Agenda. And that if Kenya could transform from a recipient to a donor country or enhance its humanitarian services to immigrants through refugee camps, progress in public diplomacy activities would be achieved. It is believed that this alone would materialize the enormous potential of a soft power that has been for years neglected. The study also acknowledges the existence of untapped potential in public diplomacy that has proven costly to the discretions and secrecy in diplomatic practises.

The study observes that Kenyan government can enrich its commitment by taking alliances to greater levels as a team. The country can also actively and strongly support policy-oriented activities from all public diplomacy actors and embrace democratic transparency and accountability that would bring consistency and coherence in its policy actions. The study resonates with Nye's idea that if a state develops global frameworks and embrace public

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

diplomacy that is more open to the public and networks of power, its policy partnerships would yield beneficial outcomes.⁴⁸²

The study found out that Kenya is capable of sustaining profound public diplomacy practices and is believed to be embracing public diplomacy strategies dependent on credibility. The practice has room for adoption of a two-way conversational flow and attracts right people to the right target. Inclusivity in the practice of public diplomacy is now more important than ever because many countries, social and political entities are seeking engagement with the foreign public.

The study notes that there are approaches of public diplomacy that brings transparency in understanding what the government is doing. This in turn allows room for public accountability and encourage foreign policy negotiations on equal terms. Aligning to Melissen's argument that there is competition between different players over the limited policy resources and budgets, and the study found out that governments are striving to move from a revolutionist perspective of privacy to treating others as players and decision makers in the international system in pursuit of open model of multinationals.⁴⁸³

The study found out that a country with proper laid down guidelines and policies will always claim important position in the international system. Such governments use diplomatic tools to build positive perception about themselves in the world, raise people's awareness in understanding cultures, increase participation in international institutions and promote initiative talks.

⁴⁸² Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): pp. 94-109, 99.

⁴⁸³ Jan Melissen, essay, in *Debating Public Diplomacy: Now and Next* (Leiden Boston: Brill | Nijhoff, 2019).

The finding of the study notes that public diplomacy as a peaceful tool entails conversational dialogue between social political entities and their foreign publics. Buzan supports the finding by arguing out that public diplomacy is more likely to decrease the risk of ethnic conflicts and increase international cooperation especially in situations where ethnic interpersonal dialogues are embraced.⁴⁸⁴ Kenya's engagement with the neighboring countries indicates that its profound diplomacy can help in the resolution of the issues that lead to disagreements. The study acknowledges that relationship between Kenya and the other countries is vital and is of mutual benefit to all the concerned states. The country is strategically placed as a peace maker given the socio, economic, cultural and political nature of its neighboring countries.

According to the study, Kenya's foreign policy is currently within a framework of supporting integration as part of comprehensive strategic partnership. The study acknowledges that policy goals are aligned towards assurance of good intentions emphasizing on Kenya's good values and rules. Though doubts are casted over its intentions in the region, it is obvious that no two countries can agree on every matter either internal or external. Working hard towards regional integration, failures of OAU and AU form the basis of power modification and formation of important legislative bodies in control. Kenya is trying to find itself and is identifying new opportunities needed to strengthen its relationship. There is a strong belief that the new promulgated constitution of 2010 is focused on upgrading diplomatic levels and its foreign policy objectives are cushioned on a strategic dialogue mechanism aimed at creating international interdependence but void of inclusivity of other actors other than the government.

⁴⁸⁴ Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 67, no. 3 (1991): 431–51.431.

The study discovers that geopolitical issues are influencing Kenya's Foreign Policy objectives. Given Kenya's position which is very much appealing regionally, the willingness by other countries to invest in and support its policy objectives is high.⁴⁸⁵ This advantageous geographical position has provided room to upgrade and impact positively. For instance, the coastline which carries the port of Mombasa makes it an international trade avenue. This therefore gives it the power to negotiate its interests. The downside of this is the fact that there have also been conflicting debates especially on border issues with Somali due to strategic resources housed within Indian Ocean waters.

According to the study, the role of the public in state affairs is increasingly becoming important. This finding agrees with Snow's idea that a good public diplomacy begins with listening.⁴⁸⁶ Noting that listening shapes policies, the study found out that when a government decides to collect and analyse opinions from the foreign publics, its public diplomacy gets connected to its national goals. Credibility is therefore achieved when a state's public diplomacy is that which connects to decision making processes and that which ensures that opinions are weighed and well-coordinated. North Korea spent several years ignoring world opinion and this led to its inability to penetrate the world powers and have its policy objectives advanced. However, in 1950s and 1960s, the United States through President John F. Kennedy took practical steps and listened. This initiative led to the successful address of problems over the then American racism concerns.

⁴⁸⁵ Interview with a Zambian High Commission official, Zambia Embassy, Nyerere road in Nairobi, May 6th, 2022.

⁴⁸⁶ Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, pp. 3–12, 4.

The study argues out that governments often conceive public diplomacy as a mechanism of impressing the domestic audience instead of that which yield measurable results. Supported by Gass and Seiter argument that credibility of public diplomacy is in its messaging strategies,⁴⁸⁷ the study notes that states need to step back and empower other non-governmental actors to tell their stories. For example, BBC has a messaging strategy of telling both the good and the bad. As an international media, it is an empowering voice that represent diverse range of foreign publics in the international system. Through such media channels, a country can have its public diplomacy directed towards engineering of its foreign policy goals and general improvement of its image in the diplomatic arena.

⁴⁸⁷ Robert H. Gass and John S. Seiter, "Credibility and Public Diplomacy," *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 2020, 155–68, 157.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary, Conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter sums up on the findings and makes several key conclusions and important recommendations in line with the specific objectives discussed. This study sought to examine the emergence of public diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy with specific reference on the following areas. It evaluates the impact of choice making in the communication of foreign policy objective; critically analyses the challenges faced in the practice of public diplomacy; and finally explores the new dimensions and approaches in the practice of public diplomacy. It highlights both academic and policy implications on the rise of public diplomacy in foreign policy of countries. Different governments go through different transformational processes and encounter different obstacles and challenges which help shape their foreign policy goals. This study sheds light on why states adopt either a closed or open system of foreign policy implementation in its pursuit of national interests. The study offers perspectives on how varied public diplomacy actors other than the government alone bring credibility in communicating foreign policies. The chapter finally gives recommendations for the thesis.

7.2 Study Conclusion

Public diplomacy is a unique development with a relevant history of establishment for a gradual and continuous diplomatic relationship. Important to note is that based on the study findings and conclusions, public is a development which came within a specific period of time and changed foreign policy communication of most countries. In diplomatic relations, relationship maintenance requires continuous monitoring and adjustments of policy objectives. Public diplomacy is a tool influenced by concepts of identity, norms and narratives whose main aim is to send correct desired messages to both domestic and foreign audiences. The study

articulates that public diplomacy communications of most countries is still at the “traditional public diplomacy level” and that states should move their public diplomacy efforts to what Melissen calls, “the new public diplomacy”. A public diplomacy that focusses on inclusivity of non-state actors and foreign communications aimed at an all-round networking and relationship building.

The rise of a new tool has seen diplomatic tension manifested in different ways of truth, technology or internet. The study posits that when a group from a system in which public diplomacy is not appreciated to play important part decide to act radically, territories become endangered. The study concludes that states need continuous and strategic mediation on diplomatic matters. Kenya is noted as a regional player in the international system whose diplomacy has to be strategic on peace and security issues. Zeroing down on public diplomacy as a tool for effective foreign policy formulation processes. The study advocates for involvement of both domestic and foreign publics. The study maintains that Kenya as an international actor is not allowing its public or other members of the international political community to understand or support its political model and policies.

The study establishes that Kenya wanted to maintain neutrality in the beginning of its relationships and alignments and that Kenya circles around its own national interests and even though its aim is to strengthen and serve these interests, certain interests influence Kenya’s foreign policies. The study relates President Mwai Kibaki’ alignment to the East with the role appointment that is influenced by so many vested interests and that which has negatively affected foreign affairs successes. Summing up, the study concludes that lack of professionalism and imbalanced appointments of public diplomacy communicators by Kenya

government has led the country into relationships and engagements with no professional staff to provide the background to the institutional knowledge needed in state relations.

The study concludes that Kenya has foreign policy pillars of peace, economic, diaspora, cultural and environmental. It posits that through these pillars Kenyan citizens are supposed to be involved and government should make attempts and ensure its citizens enjoy and have access to the benefits of Kenya's foreign policy. However, the study demonstrates that Kenyan government is the key actor in foreign policy matters and is the primary communicator and overseer of all public diplomacy activities. Kenya's engagement processes lack constant conversations with different experts and institutions, and is dominated by government centred coordination of public diplomacy activities.

From the study findings, regimes and governance in Kenya lack coherence and responds slowly to policy developments in the international arena. The study concludes that government system in most countries is characterized by short-term thinking that only reacts to crisis but that which is incapable of staying longer in the market or building long-term relations. Ethnic relations in Kenya have a long history of colder times though with no essential disputes. Its government is not aware of the need to increase soft power by means of public diplomacy. The study also reveals that political differences exist and are reflected through political leaders' speech and the country's foreign policy objectives adding that such situations adjust the country towards political alignment and coalition which do not necessarily result into violence.

The study concludes that Kenya is constantly struggling to maintain coherence in its image projection and that in its path towards integration, a significant gap exists between the state and non-state actors on foreign policy formulation and implementation. Demonstrating that

countries practice public diplomacy based on individual foreign policy goals, the study suggests that Kenya needs to seriously invest in the United Nations and leverage on regional development and take advantage of its position as the UN headquarter in the global south.

The study establishes that the 2007 presidential election resulted in unfavourable scenes of conflicts among ethnic communities in Kenya. Attempts to re-define internal relations were made and were aimed at ending suspicion and discomfort. However, political utterances at that time were seasoned not with messages of peace but with hatred that even religious groups could not offer visions of hope or opportunity to reconcile the communities. Mediations were targeted at the political influencers who were seen capable of supporting public diplomacy tools of democracy and human rights.

The study challenges credibility of Kenya's public diplomacy right from the choice making processes, decision makers and its decision-making process, the actor involvement, the priorities, the approaches and strategies of foreign policy formulation and implementation. Relating to the measures of a successful ambassador, it is worth noting that most government officials are not linked to citizens and neither are the benefits of foreign policy goals. The study concludes that there are discrepancies in the practice of public diplomacy among diplomats and even among states. As depicted by the study analysis, it outlines that although Kenya's public diplomacy is facing challenges, it has the potential and capacity to improve.

Public diplomacy centres on competing wars of hearts and minds. It involves proving the public with authority to engage in credible negotiations. In such situations, government only oversee and implement public diplomacy programs in support of foreign policy objectives. However, the study concludes that it is the duty of government to fund, resource and increase international engagements through outreach programs. Kenya's public diplomacy would be more effective

if backed by a legitimate cause and supported by appropriate foreign policy strategies. Kenya has the ability to shape and convince preferences around the world. Thinking around the unfavourable views that create images and perceptions, the study concludes that Kenya is in a position to build long term relationships, earn trust and create neutral and safe environment for exchange of ideas. Engagements are viable and the country is able to attain values to its messages if only it supports its non-state actors' ability to transmit national identities to other people and commit to messages by genuine foreign policy objectives.

The study establishes that success of a country's public diplomacy relies on the following factors; investing in audiences just like Russia and China has done, use of public diplomacy as a tool of first results and not as afterthought, and mobilizing of coalition of countries in dealing with international and global challenges. On rebuilding task, the study posits that states' realization that public diplomacy as not about relations between governments but connecting societies is key. This can take form of relationship management between governments whereby government and political leaders are encouraged to make decisions that suit the country's policy interest. The study outlines that if a government gets its public diplomacy skills right, it will know how best it will be for it to make arguments and explain its foreign policy goals and challenges.

7.3 Study Recommendations.

The main objective of the study was to explore the emergence of public diplomacy in foreign policy with particular focus on decision making processes, actor involvement, challenges faced in the practice of public diplomacy and new approaches in dealing with diplomatic issues. It is important to note that based on findings and conclusions of this study, public diplomacy is a development which came within a specific period of time and changed foreign policy of most

countries. The study offers both academic and policy recommendations that would increase the likelihood for success in Kenya's public diplomacy.

The practice is taking a new dimension as a result of several factors including the trend by governments towards the new information age, the appearance of multiple actors in the diplomatic system, technological advancements available for the communication of ideas promoted by social media and its disinformation practices. Kenya's public diplomacy need to be re-examined and reconceptualized as a practice that adapts new models of public diplomacy grounded in a two-way symmetric and public development, inclusive, networked, professional and innovative. There is need for Kenya to focus on people's public diplomacy rather than structures that takes a longer time to adopt. While public diplomacy structures have to be put in place, the individual public diplomacy communication officers would quickly adopt and follow directives on approved approaches to the practice.

Public diplomacy is so crucial in today's world that Kenya has to enact a Public Diplomacy Act. World politics and governance are changing, making public diplomacy an integral part of diplomatic relationships. Non-state actors are becoming more active and influential. The internet has flattened hierarchies. There is also have the rising power of the media. All these positive trends allow citizens throughout the world to engage in debates on a whole range of issues that have previously been the domain of diplomats. Just like any other democratic country, there is need to understand better what is going on in the minds of the domestic public, and the values shared with other foreign publics. This could be done through citizen empowerment and facilitation to support the country and speak with one voice in the international arena. This calls for a more effective public diplomacy and provision of operational structures to other layers of the practice. When a sense of common purpose and identity stems from a strong multinational public diplomacy supported by parallel narrative

from domestic audience, tangible external image projection is enhanced. Therefore, for Kenya to garner integration support and legitimize its operations it should first build public trust and project its international identity from within to the outside of its national borders. There is need for Kenya government to allow room for individually-exerted counterproductive powers to communicate changes in policy agendas and work towards minimizing failures in bilateral relations.

Working towards counter-balancing its regional powers through collaborations with stronger emerging powers, Kenya should try and make other non-state actors play their roles responsibly in the community. However, in making the country more transparent and a people-centred with value added initiatives, there is need to enact laws on public diplomacy in a systematic approach, recognize the new realities and acknowledge change in all aspects of public diplomacy with credibility. Stimulated in a spirit of transparency, the Kenya government should be obligated to provide information to the public and ensure consistency in making information available. This information should be accompanied by a firm commitment to accountability and integrity.

There is need for Kenya to embrace public diplomacy that pushes back and addresses policy issues during conflicts or disagreements. The country has to invest in thriving non-governmental initiatives, open its doors and seek leverage within the region. Leaders have to understand that in the event that disagreements occur, diplomacy must not stop and that it is in the networks made and relationships endured that credible future diplomacy is attained. Negotiations should leverage on comprehensive engagements of policies and the impact it has on the achievement of national interests.

Finally, from this study, Kenya needs to engage multiple audiences and promote public diplomacy based on dialogue, and allow actors take responsibility of foreign policy instruments. Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs should also focus and seek out new opportunities for engaging foreign publics and their attempts to support Kenya's foreign policies. There is need to empower non-state actors in a way that they become influential to foreign publics through beneficial actions capable of boosting cooperation.

For countries to build relationships of stability, they must have common cultural prosperity to grow, prosper, reform and progress in a more effective and creative collaborative manner. And in order to move forward there is need for government to first have a look at what has worked and what has not in terms of transition, accessing how to balance interests and restructuring collaborations to manage competing interests. In consequence, public diplomacy has become an essential tool for communication, acceptance, and legitimacy. There's real value in being on the ground in harmony with host country citizens. Effective public diplomacy makes the crucial difference in the perception of how a country, her people and her policies can persuade, impact and alter attitudes and decisions of foreign publics.

Researchers and scholars in the area of public diplomacy need to come out and conduct further research on the need by states to reconsider foreign policy priorities, re-evaluate public diplomacy opportunities and approaches for the communication of policy goals in the international system.

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Interview References

- Online interview (google meet) with Amb. Martin Kimani, July 7th, 2023.
- Interview with Halima Shariff, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.
- Interview with Amba. Josephine Awuor, Former Kenyan Ambassador to Zimbabwe, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.
- Interview with Raphael Tuju, Former Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs' officer, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

Interview with a United Nations Expert in Economic and Social Council, UN Headquarters in Nairobi, November 2nd, 2022.

Interview with a Zambian High Commission official, Zambia Embassy, Nyerere road in Nairobi, May 6th, 2022.

Interview with Sylvester Kasuku, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

Interview with Simon Joe, policy expert with the African Union Organization, The Nairobi Club, November 2nd, 2022.

Interview with Mr. Wallace, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' officer, Ministry offices in Nairobi, June 31st, 2023.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

“EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY”

My name is Jacklyne Aput. I am a student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies pursuing a PhD in International Studies. I am carrying out research on “Emergence of Public Diplomacy in Kenya’s Foreign Policy”. The aim of this research is to study the emergence of public diplomacy in Kenya’s foreign policy. The questionnaire is designed to get information from Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs and Diplomatic Missions top officials, senior officials in various international organizations dealing on Public Diplomacy. Information shared will be used purely for academic purposes and the findings will be made available through publication of this thesis. Anonymity and confidentiality will be observed. Please answer the questions as truthfully as possible. It will take only 10 minutes to respond.

SECTION A

1. Does Kenya have a public diplomacy toolbox? Does it have public diplomacy guidelines and policies? Does it have any established strategic objectives that govern its public diplomacy activities with foreign audiences?
2. What is the major approach adopted by Kenya in its foreign policy processes?
3. What steps does the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs follow in reaching rational decisions concerning foreign policy goals?
4. Is Kenya government making attempts to explain to its people what Public Diplomacy means and how it works?
5. Do you believe Kenya’s campaign and decision-making processes utilize other non-state actors in negotiating and choosing its foreign policy goals?
6. Do you believe Kenyan citizens trust its government on matters of foreign policy decision making?

7. Are we as a state open to all international actors for opinion evaluation and criticism?
8. Do you believe governments are ready and willing to incorporate the non-state diplomatic actors in its practice of public diplomacy?
9. Is Kenya's public diplomacy effective in persuading both its domestic and foreign audiences? Is it making any attempts to convince the global society to accept its foreign policy goals?
10. Are there are challenges/issues in the formulation and implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy?
11. Do you believe Kenya needs to re-evaluate its strategies in public diplomacy activities?
12. Are there other approaches of public diplomacy that according to you Kenya can focus on?

*****End*****