

CLIMATE DIPLOMACY ON X: HOW GLOBAL NORTH AND GLOBAL SOUTH STATES USED X AS A PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PLATFORM DURING THE AFRICA CLIMATE SUMMIT AND COP28 -A CASE OF KENYA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

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Abstract

As the world of diplomacy becomes more platformized, states' foreign-policy agendas are communicated differently to international audiences. Research, however, on digital diplomacy typically views social media as a means of communication, and not as a medium where states craft a strategic narrative, shape international problems, and conduct diplomacy in front of networked audiences. This study explores the use of X as a public diplomacy platform by Kenya and the United States in the 2023 Africa Climate Summit (ACS) and COP28. The study looks at the ways states deployed X to build strategic narratives, shape climate politics, articulate a diplomatic stance, record diplomatic activity, and to establish national and regional identity, drawing on a comparative thematic analysis of 284 official posts across four sub-corpora: Kenya ACS, United States ACS, the Kenya COP28, and the United States COP28. The theories of Strategic Narrative, Media Diplomacy and Framing were used to guide the analysis. Findings illustrate different yet interwoven forms of public diplomacy based on X. In Kenya, X became a tool for African leadership building, a development for solutions, an advocacy tool for climate finance and a documentation tool for diplomacy. The United States applied X to the ACS and more intensely to COP28, focusing on the urgency of climate, domestic policy delivery, technological action and US leadership. The analysis also reveals a clear transition in ACS-COP28 communication in Kenya from a normative rhetoric on reform and leadership from Africa to investment and implementation. As the comparison shows, X does not obviate the distinction between Global North and Global South diplomacy. Instead, states have their own micro-narratives that they use to convey strategically differentiated messages based on their diplomatic stances, identities, and goals.

Keywords: climate diplomacy, public diplomacy, X, digital diplomacy, strategic narratives, media diplomacy, framing, Xplomacy

1. Introduction

In the space of states communication, public diplomacy takes place in an environment in which the states must communicate simultaneously with governments, international organizations, media, civil society and transnational publics (Gilboa, 2008; Hocking & Melissen, 2015). While multilateral negotiation continues to be the main focus of formal climate diplomacy (Bodansky, 2010; Falkner, 2016), a number of climate diplomacy roles are becoming informal and visible through digital platforms (Bjola & Holmes, 2015; Manor, 2019). The case of X/Twitter is particularly relevant as it allows governments to

disseminate policy and policy positions, set the agenda for international events and official documents, record diplomatic interactions, and spread narratives in real-time (Kampf et al., 2015; Sandre, 2013).

Comparisons can be drawn from the Africa Climate Summit (ACS) 2023 and the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP28) 2023. The African Climate Summit (ACS) held in Nairobi, Kenya in September 2023 aimed to put Africa on the map for climate change, climate finance and green development (Nzuki et al., 2026; Ochieng, 2026). COP28 in November-December 2023 in Dubai was a larger international forum for States to express their

views and commit to climate action (Arora, 2024; UNFCCC, 2024).

One of the most relevant comparisons is to be drawn between Kenya and the United States. Kenya, as an active member of the Global South, was an active participant in these events and arrived with high climate vulnerability, a demand for climate finance and a desire to participate in global climate solutions as an active member of the Global South (Kimiti, 2024; Roberts & Parks, 2007). The United States came in as one of the great powers with the potential for significant domestic policy, financial and technological resources (Dizard, 2001; Ross, 2011). These various positions result in different communicative imperatives (Adler, 1997; Wendt, 1992).

Statement of the Problem

The analysis of this research is based on the analysis of 284 official X posts from four sub-corpora: Kenya ACS, United States ACS, Kenya COP28, and the United States COP28. Instead of assessing social media as an opportunity or a challenge, the article concentrates on the turn to state use: what narratives governments communicated on social media, which diplomatic functions they gave to X, how they structured their narratives, and how this changed in different diplomatic contexts.

The main theme is the idea that each state uses X as a public diplomacy tool in a strategically differentiated manner. The primary uses of X in Kenya were to build Africa's leadership, to advance a solutions-oriented identity, to call for reform to climate finance, and to document diplomatic engagement. At both COP28 and the ACS, the U.S. communicated urgency in the face of climate change, signaled U.S. policy, and strengthened U.S. leadership by using X more often. Therefore, the space of X is not a homogeneous diplomatic conduit but a communicative space in which States can adjust public diplomacy to their strategic narratives and diplomatic positions.

Research Objectives

General Objective

The general objective of this study was to examine the use of X as a public diplomacy platform by Kenya and the United States in climate diplomacy during the Africa Climate Summit and COP28.

Specific Objectives

1. Examine the use of X as a public diplomacy platform by Kenya and the United States during the Africa Climate Summit and COP28.
2. Compare the patterns and approaches of X use by Kenya and the United States across the Africa Climate Summit and COP28.
3. Analyze how Kenya and the United States constructed strategic narratives and framed climate diplomacy through X for international publics.

2. Theoretical Framework

The study employs three complementary theories which are the Strategic Narrative Theory, Media Diplomacy Theory and Framing Theory. The notion of these theories is to be able to explain the states' action and not to assess the platform.

2.1 Strategic Narrative Theory

Strategic Narrative Theory presents a model of political communication as a deliberate process of building narratives that help actors to explain and interpret events in their international environment, define their identity and present a preferred understanding of the international order (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, & Roselle, 2013). Narratives of identity, system, and issue about "who is or is not" the actor, how the international environment is perceived, and what should be done about specific problems, can be used to understand strategic narratives (Roselle, Miskimmon & O'Loughlin, 2014).

This lens is especially helpful to analyze the climate diplomacy in relation to states which do not usually present the climate policy as a standalone technical information. They give wider descriptions of responsibility, leadership, vulnerability, working together and solutions.

The corpus also exposes a strategic narrative for Kenya, where Africa is not the main protagonist of climate change, but rather one that is presented as a provider of solutions, a place of investment and a new green industrial player. Climate communication more often portrays the United States as a leader and its domestic policies, technology, and international partnerships as a way of addressing the climate crisis. The strategic narrative theory thus serves as the key lens through which the two states' approaches to

climate diplomacy can be examined in terms of political identity and preferred interpretations.

2.2 Media Diplomacy Theory

The connection between diplomatic activity and mediated communication is emphasized in the theory of Media Diplomacy (Cull, 2008; Melissen, 2005). The media landscape has become a more and more frequent arena for the diplomatic players, in which they communicate their positions, signal their intentions, and make diplomatic activity visible to the international community (Gilboa, 2001).

X can be of particular importance to this process, as diplomatic communication can take place before or without the need to wait for the conventional media to report. Governments can make statements and record meetings, make commitments and speak directly to international audiences.

In this study, Media Diplomacy Theory is applied to analyze the role X played as a communication environment of diplomacy. This includes the publication of summit declarations, bilateral meetings, diplomatic visits, investment announcements, policy commitments and international partnerships.

The study, then, has approached the analysis of X posts as public diplomatic acts, rather than just content on social media. Previous research on digital and media diplomacy has shown that social media platforms are emerging as actors in diplomacy communication and signaling and in public diplomacy (Bjola 2016; Bjola& Holmes 2015; Manor 2019). Many of the existing pieces of literature, however, still view platforms primarily as means for diplomatic messages to travel from one end of the communication barrier to the other. The current study contributes to this existing body of research by highlighting a wider shift towards diplomacy being carried out on the platform, manifested in the production of a diplomatic

narrative, a diplomatic frame, a diplomatic visibility, interaction, and a public documentation of the diplomatic process. It is here called Xplomacy because it is a new approach to diplomacy through platforms.

2.3 Framing Theory

The third perspective is provided by Framing Theory. Entman (1993) describes framing in four ways: defining a problem, making an attribution of cause, making an evaluation, and offering a remedy.

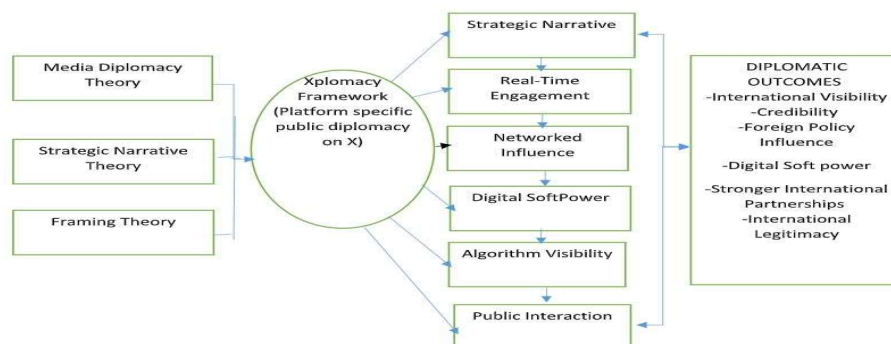
This framework helps the study differentiate among the various approaches that a state can take to communicating a general topic (Scheufele, 1999; Goffman, 1974). The issue of climate change could be presented as an existential threat, a historical responsibility, an investment opportunity, a development challenge, or a technological challenge.

Thus, posts are analyzed based on their most salient framing functions, as well as the presence of common themes. The 6 main themes were: Climate finance, Green growth and energy, African/state leadership, Vulnerability and urgency, Diplomatic protocol and Inclusive governance. Themes were used as the structure for the empirical comparison of strategic narratives and media-diplomatic practices.

2.4 The XPlomacy Framework

XPlomacy is the strategic use of X in the construction and presentation of narratives about foreign policy, internationalization of problems, interaction with foreign publics, development of foreign policy networks and the projection and presentation of national identity and soft power in platform-mediated communication environment. This study offers a 6 dimensions framework which shows how Xplomacy operates in a broader framework of strategic-institutional integration.

Figure 1. The XPlomacy Framework



XPlomacy can be seen in six closely related dimensions that shed light on the role of X for diplomatic communication and engagement of states. The first is strategic narrative construction, which deals with how states shape and deliver their narratives of identity, interests, policies and stances regarding various international issues. These stories help create the understanding of governments' actions and policies at home and internationally.

Real time diplomatic engagement is the second dimension. X enables state authorities and their diplomatic missions to react rapidly to what is happening and to convey their message almost instantaneously. Instances where international crises, political events or other factors where time is crucial in conveying information may be critical.

This third dimension is networked influence, the capacity of states to involve and activate different groups in the digital environment. These can be journalists, policy makers, organizations, civil society organizations, and the public. States can engage these networks and reach further than they can otherwise within their own communities, and can be more directly involved in the public and policy discourse.

The fourth dimension is digital soft power that is basically with the help of X promoting the image, values, reputation, legitimacy and attractiveness of a country. By communicating in a regular and strategic manner, states have the opportunity to shape their image in a manner that fosters positive impressions and nurtures ties with foreign audiences.

The six dimensions are not isolated from each other, but constitute a system that is unified. The tools to build strategic narratives for communication are real-time engagement, networked influence, digital soft power, algorithmic visibility and public interaction. This feedback is a means of influencing the communication process, which thus becomes a continuous diplomatic course of action.

So the framework is a cycle and that's XPlomacy. The analysis here suggests that a six dimensional framework is being proposed in this article. Thus, X is not just a communication device but also a networked interaction space, it is a diplomatic space, and its interaction with others is coupled with the strategic communication and the technological space. Model focuses on identifying the importance of the interaction between the strategy and the platform

structure of the state in the creation of diplomacy.

3. Methodology

The study used the comparative qualitative content analysis of official Kenyan and US government official X posts on the Africa Climate Summit and COP28 (Krippendorff, 2004; Yin, 2018).

The corpus contained 284 posts, organized into four sub-corpora:

Sub-corpus	Posts
Kenya – ACS	172
United States – ACS	5
Kenya - COP28	40
United States - COP28	67
Total	284

The analysis focuses on the posts as means of public diplomatic communication. Thematic content, diplomatic function, framing orientation, actor, and event context and engagement were used to code each post when available.

The analysis was done using a within-case and cross-case comparative approach. For each country, the communication was analyzed in each event. Second, the ACS and COP28 communication were benchmarked to find changes over time in Kenya. Third, Kenya and the United States were compared to see how they differed in strategic narrative construction and in diplomacy.

The thematic categories were extracted from a “systematic examination” of the corpus (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes were then explored using the three theoretical perspectives. The tools of Strategic Narrative Theory were employed for the purpose of identifying the identity and policy narratives, Media Diplomacy Theory was applied on the diplomatic functions being acted by the use of X, and the Framing Theory was applied to understand the definition, attribution, evaluation and presentation of climate issues as requiring specific actions. The methodology is thus limited to the observable communication of the states on X.

4. Findings

4.1 The Analytical Corpus

The corpus was drawn exclusively from the official X accounts of serving governmental actors, including

heads of state, cabinet secretaries, special envoys, legislative representatives, and departmental accounts.

Table 4.1 summarizes the corpus composition.

Table 4.1 Corpus Composition by Sub-corpus

Sub-corpus	Country	Event	Period	N	% of Corpus	Unique Actors
Kenya at ACS	Kenya	Africa Climate Summit	Feb to Dec 2023	172	60.6%	16
USA at ACS	USA	Africa Climate Summit	Sep 2023	5	1.8%	2
Kenya at COP28	Kenya	COP28	Nov to Dec 2023	40	14.1%	7
USA at COP28	USA	COP28	Nov to Dec 2023	67	23.6%	14
Total	Both	Both	Feb to Dec 2023	284	100%	23

The distribution in Table 4.1 reveals an important structural feature. Kenya accounted for 74.6 per cent of the total corpus (n=212 tweets), driven primarily by its role as the host state of the ACS. The United States contributed only five tweets to the ACS sub-corpus, representing 1.8 per cent of the total corpus, but expanded to 67 tweets at COP28. This asymmetry is not incidental: it reflects deliberate strategic choices that are themselves findings, examined in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

Twenty-three distinct governmental actors were identified across the four sub-corpora. Table 4.2 maps actor distribution by institutional tier, following Sharp's (2009) classification of diplomatic agents by level of authority.

Table 4.2 Actor Tier Distribution by Sub-corpus

Tier	Actor Category	Kenya ACS	USA ACS	Kenya COP28	USA COP28
1	Head of State / Vice-President	33 tweets (Ruto)	None	14 tweets (Ruto)	9 tweets (Harris)
2	Cabinet Secretary / Secretary of State	48+ tweets (Tuya and others)	None	25 tweets (Tuya, Miano, Mudavadi, Wahome)	1 tweet (Blinken)
3	Special Envoy / Agency Chief	18 tweets (Ali Mohamed, Ngeno)	5 tweets (Caldwell)	8 tweets (Ali Mohamed, Hussein Mohamed)	14 tweets (NASA, USDA, FEMA, USTDA, MCC)
4	Institutional / Departmental Account	38 tweets (State House Kenya, Foreign Affairs Dept)	2 tweets (State Dept)	7 tweets (State House Kenya)	3 tweets (State Dept)
5	Legislative / Other Senior Official	35 tweets (Gachagua, Kingi, Linturi, Passaris)	None	None	40 tweets (7 senators, 2 representatives)

Table 4.2 shows that Kenya's ACS communication engaged all five actor tiers, producing what Melissen (2005, p. 22) describes as a networked public diplomacy model in which multiple institutional voices reinforce a coherent central message. The United States, by contrast, deployed only Tier 3 and Tier 4 actors at the ACS, reserving Tier 1 and Tier 5 actors for COP28. Crucially, the appearance of seven senators in the USA's COP28 sub-corpus introduced a

communicative register not found in any other part of the corpus: more candid, more politically explicit, and less constrained by diplomatic convention than executive branch communication.

4.2 Thematic Analysis: Six Consolidated Macro-Themes

The thematic analysis followed the three-cycle coding procedure described in Chapter Three (Hsieh and

Shannon 2005; Saldana 2016). The 56 discrete raw theme labels identified inductively in the dataset were consolidated through open, axial, and selective coding into six mutually exclusive, theoretically grounded macro-themes. These are designated T1 through T6 and are defined as follows: T1 (Climate Finance and Global Financial Architecture Reform); T2 (Green Growth, Clean Energy, and Industrialization); T3 (African or State Leadership, Continental Solidarity,

and Diplomatic Positioning); T4 (Climate Vulnerability, Adaptation, Urgency, and Multilateral Commitments); T5 (Diplomatic Engagement, Coalition-Building, and Protocol); and T6 (Inclusive Climate Governance, encompassing Youth, Gender, and Nature). Table 4.3 presents the frequency distribution of dominant theme assignments across the four sub-corpora.

Table 4.3 Macro-Theme Frequency Distribution by Sub-corpus (N = 284)

Theme	Label	Kenya ACS n (%)	USA ACS n (%)	Kenya COP28 n (%)	USA COP28 n (%)	Total n (%)
T1	Climate Finance and Financial Reform	14 (8.1%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)	1 (1.5%)	18 (6.3%)
T2	Green Growth, Clean Energy and Industrialization	27 (15.7%)	2 (40.0%)	14 (35.0%)	3 (4.5%)	46 (16.2%)
T3	Leadership, Solidarity and Diplomatic Positioning	67 (39.0%)	0 (0%)	9 (22.5%)	1 (1.5%)	77 (27.1%)
T4	Vulnerability, Urgency and Multilateral Commitments	25 (14.5%)	2 (40.0%)	11 (27.5%)	61 (91.0%)	99 (34.9%)
T5	Diplomatic Engagement, Protocol and Coalition-Building	14 (8.1%)	1 (20.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (5.3%)
T6	Inclusive Governance: Youth, Gender and Nature	25 (14.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)	1 (1.5%)	29 (10.2%)
Total		172 (100%)	5 (100%)	40 (100%)	67 (100%)	284 (100%)

Three patterns in Table 4.3 are analytically significant. First, T4 (Vulnerability, Urgency, and Multilateral Commitments) dominated the USA's COP28 sub-corpus at 91.0 per cent (n=61 tweets), a degree of thematic concentration that has no parallel in any other sub-corpus and indicates that the USA's COP28 communication was organized around a single dominant crisis frame. Second, T3 (Leadership and Continental Solidarity) was the largest theme in Kenya's ACS sub-corpus at 39.0 per cent (n=67) but was entirely absent from the USA's ACS sub-corpus. This differential points to a deliberate American choice not to contest the leadership narrative at an Africa-hosted event, a finding examined in Section 4.4. Third, T2 (Green Growth and Clean Energy) was the only theme to achieve substantial presence across all four sub-corpora, making it the single point of thematic convergence between the two countries. However, as

Section 4.7 demonstrates, the framing of green growth by the two countries is structurally different in ways that reflect their opposing positions in the global political economy of climate change.

4.3 X as a Public Diplomacy Instrument

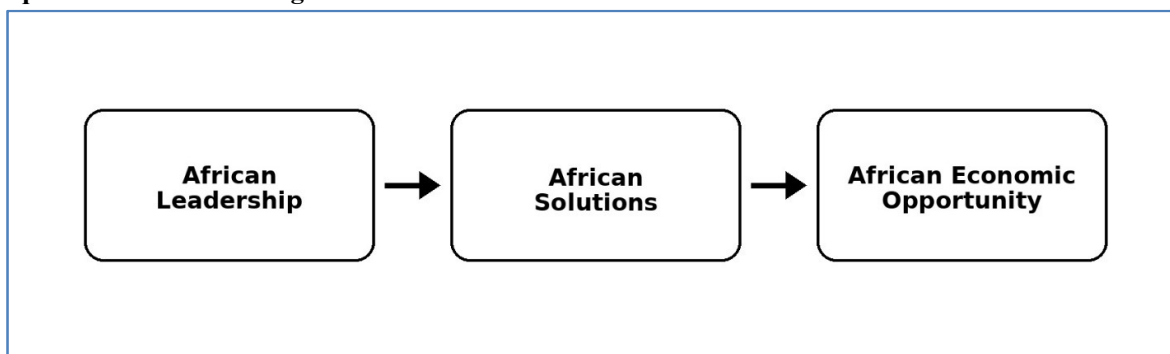
The corpus shows that X was not used for every-day publicity in Kenya and the United States. X was a public diplomatic document, a vehicle for the states to make their diplomatic activities visible to worldly readers. This is especially noticeable in the Diplomatic Protocol theme. The ACS corpus for Kenya had the greatest number of posts (14) associated with the theme of the protocol. These posts included reports on bilateral meetings, official visits, the attendance of the presidents, and the summit. This is Kenya's story of being a host nation and diplomatic meetings were incorporated into the public diplomacy narrative.

The communication of the Kenya protocol dropped significantly at COP28. This shift is important as it reveals the influence of diplomatic role on X usage. Kenya's use of X was different as the host of a diplomatic summit compared to when it joined a bigger multilateral conference. In the United States a similar relationship between institutional role and communication was found. It has a smaller number of posts in its ACS presence (five) than COP28 (67). The gap suggests that U.S. X diplomacy was focused on an occasion where the salience of U.S. political involvement and climate-policy messaging was especially pronounced. X was then a type of mediated diplomatic visibility. The meetings, declarations, partnerships and participation were not just noted, but they became a part of the public picture of diplomatic activity.

4.4 Kenya: Constructing African Leadership

The building of African leadership was the most prominent aspect of the ACS communication in Kenya. The African/State Leadership theme was the most represented in the Kenya ACS corpus with 67 posts. The communication constantly put Africa in the driver's seat in global climate agenda-setting.

The sequence was therefore significant:



4.5 Kenya: Climate Finance as Structural Diplomacy

Another major part of the Kenyan ACS public diplomacy was climate finance, which was mentioned in 14 posts. It was a very different framing to the U.S. framing. The framework of climate finance, the failure of current financial frameworks, and the need to shift relations between African countries and international financial institutions, were often discussed in the context of Kenya's financial communications. The framing was therefore problem-defining and causal at the same time. Financial inequities were linked to

This was not just a statement that Africa was being impacted by climate change. It was an intentional story of identity. The communication aimed to change the prevalent narrative of Africa as a climate victim to climate leader and solutions provider in Kenya.

The Africa Climate Summit itself, therefore, was represented much more than another international meeting. It became proof of the agency of the African diplomats. Continental unity, the Nairobi Declaration and the priorities of Africa were used to stress that the continent should not just react to decisions outside of its borders, but should play a role in defining the global climate agenda (African Climate Summit, 2023c; African Union, 2023b).

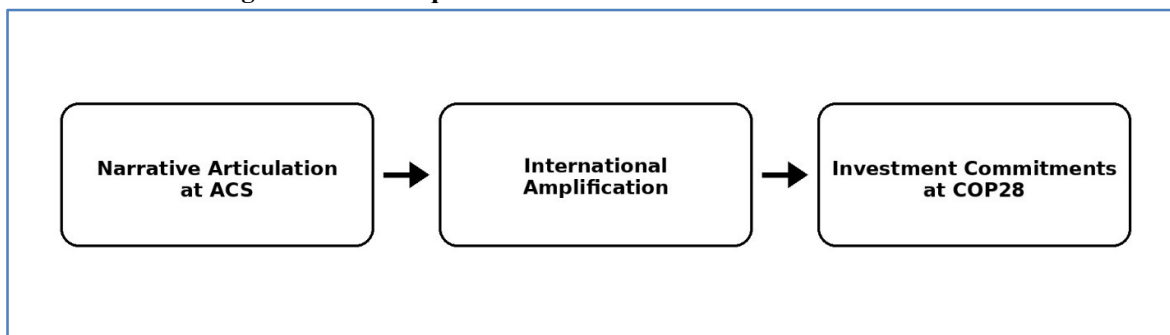
This is in direct alignment with Strategic Narrative Theory. Kenya employed X to create the identity narrative of who Africa is and issue narrative of what Africa should be looking for from global climate diplomacy. Green-growth communication was used to reinforce the narrative. In the ACS corpus of Kenya, there were 27 posts on Green Growth and energy including green hydrogen, electric mobility, renewable energy and partnerships. X was used as the connecting thread between all these elements.

climate vulnerability and reform was suggested as a component of the needed response.

This is an example of how framing and strategic narrative worked in conjunction. The finance frame enabled a wider strategic framing where Africa had more control over the financial systems that would define its climate-development trajectory. The communication then did not only see climate finance as an aid. It linked finance with sovereignty, investment and development and green industrialization.

4.6 Kenya at COP28: From Narrative to Evidence

Kenya's COP28 communication was the same as the previous one, but with a different focus. The theme of green growth and energy emerged as the strongest, and had four posts, whereas African/state leadership was still prominent with nine posts. The topic of climate finance was touched upon in three posts. The qualitative change was the most crucial. The main **This creates a clear strategic-narrative sequence:**



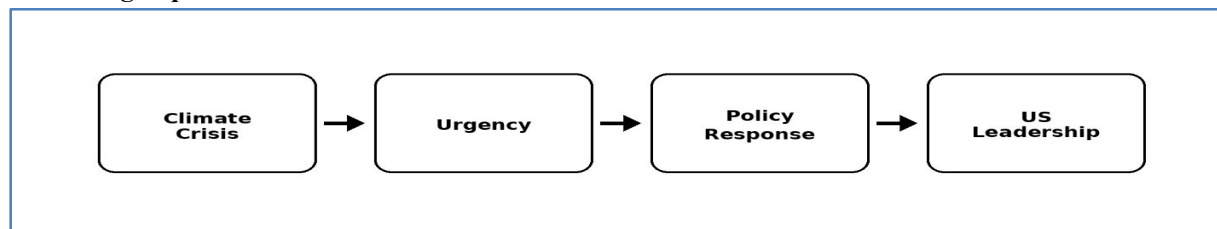
The significance lies in the relationship between discourse and diplomatic activity. However, at COP28, Kenya's X communication might prove investment to be more than a talking point in the quest for solutions. Thus, the communication shifted from a frame which was largely normative in implying what the global climate system should be to a frame which was more demonstrative in suggesting what Kenya and Africa could actually produce.

4.7 The United States: Selective Engagement at ACS

The US presence at ACS was considerably smaller than Kenya's, with only five posts. It's a fascinating distribution by theme. Climate finance was not mentioned, African/state leadership was not mentioned and green growth and energy were mentioned only twice. The word vulnerability and urgency were used twice.

It is significant that there is no African leadership message. The United States has not challenged Kenya's or Africa's leadership narrative at any point

The framing sequence for the United States was therefore:



story Kenya was telling at ACS was a new one. It has progressively shown it during COP28.

The green-development deals announced to the tune of some US\$4.48 billion offered tangible proof to back the solutions-provider story (African Climate Summit, 2023b). The projects included green fertilizer, geothermal energy, a renewable-energy-powered data center and sustainable agriculture.

using X on the ACS. Rather its communication was limited to the recognition of climate vulnerability and US partnership (United States Department of State, 2023). This is a reflection that silence is also a part of strategic communication. The US did not try to control the communicative space generated by the host state. The US participation however, is limited, which from a Media Diplomacy perspective, is more of selective than full documentation of diplomacy.

4.8 The United States at COP28: Crisis, Leadership and Policy Action

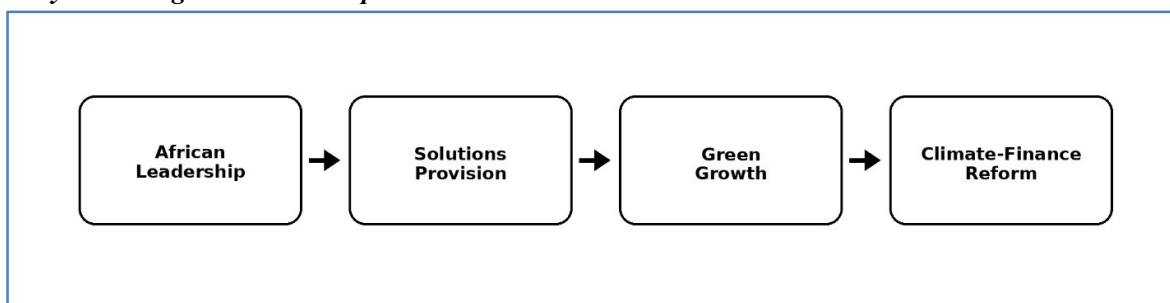
Much happened at COP28 on the side of the United States regarding the communication system. The corpus has 67 posts, with Vulnerability and Urgency being the most prevalent US theme, with 61 posts. This is a very different framing approach to Kenya. Urgent and crisis were a frequent way to communicate about climate change in the United States. The problem was presented as a pressing and consequential one, and US policy action was framed as part of the proper response.

The

Inflation Reduction Act was especially important within this communication strategy (United States Department of Energy, 2023). The posts didn't necessarily emphasize historical responsibility for the United States, but rather climate investment at home as proof of international credibility. This is a type of construction of policy-to-leadership narratives. Domestic action became the basis for an international identity. Communication efforts by US green-growth reinforced this story through the lens of renewable energy, clean-energy investment and technology. In doing so, the United States conveyed a strategic message about climate leadership through its climate action and its capacity at COP28.

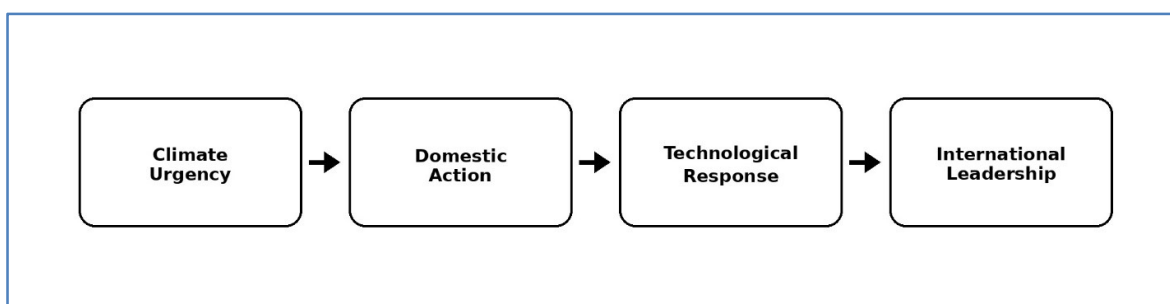
4.9 Comparative Analysis

Fig 1 Kenya's Strategic Narrative Sequence



The United States' dominant sequence was:

Fig 2 United States Strategic Narrative Sequence



b. Different Uses of Framing

The framing comparison reinforces this distinction. Causal attribution was a common feature in the Kenya ACS communications, linking historical emissions and financial inequality and structural injustice to climate vulnerability. The United States made greater use of 'problem definition and treatment recommendation' especially at COP28. Climate change was framed as a crisis that needed to be addressed, with domestic policy, technological investments and partnerships introduced as solutions.

a. Two Strategic Narratives

The comparison identified two different strategic narratives. These stories are not just various versions of the same policy. They come from a variety of diplomatic arenas. Kenya's story was an attempt to reorder Africa in the global climate order. It's public diplomacy and messaging is that Africa is a player that has solutions, investment opportunity and leadership capability. The US story was mostly about what they could already do about climate change. Domestic policy proves the U.S. can be a leader internationally. Thus, X becomes a site of differentiated identity construction.

Kenya's dominant sequence was:

Kenya thus often asked questions as to why was the climate issue unbalanced, and what should be done to the international system. The U.S. more often described the severity of the climate issue and the U.S. actions on it. The various framing options illustrate that public diplomacy on X is still very tied to geopolitical positioning.

c. The ACS-COP28 Evolution

The intra-country comparison is equally important. Although the underlying strategic messaging of Kenya's communication did not change, its diplomatic

role did. Even though the topic of identity and agenda construction dominated at ACS, there was greater emphasis placed on evidence and implementation at COP28. This implies that continuity in the strategy is not confused. It might be a different diplomatic situation, but the same story.

The U.S. showed a different trend. It made far fewer announcements for its ACS communication and COP28 saw a significant boost in activity. The US thus showed higher concentration of events while the Kenya showed higher continuity of narrative among the events. This is one of the most obvious differences between the two public diplomacy strategies.

4.10 X and the Performance of Public Diplomacy

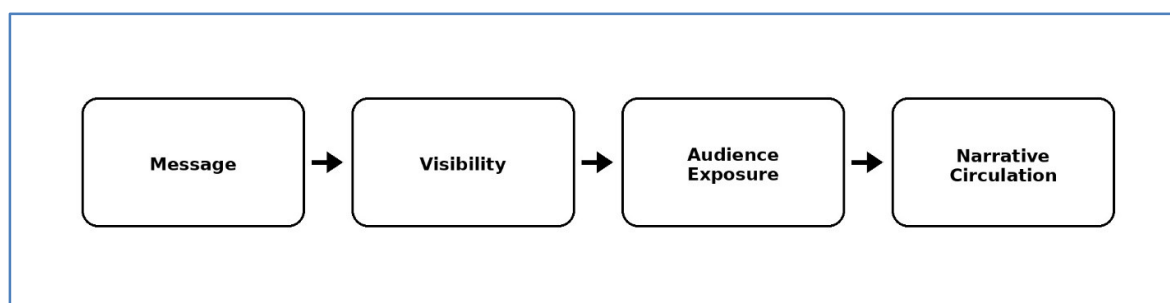
The data on engagement include an extra layer to the understanding of how states leveraged X. Vice-

president Kamala Harris's statement about her arrival at COP28 was the most prominent US post on the corpus and garnered around 767,000 views. The Kenya announcement of green-development deals worth around \$4.48 billion was viewed some 28,000 times, compared to the 200,000 views for the other blogs. The contrast shows that there are messages that are not visible but are very important diplomatically, and vice versa.

A brief message about a well-known political figure can raise a lot more attention than a lengthy announcement about billions of dollars of climate investments. For public diplomacy analysis, it is crucial to distinguish this.

The relevant analytical chain was:

Fig 3 Analytical Chain



These stages should not be assumed to be synonymous with diplomatic influence. The corpus as a whole, however, illustrates the use of various content types for specific diplomatic purposes. A range of milestones and declarations could attract wide attention, policy announcements could provide meaning to substantive commitments, relationship documentation through protocol posts could make climate change salient, and urgency frames could make climate change salient. However, despite the differences in communicative functions by state and event, X was used as a multi-functional public diplomacy tool.

5. Discussion

The results show that Strategic Narratives, Media Diplomacy and Framing are the complex elements that explain state use of X in climate diplomacy. Strategic Narrative Theory helps us to understand why Kenya and the United States chose to share the same platform while conveying different conceptions of climate politics. Kenya created a story of African agency,

solutions and transformation. The United States developed a “hurry-up” and “do something” and “the leader” approach. Secondly, Media Diplomacy Theory accounts for the entry of X into the diplomatic process itself. The platform made participation in the summits, bilateral meetings, declarations, commitments and policy actions visible to the international community of governments.

Third, Framing Theory shows states' interpretation of the politics of climate. Kenya emphasized responsibility, inequality, finance and African development, the United States emphasized the urgency, domestic actions and solutions. The three views are thus complementary:

The comparison further suggests that X has not resulted in a homogenous form of digital diplomacy. Instead, states use their own platform for their diplomatic purposes. The use in Kenya was marked by identity construction and repositioning of the narrative. It tried to shape the understanding of Africa in

international climate diplomacy through its X communication. The United States had mainly utilized X to project its policy and lead, especially during COP28. The platform allowed the government to plug in domestic climate action with international credibility.

It is not just a matter of Global North versus Global South style of communication. It's used for various public-diplomacy goals. Kenya had to create, and project, a political voice in the international talk about climate change, whereas the U.S. had more leeway to leverage political visibility in the home country and domestic policy in order to demonstrate leadership.

6. Conclusion

This study focused on the way Kenya and the United States leveraged X as a public diplomacy tool during the Africa Climate Summit and COP28. The 284 official posts analyzed in this study reveal that states employ X to make strategic narratives and to conduct diplomacy publicly, and to shape international issues for transnational audiences.

The focus of Kenya's communication was on African leadership, solutions provision, green growth and climate-finance reform. Being a climate actor rather than a climate victim, Africa was a key topic of discussion at the Africa Climate Summit, and X played a major role in establishing an alternative narrative of Africa. This was linked more and more in several instances to evidence of investment and green-development at COP28.

The United States used X differently. The ACS presence was relatively limited, whereas COP28 led to significantly higher activity. US communication was largely about the urgency of climate change, domestic policy responses, technological solution and the leadership of America. The Inflation Reduction Act was thus an important instrument for bringing climate action by the United States home and into international diplomatic credibility (United States Department of Energy, 2023).

The comparison shows that states are not following a uniform approach to digital diplomacy in relation to the use of X. Different diplomatic narratives can be accommodated on the same platform because the states involved in international communication are different in nature, with different identities, goals and political stance.

Another important contribution of this study is to show

that it is important to distinguish attention from diplomatic communication. A high visibility does not always equate substantive diplomatic importance. Instead, states employ various types of X communication in different ways, for various purposes: building identity, conveying policy, reporting diplomacy, problem solving and even proving action.

The study's main contribution is to move the focus of analysis from the broad question of whether states are using social media to a more specific question of how states use X as an instrument of public diplomacy.

The evidence indicates that X was employed in Kenya mainly in the process of repositioning and narrating, whereas in the United States, it was mainly employed in the process of demonstrating and reinforcing. Kenya's approach shifted from "claiming the leadership role" at ACS to "showing leadership" at COP28. At COP28, the level of communication in the US went from limited engagement at ACS to intensive crisis and action communication.

X is thus an important public diplomacy space in today's climate politics, but its political articulation is shaped by the political regime employing it, the event in which it is used, the story being framed, and the frames in which the politics of climate is expressed.

This evolution suggests that X is coming to be seen as a new form of public diplomacy. A diplomacy that is not just about conveying diplomatic messages through X, but a diplomacy that is a projection of the identity and legitimacy of the state, a diplomacy that is about constructing narratives, performing diplomacy, documenting engagement and framing international issues. The transition from "diplomacy as a way of communication" to "diplomacy as a means of communication" is reflected in the development of Xplomacy. The main conclusion is thus simple, states don't just "diplomacy" on X, they publicly make diplomacy a meaning, identity and legitimacy on X.

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