



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**TOPIC: THE 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: A
CASE OF KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I have dedicated this work to my mother Phiddes Mirumbi who has been very supportive and resourceful to me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo for her commitment towards the progress of the study, patience, advice and encouragement throughout the study. It was due to her tireless efforts and lots of stimulating suggestions that motivated me in bringing this study to this level.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
UN	United Nations
AU	African Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
ODA	Overseas Development Association
EAC	East African Community
IGAD	Intergovernmental Association for Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC	South African Development Community
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism

ABSTRACT

Diplomacy refers to the management of the international interactions in a skillful and tactful way that promotes the foreign policy of a country. Hence diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy. Through diplomacy, peace, collaboration, and economic integration are promoted between the countries interacting. Diplomats, officials entrusted with the mandate of negotiating and representing a country internationally, use negotiations, compromises, and sometimes military coercion to foster better relations. Diplomacy has developed over the years especially with the advent of the technology and better communication. Africa's diplomatic engagements have also undergone changes since the countries gained independence. Currently, countries such as Kenya are showing their true identities in diplomatic engagements both locally within the continent and internationally across the world. The research paper sort a better understanding of the 21st Century diplomatic engagements in Africa and used Kenya as the case study. With the objective of better understanding the trends between 20th and 21st century and the nature and role of the 21st century diplomatic engagements. Employing the realism theory and research hypotheses the study found that the 21st century diplomatic engagements has greatly transformed how economic diplomacy is carried out in Africa and has been influenced by technology. Also the study examined the challenges faced by the 21st century diplomatic engagements. The study generated new academic knowledge and policy relevant debates for the decision makers. The study recommends regional integration in Africa, proper governance and fight on corruption to enhance diplomatic engagements. Kenya is an emerging regional giant basing its development as the EAC dominant country through effective diplomacy. Diplomatic engagements shape the international relations and influence the overall development of a country. Through the study, the dynamics of 21st Century diplomacy in Africa are better understood.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy and management of international relations in a cordial manner that allows for stronger ties and relationship between states. Diplomacy also allows for the management of change within a country in that citizens engage in diplomatic processes that allow them to progressively institutionalize change within their state. Diplomatic engagements have the ability to influence the overall direction that a country takes economically, politically, environmentally and socially. Diplomatic practice has developed tremendously throughout time and current status shows a good cause for optimism.¹

Political relations seem to benefit the most from diplomatic relations. Friendly countries are deemed to have good diplomatic ties while the countries considered unfriendly are said to lack good diplomatic relations. The relations stem from the interactions that the countries have either in public or in private. Through the diplomatic relations, other relations can be implemented such as bilateral economic ties. Countries that relate well with one another do great business together.

Socially, diplomacy has the ability of solving the issues considered contentious between states and between the citizens of a similar country. For example, diplomacy brought the resolution of the Sudanese Civil War. Diplomacy has also allowed Kenya and Uganda to relate to one another in a cordial manner despite the ensuing conflict over Migingo Island in Lake Victoria.² Diplomacy has the potential of strengthening the unity within a country, its region, and international regions.

The citizens of a country today are more informed than in the past. Access to information regarding government business has increased tremendously to the extent that the citizens themselves can ask critical questions regarding how the governments are behaving either locally or internationally. Democracy also plays a critical role in empowering the citizens

¹ Alvin Y So (1990). "Social Change and Development; Modernization, Dependency, and World System theories. Sage Publications, Inc. 2455 Teller Road, Newbury Park, California 91320.

² Robert Cox (1995) "Critical Political Economy" in Bjorn Hettne eds., International Political Economy: Understanding Global Disorder, London: Zed Books.

because their rights are entrenched in the constitution this are the dynamics of the 21st century diplomatic engagements.

Empowered citizens act as observers to government business as well as promoters of diplomacy across the country. Most countries are working towards institutionalizing checks and balances that curtail the supreme nature of the central leadership effectively making it hard for bad leaders to make unilateral decisions without the input of other institutions.

Africa is gaining better governance methodologies which are working towards the strengthening of diplomatic policies. The drive is to ensure that the future of the countries does not lie in the hands of one person has seen African countries gaining more autonomy, sovereignty and rational outlook.³ Democratization of the continent has been in question for a long time but the countries are making the most out of the freedom gained to ensure that the state does not roll back on the gains made.

It is quite normal to find several non-government organizations working in the region with the main aim of ensuring that the country develops their governance and appreciation for the rule of law. Intergovernmental organizations are also playing an important role in their handling of the issues between countries always aiming to avoid military action between the states.⁴ Thus, Diplomacy is not just left to the states alone to determine, the international community does want bilateral ties based on strong diplomatic relations to take root across the world.

Public interests seem to strengthen diplomatic ties more than any other aspect. However, it is not in all cases that public interest has assisted in making diplomacy as strong as possible. Some countries still have supreme leadership styles which are still oppressive. Citizens of such countries always cry out to the international community to intervene. However, the principle of sovereignty, intervention is done through diplomatic channels. In some cases, diplomacy prevails but in others, diplomacy fails and the international

³ Wallerstein Immanuel. "The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century" 1976, Academic Press, Inc

⁴ Davies Martyn, et al (2008), How China Delivers Development Assistance to Africa, Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Stellenbosch.

community loses the ability to intervene. In rare cases, the situation degenerates in to a military confrontation.⁵

Diplomacy promotes rational approach towards solving conflicts. The benefits of diplomacy outweigh the potential that the country may receive unfair deals. In addition to other things, it assumes the risk; forsaking the fantasy of near-total control over one's drives, and it depends on outreach procedures that were obscure to past ages of experts. Newcomers to the world's diplomacy administrations, accordingly, merit high readiness for the changed substances of their calling and understudies of strategy would profit by new contemplating the lead of global relations.

Diplomacy builds on the principles of dialogue and negotiation between parties interested. The dialogue and negotiations allow the parties involved to get what they consider to be rational and fair having compromised in return. Thus, application of diplomacy amongst states makes it easier for the states to improve of several aspects while at the same time, the countries get to develop.

The concept of diplomacy is often confused with the concept of foreign policy. Foreign policy refers to the strategies that a country intends to use in order to secure its selfish interests and safeguard its sovereignty in the international scene. Diplomacy on the other hand is the key instrument that allows countries to implement their foreign policies.⁶

Frequently, but not invariably, diplomacy strives to preserve peace. It relies on negotiations aimed at attaining a common ground where all parties are in agreement, enjoy mutual benefits, and pursue long lasting interests. The guiding principle of democracy is polite discourse and quiet persuasion. Conducting diplomacy is never conducted in public because that will invite dividing opinions on a lot of thing. Therefore, the resultant policies attained after diplomatic negotiations are stated publicly so that the interested parties get to know and understand. Thus, public diplomacy is an exception because quiet diplomacy gives way to proper negotiations that have no problems in terms

⁵ Anshan Li (2007). China and Africa: Policy and Challenges. In *Afro-Chinese Relations; Past, Present and Future*, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Ed.). South Africa: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASA)

⁶ Nukunya, Godwin Kwaku (1992). *Tradition and Change in Ghana. An Introduction to Sociology*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

of bullying or extreme sentiments. Through diplomacy, the continued communication reduces and in some cases, it ends the chances of a conflict between two states.⁷

Coercive threats sometimes make their way in to a diplomatic engagement. The coercion usually takes an economic perspective as punitive measures such as trade embargos are imposed to force through a point. War is the most likely end result of such a diplomatic engagement if at all the parties come out bitter and vengeful. The opposite is also applicable in that it can facilitate the shift from war to peace between the warring communities.⁸

The historical purpose of diplomacy is to either end conflict or enhance the cooperation and collaboration between different common goals. Diplomacy is conducted officially by the diplomats representing the countries and effective diplomacy easily results in to bilateral relations. When bilateral relations are attained, the foreign policy interests of a country are advanced vis-à-vis other states. The reliability and predictability of countries informs their diplomatic credibility.

Ambassadors enjoy immunity in the foreign countries because of the concept of sovereignty. Nowadays, ambassadors from all countries retreated equally because, as per the principle of sovereignty, all sovereign states are equal to one another. The manner in which a host country treats the ambassadors is attributed as its perception of the sending country. It is very easy today to confuse a miscommunication between ambassadors thus, all interactions are usually carefully monitored

Diplomacy thrives best when the sending government and the hosting governments are all cooperating with one another. The amicability and the interaction between the states influence the diplomatic process between the countries. Ambassadors are thus treated as the representatives of their government. Anything they say or do is attributed as the official position of the sending government. As such, ambassadors always look to live up

⁷ Nukunya, Godwin Kwaku (1992). Tradition and Change in Ghana. An Introduction to Sociology. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

⁸ Bryman Alan (2004), Social Research Methods(2nd Ed) New York, Oxford University Press.

to their title and ensure proper interactions, ethics, and values in accordance with their governments.⁹

With more advancements in the theory and protocols with regards to worldwide relations, there rose the idea of national intrigue, which affirms that the state has interests of its own that rise above the enthusiastic concerns or wishes of rulers. This has come to imply that, in as much as the lords and monarchical rulers proceeded for a considerable length of time to some degree embody state power, by the seventeenth century; the concentration of discretion started to move from speaking to the sovereign to serving the national intrigue. This pattern quickened in the nineteenth century as power moved from illustrious courts to Cabinets. This prompted the foundation of Ministries of Foreign Affairs to bring together, facilitate and coordinate outside arrangement and to oversee or control diplomats and other Foreign Service authorities. As it were, national intrigue, and not the impulses of rulers and rulers, was currently the quest for global relations.

By the twentieth century, the strategy had extended past respective dealing between sovereigns. It now covers summit gatherings and other universal meetings, the exercises of super-national and sub-national elements. Its scope additionally incorporates exercises, for example, discretion, informal tact by non-administrative components, and crafted by worldwide government workers. This development of political action has come to imply that the consequences of conciliatory arrangements are made increasingly open than was the situation before the twentieth century. The development of the errands of discretion past the social and formal portrayal of the sending state and the assurance of the sending nation inside the fringes of the host state flagged the expanded duty of envoys and their staff. Also, with the idea of optional command inborn in the idea of diplomat delegates, the envoy is frequently approved to arrange and consent to singular arrangements with the host state.

Apart from promotion of friendly ties, collection of information and subsequent reporting, through legal means, on the political environment, circumstances and developing issues from the host country and sending it to the sending country is one of

⁹ Hofstede, Geert (2005). *Cultures and Organizations: Intercultural Corporations and its importance for survival: Software of the mind*. London: HarperCollins. –

the salience of diplomatic ties. Gathering of information could be through several channels like expert knowledge, and experience of the diplomats to analyze and interpret the trending issues within the host country. The main purpose is to ensure the safety of the diplomats is not tampered with regardless of diplomatic ties.

Whenever necessary, portrayal additionally involves the cabin of official or casual challenges with the host nation or clarifying and guarding the national arrangement. To this must be included the advancing of financial, business, social and logical relations. Discretionary missions likewise perform open administration capacities for their nationals, including appointive enrollment or directing of decisions for abroad voters, when this is approved. Issuing of visas and also alluding wiped out residents to nearby doctors and the detained or those accused of wrongdoings to legal advisors are a portion of the general population administrations rendered by strategic missions.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The world is changing rapidly, and skilled diplomatic engagement is becoming more critical for states to survive and enhance their national interest. States in the 21st century engage other states and establish peaceful relations with them through diplomatic engagement to strengthen its national attention and play on the global business and diplomatic relations. When friendly relationships do not exist, it is difficult for a state to enhance its national interest and benefit from the global resources. As such Africa as a continent has had a gap in creating beneficial diplomatic ties through diplomatic engagement, and this has led to the continent missing out on political, Economic and social opportunities in trade liberalization, capital movement, international finance, global flow of people and the information technology revolution. Kenya in the 21st century diplomatic engagement presents itself as being keen on maintaining a healthy profile in international relations and politics enhancing its economic and political national interest,¹⁰ by adopting the “look east diplomacy” Kenya has been able to increase trade and infrastructure with China. Africa as a whole has been using 21st diplomatic engagement to secure a seat at the UN security council though faced with a lot of challenges. The 2017 push by Kenya to have its foreign affairs minister as the African

¹⁰ Jean Christophe,(impact of china trade relations:2009)

Union Chairperson indicates the dynamics of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in an effort to achieve a state's national interest. ¹¹Therefore, this study seeks to investigate 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa with a focus on Kenya

1.3. Research Questions

- i. What trends exist in the 20th and the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa?
- ii. What is the nature and challenges of the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa?
- iii. What is the role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Broad Objective

This study seeks to investigate the role of diplomatic engagement in the 21st century in advancing: national and regional interests of Africa.

The objectives of the research are as follows; -

- (i) To examine the trends between the 20th and the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa
- (ii) To investigate the nature and challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa
- (iii) To determine the role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya.

1.5 Justification of the study

1.5.1 Academic

The study will generate new knowledge and academic-debate on the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa, specifically in Kenya. The study also aims to share the importance and challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagement giving scholars a chance to learn more about the topic. The scholars will also use the study as a resource for future reference.

¹¹ Protus Onyango, The standard(article:2017),

This study is significant regarding academic relevance as the study seeks to offer a detailed insight into the national efforts at diplomatic engagements in the country and identifies the complexities involved in carrying out this national mandate while factoring in the country's regional positioning

1.5.2 Policy

The study is intended to generate policy-relevant debate that will lead to information on the 21st century diplomatic engagement strengths and challenges and thus policy makers will use this study to make decisions that will assist in achieving Africa's national interest with a focus on Kenya

Therefore, the main benefits to this exploration are to address the gap in existing diplomatic studies literature. It will also "serve as a starting point for scholarship, discussion, and debate conducive to an enhanced application of 21st century diplomatic engagement.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 National and regional interest

There is need for a person to understand Kenya's political system in order to comprehend the policy making process and its importance and how 21st century diplomatic engagement has been of great importance. In August 2010, Kenya promulgated a new constitution thus moving on from the old order that was promoting a supreme presidency. However, the conduction and dispensation of the foreign policy in the country is still in accordance with the old order which meant all organs of the government were subservient to the president.¹² Nevertheless, since 2003, there has been an "enormous strides" in establishing a system, which includes oversight committees. However, further reforms as advocated for is still lacking proper assistance and support from parliament. This is because political alignments mean that parliament still rubber stamps the executive's budget, agree with presidential nominations and support the ruling party's political inclinations.

¹² Wallerstein Immanuel. "The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century" 1976, Academic Press, Inc

In this respect under the old constitutional, conduct of foreign policy was the prerogative of the President. Consequently, within this transitional implementation period, the President is the initiator and director of foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) responsibilities are therefore to advise and execute policy in consultation with the President. Several individuals, such as the permanent secretary; other related ministries, institutions, organizations, and agencies participate in the foreign policy formulation and decisions.¹³ Taking this perspective and approach, the MFA is only acting as a coordinator and facilitator of the country's foreign policy. Other governmental agencies complement the MFA in its conduct of the foreign policy which underlines the country's foreign policy orientation since independence in 1963.

The major goals of the 21st century diplomatic engagement is;

- Respecting the sovereign and territorial integrity of other countries
- Preserve national interests and security
- Enhance peaceful coexistence and promote good
- Promote peaceful conflict resolutions
- Refraining from interference on internal matters of each country
- Promote adherence to UN and AU Charters

Some factors have influenced Kenya's foreign policy since independence, but its national interest has shaped their outcomes. This self-interest manifests itself in the pursuit of political security and stability; the pursuit of economic advancement and development; geopolitical factors; and increasing regional integration.

Peace is considered key to social and economic development. Commitment to the security of the people, preservation of national integrity, and securing the national borders underline the commitment of the government to ensuring a safe sociopolitical environment for development

Secondly, economic growth has played a dominant role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy. The desire to have an open economy attracting Foreign Direct Investment as well

¹³ Anshan Li (2007). China and Africa: Policy and Challenges. In Afro-Chinese Relations; Past, Present and Future, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Ed.). South Africa: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASA)

as Overseas Development Assistance inform the foreign policy generation and diplomatic engagements in Kenya.

Thirdly, overlapping ethnic communities across the country and its national borders and Kenya's littoral nature to the Indian Ocean influence Kenya's foreign policy and its relation with the landlocked neighbors. Kenya views regional and international cooperation as important factors in its diplomatic engagements and possibility of furthering its foreign policy. Kenya's participation in the regional affair through IGAD and EAC are always full of valor and commitment. Kenya cooperates in international efforts because it understands that because of globalization and liberalization, its economic state is tied to the regions economic development.

The history of National and regional interest pre-1992 comprised of two regimes, namely; that of "President Jomo Kenyatta and President Daniel Arap Moi". During this time, the conduct of foreign policy was determined by the character of the incumbent holder of the Presidency and the fact that the country strictly adhered to its economic and ideological blueprint. President Kenyatta was a Pan-Africanist who led the state to independence as the first President of the republic in 1964.

He inspired nationalism to achieve progress. Kenyatta took a pragmatic approach in conducting national affairs. Susan Gitelson contends that since the foreign policy of small states depends on their leader's policy preferences, it is no surprise that Kenya adopted a low key practical stance to foreign policy. This pragmatism is traceable to the Lancaster House negotiations that led Kenya's to independence. Secondly, "the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya" became the nation's economic and ideological platform that institutionalized and prioritized economic planning as the means to achieve growth and national progress.

Kenya adopted a technocratic perspective to the achievement of national goals and reliance on economic expertise while using this foundational document as a significant policymaking tool including in its foreign affairs. This economic prioritization came to determine Kenya's international posturing during the cold war. Kenya sustained a level of autonomy through extensive relations with both sides of the divide enabling the country to maximize the receipt of aid and achieve assurances of support in times of

crisis, especially from western countries. Kenya maintained cordial relations with the UK, regarding continued trade and military training. It also developed and maintained relations with communist powers such as Russia and China who provided aid and other forms of technical assistance to the country.

This successfully resulted in Kenya being elected to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1973. The country also hosted many international conferences and the location of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) headquarters in its capital Nairobi-the first in Sub Saharan Africa. By ensuring such maneuverability, this approach enhanced the country's prestige, while facilitating both international and regional trade. It also enabled the acquiring of a wide variety of ODA for the country to achieve economic development and stability.

However, critics point out that the Kenyatta presidency increasingly became overly paternalistic and patriarchal; unaccommodating to divergent views and depended mainly on achieving consensus through loyalty that developed into ethnic politics whose manifestation was the political isolation, detention, and assassination of political leaders. On the other hand, foreign policy under former President Moi was highly centralized and reflected his self-interest in defending his government against international and domestic criticism. Moi thus became more interested in neutralizing those perceived to be opposed to him. He centralized and personalized power in the image of the 'Nyayo' (Swahili for footsteps) philosophy that mirrored Kenyatta's style of leadership and cloaked in the aspirations of peace, love, and unity in an attempt to stand out as a nationalist in his right. To consolidate power, the president systematically usurped other institutions making their functions part of the offices functions such that the principle of separation of power was ineffectual. This was because he associated insecurity and instability with open criticisms and challenges to his policies and style of leadership. Patronage and loyalty were the characteristics of Moi's leadership style, and governance became a system in which the president delegated no responsibilities and became involved in almost everything in the state including the individual rights of people. Corruption, nepotism, and tribalism became systematically rampant in government. The economy began to decline, and human rights abuses became widespread. The assassination, repression,

arbitrary arrests, political trials, torture, and detention without trial of dissidents reminiscent of the colonial era became commonplace. This was because Moi viewed human rights as alien Eurocentric inconsistent with African values and culture. He also perceived activists as unpatriotic, disloyal and ungrateful individuals influenced by 'foreign masters.'

Internationally, Moi concentrated on boosting Kenya's image through participating in military peacekeeping missions and negotiation of peace agreements under the auspices of the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN). The country maintained its traditionalist approach but intensified working for its interests through international organizations which it was party to. It also took part in conferences and became a signatory to many international charters such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in Nairobi in 1986, yet it did not care for its implementation. This enhanced the nation's prestige both continentally and internationally, but it could not stem the wave of criticism over governance especially in an international environment characterized by the end of the cold war and constant domestic pressure with the decline of the economy; increasing corruption and human rights violations.

1.6.2 Institutional and Implementation Framework for diplomatic engagement

Diplomatic engagement is implemented by diplomats in a diplomatic service system. In the world, interdependency is a reality. Kenya perceives the significance of respective healthy relations, regional collaboration and improved multilateral engagement as principal segments of its remote arrangement and section focus for accomplishing its national advantages.

Kenya keeps on grasping two-sidedness in seeking after its different approach targets through discretionary engagement, political, natural and social concurrences with different nations. Among need, nations are East Africa Community part states which are Kenya's principal exchanging accomplices. These nations have a remarkable number of Kenyans ostracizes and remain the concentration of the Kenyan business group. Kenya will likewise try to go into the two-sided association with states in other African sub-districts inside the setting of its afro-driven remote approach.

The execution of reciprocal courses of action with outside nations past Africa frames a primary segment of Kenya's Foreign Policy motivation which accentuates rising economies and commercial zones. Kenya will additionally fortify its conciliatory engagement through the foundation of diplomatic missions in nations of crucial significance and trade of abnormal state visits. Likewise, the advancement and insurance of the interests of countless abroad will keep on informing the fortifying of respective relations with different nations.

1.6.3 Multilateralism and Scope for diplomatic engagement

Kenya will keep on promoting the standards of the United Nations (UN) Charter and assume its legitimate part in supporting crafted by the United Nations framework in the advancement of global peace and security, exchange, human rights and majority rule government, evacuees, consistent improvement and the change of the UN framework. In such manner, Kenya will manufacture more prominent coordinated effort with the United Nations framework and other global organizations and bodies. Kenya's outside strategy additionally distinguishes the change of the United Nations framework to make the world body more receptive to all nations and areas of the world with the meet portrayal in its organs and establishments as the best need.

Kenya will likewise keep on efficiently participating in the Commonwealth, South-South Cooperation, the Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) and other multilateral associations to advance universal participation and joint effort. The affiliation is established on the need to discover enduring answers for worldwide difficulties and in helping the change of the multilateral framework to mirror. The decent variety of our countries and to guarantee its centrality in worldwide administration. Additionally, Kenya will proceed to guard and propel her general worldwide approach objectives through active engagement at the World Trade Organization to make an anticipated, straightforward and empowering condition for the reasonable multilateral exchanging framework.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study shall be discussed within the field of the various mainstream theories and perspectives of development realism theories. This research project relies on realism as

the theoretical framework. Realism theory dictates that domestic and international entities will strive to get more power out of any arrangement. This is because power is the primary focus of the relations with every party looking to improve their status at the expense of the other parties. Politically, this plays out quite well as internationally; regional neighbors and even overseas countries will look at ways of improving the relations in their favor. By pursuing the power, the countries can pursue and further their interests

Diplomacy is not immune to the implications of the realism theory. Nations will interact using diplomatic engagements to favor growth of their economy, and thus, they will avoid engaging in business arrangements that do not help further their interests. Naturally, the economically weaker countries will have lower bargaining power compared to the economically stronger countries. Hence, the economic superpowers dictate the business engagements more than the economically weaker nations. African countries are largely considered the third world with a few exceptions like South Africa. The countries do not have the bargaining power they would want to give the state of their economy. Therefore, the citizens end up doing more work for less income considering that the economically stronger countries will derive better benefits from the business arrangements.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

- (i) To explain the trends in the 20th century and 21st century diplomatic engagement.
- (ii) Nature and challenges of 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa.
- (iii) Role of 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Kenya.

1.9 Research methodology

The type of research design employed in this study is descriptive. A descriptive was conducted on ambassadors and the country representatives. A purposive and simple random sampling was carried out among the employees of the ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya. The benefit of descriptive research is that it gives insight and comprehension of an issue. It should draw definitive conclusions only with extreme caution. Descriptive research is a type of research design conducted when researchers lack a bright idea of the

problems. Through descriptive research, one can determine the most appropriate research design, data collection and subject selection. The research for this thesis was mainly based on quantitative and qualitative techniques. This analysis was based on secondary data. The study will take on a descriptive research design. The very nature of insecurity is social in itself. The expressive design is further justified as the study envisions qualitative data as the main form of data to be collected for the study, which can best be discussed descriptively.

This research, therefore, employed a descriptive research design to obtain secondary data in critical analysis on exploring the link between diplomatic engagement on national and regional interest. This approach was chosen because the study involves investigating variables which are not easy to quantify. Moreover, the study heavily relies on secondary written materials and documents from the archives and scholarly empirical findings from other related studies.

The data analysis was done qualitatively and will take place concurrently with data collection. Using mapping aspects, the various variables of the diplomatic engagement on national and regional interest will be categorized on an ordinal scale and analyzed. This will provide the most manageable way of measuring the variables in the study. The themes that will emerge from findings will form the basis of the summary of the study. Through the analysis of the final data, it will be possible for the themes and conclusions to be presented descriptively.

The researcher expects a limited scope when it comes to the examination of the emerging and trending patterns as per the research and the cross-national representations of the data.¹⁴

¹⁴ Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. S. (2003). *Business Research Methods* (8th edition). USA: McGraw-Hill

1.10 Chapter Outline

The study will be organized into 5 chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction.

This chapter details the background content to the topic of research, problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification, literature review, theoretical orientation and study methodology employed.

Chapter 2: The Trends between 20th century and 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa

Chapter 3: Nature of the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa

Chapter 4: Role of 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Kenya

Chapter 5: Presentation of findings and data analysis

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

1.11 Conclusion

Indeed, there are various challenges in diplomatic engagement on the development of National and regional interest. Development is also seen to be an irreversible process, and what is important is for the third world countries push for development in order to reach modernity. However, other theorist argued that, the third world countries have gone through colonialism which is not an experience by the west so the development conditions and path cannot be the same. In the same way, feudalism could not be an enough ground since most of the third world countries were not advanced in technology before encountering colonialism.

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRENDS BETWEEN 20th AND 21st CENTURY DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA

2.1 Trends between 20th and 21st Century Diplomatic Engagement

Diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy, and it is critical in how foreign policy implementation of states is carried out. Foreign policy implementation ensures that countries achieve their national interests. Thus, diplomacy being a tool of foreign policy diplomatic engagement is very key to ensure that states push their economic, political and other benefits and win. Diplomatic Engagement conducts have an effect on war, peace, the worldwide economy, human rights, universal law, global foundations, and the standards that administer relations between states. In the 20th century, diplomatic engagement in Africa was mostly with the colonial states. After scrambling for Africa and following the colonialist period, Africa did not have substantial diplomatic commitments in the 20th century. Most African states spent the first half of the time fighting for independence thus in war, after gaining independence maintained close relationships with the colonialist. In the second half, most states were gaining independence and establishing diplomatic engagements majorly to get funding for developments. South Africa at this point was still under colonization, and it was the last to achieve independence. The foreign policy review of the Trudeau government in 1970 identified the key areas of action in Africa as national unity, sovereignty, freedom, social justice, and economic growth. Diplomatic engagement is important for the implementation of foreign policy. Efficient diplomatic service requires that the personnel are well trained, have fast experience in negotiation, presentation and can do bilateral and multilateral diplomatic engagements. Along these lines, they can give strategy producers sound data on which to construct their choices for. Overseeing outside approach includes regarding it as something that is dynamic, and which ought to continually be supported for it to convey National interests for the nation. Outside strategy for sure injects all perspectives and connections of the discretionary administration.

Thus, most of the African states began establishing diplomatic relationships even with their fellow African states for regional interest's second half of the 21st century. The African Union was formed in 1963 the same year Kenya got independence. After

formation of the African union, most of the African countries began establishing relations with their former colonialist and regionally among themselves.

As per Mwangi, there have been valuable and imperative commitments to the comprehension of the remote approach and tact. While there have been basic responsibilities on the substance of remote approach, the central issue of its organization has not been tended to. In the scholarly history of states 'remote arrangement, there have been talks on the administration of the universal administration. This shortage of research on the twin issues of the organization of remote system and the mollifying Service, reflect the contemporary uni-dimensional piece of the written work on and approach to manage considering judgment.

Lasswell's great formation of his fourfold outside approach instruments effectively recognized the political (publicity), strategic, monetary and military tools and talked about the different esteem results and the foundations of society sharing them. Various researchers, for example, the political market analyst Baldwin called attention to that the methods of energy should be additionally concentrated to comprehend their capacity better. Further breaking up the instruments of diplomacy into elements, Bacharach discussed the ascending scale of diplomacy instruments as also useful these instruments are political tools, security, economic, cultural and consular. In his "foreign policy taxonomy" they shaped five principle gatherings, specifically, Military Action, Political Intervention, and Positive Sanctions, and Diplomacy. The sincerity of the country's pioneers disengages hard power from the different fragile power instruments. As the already recorded writing appears, the conduct impact endeavors line of energy writing has been confronting challenges as far as target estimations. Strategy as an instrument for maintaining the points of state's remote approach abroad is regularly observed as an exquisite term for open discretion.

As indicated by Berridge one of the contemporary understandings of discretion depends on this definition. Open discretion is tied in with building connections, understanding the requirements of different nations, societies and people groups; conveying our perspectives; redressing misperceptions; searching for territories where we can discover basic interests.

He additionally looks at the image and notoriety of a nation to open merchandise that can make the positive or negative condition for singular exercises. In this manner, strategy relates nearly to the remote approach of the state as it is an apparatus of outside arrangement. It ends up being something past strategies on the most capable strategy to put national interests or how to guarantee national security. This is all around expressed in Morgenthau's second run, among his four basic standards of strategy, when he says that the —objectives of remote approach must be characterized as far as the national intrigue and should be upheld with satisfactory power.

Alakeson calls attention to that, the personality of states, its esteems, interests and exercises are likewise covetable status on the universal scene. Every one of these classes ought to be fused in the idea of state's remote arrangement and its needs. States have their interests, key, geopolitical, monetary, or business. Likewise, they need to have a specific position in the universal group, to increase some conciliatory impact. Be that as it may, the expenses of affirming its own advantages just through customary assets (military, monetary power) are high.

Foreign Policy is characterized as political impact to impact distinctive states to rehearse their law-generation control as needed by the country concerned: it is a collaboration between powers beginning outside the country's edges and those working inside them. Outside approach of a state is stressed over the direct of a nation towards various states. It alludes to the routes in which the focal legislatures of sovereign states identify with each other and to the worldwide framework keeping in mind the end goal to accomplish their national interests.

The objectives of a nation's political engagement are progressively affected by residential and outer conciliatory powers. Along these lines, the goals of a nation's strategic engagement experience visit changes. With the changing worldwide political and financial relations, the engagement of media and correspondence advances, the rise of new on-screen characters in worldwide issues, and a large portion of all, the many-sided quality of these features, the believability and adequacy of standard correspondence hones in discretion is under test. Being responsible for data stream inside the political

field in such settings is the objective of strategy, especially in the new universe of globalization and correspondence.

As indicated by Hocking and David, crucial inquiries emerge on the motivations behind the strategy, who ought to be engaged with it and what rehearses it should accept to manage new arrangement challenges should be direly tended to. This applies to universal associations and also the establishments of national strategy and offers an in a general sense another point of view from that in light of the common claim that discretion is superfluous to worldwide requirements. Choice has a focal part, however, needs to adjust to the requests of a quickly evolving condition.

Hence tact as an arrangement of the procedure keeps on being of significance to the worldwide approach and that these processes should always be re-assessed. Besides, the on-going open deliberation by services of remote issues (MFA) around the globe about the instruments of tact should be found in this light. Oftenly, internal rational discussions inside MFA in regards to their hierarchical structures and techniques with regards to their positions in the government structure and their authoritative survival inside them and neglect to deliver more great issues identifying with the changing reasons for discretion. Alakeson noticed that two noteworthy relevant highlights of integrative strategy help to decide the idea of conciliatory correspondence in the 21st century. In the first place, the development of opponent focuses of expert and authenticity to the state and the related need to create joins with a scope of performing artists outside government in making and executing comprehensive approach.

Africa's outside approach has been a matter of think activities by elites who have taken part in outer domains. After freedom, most African nation's remote strategies looked to determine the decision amongst national and mainland character, super patriotism and separation and reconciliation. Mainland personality, super-patriotism, and coordination in different structures continued from the want to join individual land units, to pool assets in deliberate activity, and to build the use of the landmass in general in the worldwide and territorial undertakings of African states.

Knowledge to peacekeeping operations is mind boggling and includes different levels of data prerequisites. Keeping in mind the end goal to make a safe domain for the operation,

the troops require essential knowledge to know about the global setting. They need operational insight on the goals and abilities of the belligerents and also on the territory, the atmosphere, the foundations, and so on. At long last, they require strategic knowledge on the contention or peace circumstance inside the nearby setting.

Mwagiru argues that diplomacy can be appreciated within the borders of the classical framework, it may show the methodologies of the behavioral revolution. Whatever the case, be that as it may, its investigation from these viewpoints, has exhibited a missing connection. This missing connection is fixated on the remote strategy execution the usage of outside arrangement is accomplished where there is a successful and productive political administration, and of outside approach execution. Where the organization does not exist or is frail, there will compare troubles of the usage of remote strategy as it is an instrument of outside approach. In this manner, as per Mwagiru, end of remote approach creation is usage and inability to actualize has sweeping impacts on the outside strategy of the nation since a remote arrangement that isn't executed is, as a result, a non-outside strategy

2.2 21st Century Diplomatic Engagement

Diplomacy is one of the most established callings. For those of an unkindly turn of the psyche. In Roget's Thesaurus, it is recorded nearby such terms and expressions as crafty, sophistry, sharp practice, and back-stairs impact. There is the frequently misjudged and misquoted remark of an eighteenth century English negotiator such that a diplomat is a genuine man sent to deceive another country for his nation. In his Guide to Diplomatic Practice, first distributed in 1917, Ernest Satow expressed that Diplomacy is the utilization of knowledge and propriety to the lead of authority relations between the administrations of free status.

The specialty of tact and that of spying were nearly related. Sheldon places that insight exercises are as much piece of statecraft as customary or plain strategy, mystery, and promulgation; that social orders changed their knowledge rehearses as their needs changed, from times of war to times of peace. Negotiators, fundamentally, were informers. This changed with encourage specialization of government offices starting in the nineteenth century. While there is a partition between the discretionary and the

knowledge calling, the two-stay close. Knowledge is utilized as a part of discretion, both in procedure and strategies, to pick up focal points.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations drew a line on what is named as worthy data gathering and what is unsatisfactory in conciliatory relations with different states. As indicated by Negroponte, negotiators are "insight authorities," and the "finished result" of conciliatory announcing and furtive knowledge gathering "can be the same," Negroponte gave the case of the George W. Bramble organization, which raced to war in Iraq "too rapidly," and as the U.S. minister to the United Nations at the time, Negroponte didn't have enough time to hone discretion work when strategy comes up short, war begins.

Knowledge is a capable apparatus for discretion. It adds the component of objectivity to an administration's open interests, legitimizing its choices by proving as opposed to by philosophy or intuition. Loch Johnson suggests that knowledge can progress toward becoming —politicized in this procedure, however in vote based administrations, it will regularly be countered by the impact of expert honesty. Remaining against this suggestion is the United States 'and the United Kingdom's manhandle of insight to legitimize the 2003 American-drove interruption of Iraq. This illustration has been utilized more than some other to feature the tricky connection amongst knowledge and discretion. Knowledge is utilized for open discretion when it is freely displayed to help an arrangement choice. Open tact is joined with insight when the administration looks to bridle the political energy of a knowledge appraisal to legitimize some approach or activity to general society.

Negroponte, put in 37 years in the Foreign Service and seven years as a political nominee, has filled in as minister to Honduras, Mexico, the Philippines and Iraq. In 2005, he turned into the primary chief of national insight a post made by Bush to direct the knowledge group in view of the "WMD disaster" in Iraq, in Negroponte's words. The focal goal of this methodology is to change general sentiment. Herman, a tact and knowledge researcher at Oxford additionally contends that some separating amongst insight and strategy is attractive, at any rate to the degree that the relationship amongst them (and the focusing of remote ambassadors and premises) ought to be kept inside sensible cutoff points, and not extended to a recharged Cold War scale.

Herman additionally portrays knowledge as a discrete establishment of the twentieth-century government. It joins the aptitudes of secret gathering with mastery on specific subjects. Its separation from honest to goodness discretion is all in all unmistakable: insight gives data by unique techniques, strategy utilizes it. In any case, there are various operational covers. Knowledge's abroad contacts associate with discretion and remote approach. Consulates go about as knowledge bases and are focuses for nearby insight attacks. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office has' a main influence in insight appraisal. Some removing amongst tact and undercover insight is alluring. Be that as it may, Western learning is to a lesser degree a foe to technique than has on occasion been portrayed. English Foreign Secretary Hague talked about the part of mystery knowledge in remote strategy in a discourse on 16 November 2011.

As per Hague, knowledge does not swap the requirement for tact, and can never be a substitute for it. Hague expresses that Britain's national intrigue is served best when tact is taught by learning, and understanding is balanced by mollifying assessments, and this suggests information is a British Conservative lawmaker who was the First Secretary of State and Leader of the House of Commons since 2014. He already filled in as Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs from 2010 until 2014. Weighed and surveyed close by every single other wellspring of data accessible including discretionary detailing and the bits of knowledge of other government divisions; judged with regards to the Government's general technique and targets, and united to settle on watchful choices which are considered in the National Security Council.

According to Hague, intelligence throws up some of the most difficult ethical and legal questions he encountered as Foreign Secretary and which he had to address accordingly. Some of them identify with the past utilization of insight in coming to and advocating choices in the remote arrangement - the most dubious occurrence of this, a case being the Iraq War. Knowledge administrations shape a critical yet questionable piece of the advanced state, as governments gather, process and utilize data. Subsequently, 'insight' in government, for the most part, has a more confined importance than just data and data administrations. It has the specific relationship with global relations, safeguard, national security and mystery, and with particular organizations named 'insight. Collecting and

using 'intelligence' in this same sense has always been equally important in peacetime. Rulers from the earliest times tapped the knowledge of merchants and other travelers, and specialist collectors or 'intelligencers' appeared under Elizabeth I in peace as well as war.

In fact, Diplomacy evolved in Renaissance Italy for information gathering as well as for negotiation: 'one of the central elements of the inhabitant envoy came to be to keep a consistent stream of remote political news streaming to his home government. The diplomatic system which became institutionalized in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was largely a response to nation states' need for information. States have always also had their systems for handling and recording the 'intelligence' thus collected. For foreign affairs, they developed their chanceries in fits and starts, with variable results. Until about the middle of the seventeenth century, none of the three great Western powers [England, France, and Spain] possessed diplomatic archives as orderly and usable as those of the Florentines and Venetians two hundred years before. England had one of these fits of enthusiasm for information handling after the Restoration. "The most important function vested in the Secretaries of State in the seventeenth century was the management of "the intelligence." The term denoted not only the provision of extraordinary information concerning enemy countries or domestic plotters but also a regular, settled supply of every kind of news from abroad.' An example is the modern British Cabinet, which has its origins in the 'Intelligence Committee' of the Privy Council which existed briefly after 1660.

The present-day London Gazette was founded in the same period to disseminate home and overseas news of every kind for the government; this staid document now claims to be a precursor of the today's British Joint Intelligence Committee's weekly summary of foreign intelligence, the so-called Red Book. Gaddis states that then as now, secret knowledge was never clearly separated from other kinds of government information. Before the emergence of private newspapers and press freedom, governments tended to see all news as their property, the secret to some extent; the distinction between information 'in the public domain' and 'classified' official information is a modern one. Diplomats themselves made little distinction between overt and covert methods.

By 1600 most embassies used secret agents, and in the century, that followed ambassadors were regarded as licensed spies. Modern collection is the descendant of ancient 'secret intelligence' or 'clandestine intelligence': something more covert than normal 'intelligence' or information. Berridge notes that secret intelligence of this sort has always been given special protection. Agents have always had their identities concealed. Cipher breaking in its early years was regarded as a black art, part of the occult; and even in more rational centuries, its product was handled with special care. Modern 'covert intelligence' inherits this long history of concealment. As noted by Sheldon, even in Ancient Rome, Spies were mentioned even less frequently than scouts, but we must consider the possibility that this was because the nature of their work resulted in absence of documented evidence.

The Romans handled intelligence and diplomatic engagements broadly by the four basic steps of the modern intelligence cycle as it is defined today: direction, collection, processing or analysis, and dissemination. Trevor-Roper notes that there are three reasons for its modern secrecy. One is when intelligence is useful because the target does not know that it has been collected; the secret is the basis of its value or gives it added value. Thus, advance knowledge of the enemy's plans may open up the possibility of a surprise ambush, but only if he does not know that you know, irrespective of how you know. The same applies where intelligence's value is in countering the enemy's surprise, as when intelligence enables a terrorist attack to be itself ambushed.

In all these situations the secret is the fact that one knows, not how one knows. But these are comparatively rare in peacetime. Usually, there is no penalty, and even some advantage, in being known to know something; British diplomacy benefits from the general impression of being well informed. Even where items of intelligence need protection on account of their content, the need is usually a short-term one. Thus, most secret diplomacy springs not from the material but from the methods used to collect it. Hence the second reason for covert status in peacetime may be doubts over collection's legality and propriety. Foreign espionage usually violates its target's domestic law and or foreign policy, as may bugging and computer hacking.

Petersen observes that users of intelligence have little time for reading lengthy assessments, and they tend to acquire information informally over time as they encounter intelligence counterparts in meetings, briefings, and casual contacts. Thus, a general knowledge of the Intelligence Community's conclusions about an issue is slowly accumulated, ready for use when a crisis occurs. Diplomacy is internationally recognized, and it is a decision taking and executive function. On the other hand, intelligence is not recognized in the same capacity as diplomacy, and its function is the provision of information and forecasts for others to act upon.

For intelligence, information and understanding are the ends themselves, whereas for diplomacy they are adjuncts to policy and action. It is, accordingly, safe to reason that to give convenient reports, knowledge experts gather, break down, and orchestrate significant data from different assets, looking for most current information conceivable. This information is then introduced to the policymaker to offer sufficient information to evaluate current policy and action alternatives with regards to clandestine diplomacy and foreign policy influence. Although a country may be safe, it may not have the tools to defend itself adequately against threats from abroad.

Throughout the years, most nations have built up a security and knowledge group fundamentally centered on fighting household dangers. By ignoring the significance of outside threats, such nations have neglected to make an administration entrusted with the accumulation of mystery insight abroad. Mwagiru attests that having an external knowledge benefit causes a nation to secure its national advantages overseas. In this day and age where monetary relationship and global rivalry win, Africa needs to enough gauge the financial goals of remote states and comprehend financial patterns.

Economic and trade intelligence is essential for governments and private businesses to become or remain competitive in the current global economy. Africa needs monetary insight to encourage its leaders with valuable financial knowledge inaccessible through different means and esteem included examination issues considered critical. This would incorporate understanding on macroeconomic strategies and noteworthy forthcoming choices of principal financial performers, for instance, in the region of money related or monetary arrangement. Insight support to peacekeeping operations is perplexing and

includes distinctive levels of data necessities. To make a protected domain for the process, the troops require vital knowledge to know about the worldwide setting. They lack operational insight on the goals and abilities of the belligerents and additionally on the landscape, the atmosphere, and the frameworks, and other. Finally, they need tactical intelligence on the conflict or peace situation within the local context.

2.3 Diplomatic engagement in Perspective

Africa's remote strategy is tied down on five interlinked mainstays of tact: financial; peace; ecological; social and '_diaspora'. The discretion column expects to accomplish vigorous monetary engagement keeping in mind the end goal to secure Africa's social financial improvement and thriving that will guarantee our country turns into a center salary and industrialized economy by the year 2030. As per Warner's definition, four components justify examination: mystery, state movement, understanding, impacting and outside substances. There was a general accord that mystery of activity or covertly is a critical segment of insight since it can give a near preferred standpoint to the country leading knowledge. Be that as it may, insight isn't just about insider facts, states additionally need to keep privileged insights, and subsequently somebody in the state must be great at keeping them. Under state movement, Warner takes a gander at how unique country states direct knowledge.

Knowledge for national approach producers is not quite the same as insight for other leaders working in focused situations. That is so since insight for states can mean last chance and clarifies why knowledge originates before the country state, when sovereign forces chose to go to war with each other for control of an area and populaces and to execute tricksters who unveiled their insider facts.

Kisiangani noticed that Africa has for some time been given a role as a hesitant territorial performer. The individuals who see it as having a solid economy, yet missing political use in its locale have scrutinized its local impact. Faultfinders contend that Africa takes its prompt from its neighbors' and embraces territorial engagement techniques that are an inactive protest of the geo-vital interests of others. Africa has tried to propel its interests not by characterizing the provincial political motivation, but rather by taking the local

condition as guaranteed and after that making even minded, yet careful, endeavors to guarantee it is monetary and security interests.

Right now, Africa has kept up various political missions and has respective relations with every one of her neighbors, having marked two-sided exchange and financial co-operation concurrences with various nations. Africa's remote strategy is molded by the want to draw in monetary help that does not accompany a substantial weight. This has been an alluring angle in its relations with different nations. Towards Israel, outer performers and variables don't assume a noteworthy part in affecting Africa's outside strategy. Inside the UN, Africa's outside strategy is guided by the UN standards. Here, Africa finds a chance to take an interest in political occasions and to be a piece of the global group that tries to end clashes in the world.¹⁸⁸ A state's outside strategy is formed by the inner elements of individual and collective choice making and by the states and social orders inside which the leaders work.

A talk of Africa's remote arrangement towards the world is an investigation into Africa's outside strategy process, determinants, goals, and results. As in different investigations of remote African strategies, in concentrate Africa's outside arrangement, one would try to reveal insight into on-screen characters, settings, and results. In all cases remote arrangement producers endeavor to accommodate local interests with outside conditions, assessing the accessible means, assets, and organizations for doing as such. Like the history of autonomous Africa, the investigation of Africa's outside arrangement has been drawn nearer from three fundamental points of view.

One point of view sees it as a proceeding and extending continuum, reflecting organizations and thoughts that follow their roots to the pilgrim time frame. It is contended in this class African patriotism was simply worried about wiping out the pilgrim obstructions to its ascent inside the structure monopolistic trade, rather than with changing the structure itself. This school of thought blames Africa for creating without an African philosophy.

Africa's underlying slants in remote approach were created by powers that had their starting points in an initial couple of many years of the twentieth century. At freedom, as in every single other range, President Kenyatta practiced a controlling voice over major

remote strategy choices. In eastern Africa, Africa is viewed as a monetary power house, and it is the main strategic and financial focus where most corporate branches are found. This empowers Africa to act to progress outside and national first-class interests, a part which produces dependence and territorial disparity.

What the conclusion came to is that Africa is a reliant, neo-frontier express whose outside approach is fundamentally an augmentation of the arrangements of the radical entrepreneur states and their multinational enterprises. Makinda has been significantly franker. Denying Okumu's postulation that secessionist dangers to the recently free province of Africa formed the nation's remote arrangement, he declares that indeed, from the earliest starting point, Africa's outside approach was molded by the need to draw in more remote capital, keep up business joins with neighboring states, guarantee the security of its outskirts and merge the household control base'. It is imperative to take note of that both Makinda and Okumu give a portion of the key elements around then. Makinda goes further to state that this approach just settled in reliance on foreign speculation' which, thus, required the propagation of Africa's reliance on the East African market.' Reliance on the East African market and outside speculation was to encourage and keep up Africa's territorial strength. Presumably, however, Makinda does not clear up the point, this provincial predominance additionally relied upon a military plan with the British and a collusion with Ethiopia

2.4 Clandestine diplomacy and Africa's diplomatic engagement

Africa's outside approach has been a matter of think activities by elites who have taken part in outer domains. After freedom, most African nation's remote strategies looked to determine the decision amongst national and mainland character, super patriotism and separation and reconciliation. Mainland personality, super-patriotism, and coordination in different structures continued from the want to join individual land units, to pool assets in deliberate activity, and to build the use of the landmass in general in the worldwide and territorial undertakings of African states. Knowledge support to peacekeeping operations is mind boggling and includes different levels of data prerequisites. Keeping in mind the end goal to make a safe domain for the operation, the troops require essential knowledge to know about the global setting. They need operational insight on the goals and abilities

of the belligerents and also on the territory, the atmosphere, the foundations, and so on. At long last, they require strategic knowledge on the contention or peace circumstance inside the nearby setting.

Africa's initial inclinations in foreign policy were generated by forces that had their origins in the first few decades of the twentieth century. These included, the creation of common organs in several fields to serve the needs of the three East African countries under the British rule (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), the assignment by European administrative decision of an inhospitable and poor but large bloc of Somali-populated land to Kenya instead of adjacent Somalia, the establishment of sizeable European settler and Asian immigrant communities in the country; and the domination of the economy by agricultural exports, most of which were still produced by large, settler-owned farms even after independence.¹⁵ The assignment of the large bloc of the Somali populated land to Kenya led to the Shifta War in its north-eastern region. With this threat on its horizon, Kenya made the above principles pivotal to its regional relations.

Concerns over territorial integrity and secessionism also made Kenya a leading supporter of the OAU's principle of the non-violation of territorial borders inherited at independence. As to whether clandestine diplomacy or Intelligence informed Kenya's foreign policy at independence, it is imperative to understand the type of intelligence set up inherited from the British administration. Cordifield, while writing about the organization of Intelligence from 1940 to 1952, states that although the Colonial Office gave guidance on the organization of intelligence, it was always made clear that it was the responsibility of each Colonial administration to maintain an intelligence system adequate to keep itself informed of all likely threats to public order and stability and of political developments whether potentially subversive or not.¹⁶ Thus from this early beginning, the aim of the colonial intelligence was to counter threat from internal groups like the Mau Mau, which the British administration termed a secret society. In fact

¹⁵ Njau, Mutegi —New Intelligence Body Will be Service Oriented. (Daily Nation, Nairobi, Kenya, 1999). 203 Juma Kwayera, Proposed NIS bill to reverse freedom gains, Saturday, August 18th 2012, available at http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000064293&story_title=proposed-nis-bill-to-reversefreedomgain&pageNo=1 accessed at 14:15 on 15th August 2017.

¹⁶ Kaplan, I. et. al., Africa a Country Study, Foreign Area Studies, (the American University, 1975) p. 23

security and political intelligence from its earliest days was considered to be within the overall responsibility of the Commissioner of Police, and he was responsible for collecting and sifting intelligence, which emanated from the local police formations and the administration.¹⁹⁶ This arrangement remained after independence and although special Branch was made autonomous through a presidential charter, the main focus of intelligence collection remained internal and played no role in shaping Africa's foreign policy.

2.5 Chapter Summary

Thus, from the above it is evidenced that the Trends of the 21st century diplomatic engagement are distinct from the 20th century diplomatic engagement, The trends in the 21st century show that Africa is at a critical point in history of take-off in terms of building long-term stability and developments while claiming our rightful place and contribution to humanity. Today the global agenda is aligned with Africa's aspirations in aspects like search for peace and stability, the pursuit for sustainable development goals, improved governance, global solidarity etc. China is coming out strong to establish strong relationships with African states with the "look east diplomacy". We also have "Diplomacy", public diplomacy and the changes in technology all indicate the trends in the 21st century diplomatic engagement. The mid-20th century diplomatic engagement trends most states were fighting for their freedom. Africa has not been able to arise and assert itself as predicted by our first generation of African freedom fighters. In 1980s Africa earned the perception of a continent of wars, conflicts and natural disasters. Coupled with instability the Rwanda genocide, wars in Congo, Somali and Libya.

CHAPTER THREE: NATURE AND CHALLENGES OF 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA

3.1: Introduction

The 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa major goals are achieving national and regional interests of states. China launched its PRC -African policy in 2006 categorizing its major interests in Africa as political, social, economic, peace and security. The 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa has many components and dynamics of public diplomacy, “Twiplomacy” Technology and infrastructure and of key interest is the interest of china in Africa.

Integration incorporates socio-political, financial, and social and security flow of the mix country's interests. By moving loyalties, the pioneers illuminate and upgrade agreement over the world. Participation is basic to the incorporation of any district since it mixes trust. Understanding the hypothetical and exact establishments of the provincial mix in Africa will edify Haas' meaning of Africa's Integration and also make it clear the key interests of SADC, EU, and EAC according to the topical lines

3.2: Challenges of the 21st Century Diplomatic Engagement in Africa

Diplomacy being a conduct by decision makers for negotiation and other relations can be used for defense, development and economic issues. 21st century Diplomatic engagement has been used in the enhancement of regional and African integration.

One of the major challenge of the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa is the lack of integration or cooperation of the African states despite the formation of the African union.

Theory of comparative advantage and development economics are the three school of thought that inform regional integration. The theory of comparative advantage explains the concept of international trade with the consideration of the elimination of the tariffs and other barriers of trade. Such talks are meant to stabilize the economy of a given region because the countries come together for economic development and growth

purposes. The greatest concern are the policies set for adoption as well as their implementations.¹⁷

Tariffs were supposed to protect the local companies which are normally smaller as compared to the international companies. This protection aimed at giving the smaller local companies a chance to gain a strong foothold in the market before having to endure the stiff competition. Rapid industrialization in developing countries took place mainly because of the existence of high tariffs. On the other hand, the high tariffs meant that there was a lot of money within the countries thus leading to stringent foreign exchange rules. The result was under production due to the lack of competition which eventually led to diplomatic negotiations to help in spurring the economy forward.

Regional economic integration has the ability to create and empower trade diversion where trade will take place when the reduction as well as elimination of the tariffs. The integration also leads to replacement and substitution of the inefficiency in the domestic industry from one member state to another member state which is much more efficient. The member countries will derive better economic efficiencies and develop much stronger as compared to having the trade inefficiencies in place which just strangle the economic policies of the countries. Thus, there is a general welfare gain when two countries come together to make everything easier on them.

Regional integration involves the merging of the economic, political, industrial structures, and administrative policies. The welfare gains become more based on the premise that recognition of unilateral policy at each country level. The model also states that the increasing returns to scale, trade, economies of scale, and cost considerations influence the location of economic activities between the countries. Hence, countries can come together to enhance the economics of scale in one country and not all through the location of a production activity in the selected company. Nevertheless, there is a fear that one country will be empowered more than the other country which suggests that the participating countries may wish to eliminate this possibility. The result is that regional

¹⁷ Foroutan F.1993. Regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa past experience and Future Prospects. In J.De Melo and A.panaganya (eds) New Dimensions in Regional Integration, Cambridge University press.

integration takes a longer time than was originally anticipated as countries try to jostle for the best position possible.¹⁸

Given the above question, one wonders if the identification the location of production activity strengthens or weakens the integration of a given region. This is because the chosen country will become more empowered as compared to the other countries which will have to buy from the selected country. The tension created with regards to the choice thus becomes a stumbling block for pure economic integration to take place.

3.3 Lack of Regional Integration in Africa-a challenge of the 21st century diplomatic engagement.

The desire for economic integration arises from the problems that African countries have face economically. The need to industrialize and bring economies to international levels means that the countries will look for strength amongst their neighbors. Unifying and integrating the regional economy allows the countries to solve issues such as gaining access to the necessary raw materials, expensive technologies, scarce funds, and securing their domestic markets. The size of the African countries is rather small which means that the productions capabilities are hard to match the production capacities of the developed countries.

The result is that the African countries find themselves competing for the same market on the international scene meaning that their individual strength of bargaining is greatly reduced. The small size of the countries makes it hard for them to compete because of their restricted production capacity. This further emphasizes the need for the African countries to try and integrate and form better economic blocs.¹⁹

African countries have many reasons to why they should come together to foster stronger economic ties. The regional trade blocs would strengthen the ability of the African states to garner better prices. Therefore, the countries will have better returns on their products. The shared history on colonization meant that the countries underwent the immense discrimination. This issue is what informs the need for the African states to work as hard

¹⁸ See Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa, FONDAD 1996, The Hague, www.fondad.org/publications/case-of-africa 8

¹⁹ Morgenthau, Hans, 1973. Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace.5th ed, Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta.

as possible in trying to attain proper resource exploitation. Perhaps it is also the main problem plaguing the ability of the countries to come together even though integration is one of the most viable issues. Legislations on the integration of the countries have passed but the implementation is what is lacking. It is expected that the AGOA will enable the African countries to trust one another better than the current state.

3.4 Individual national interests of Africa's states. -a challenge of the 21st century diplomatic engagements.

Every state in Africa has its own individual government, foreign policies and individual nation interests. This forms a major challenge in the 21st century diplomatic engagements as there are few unifying factors and the competition to achieve individual national interest is high.

National interests can be divided into vital and auxiliary interest's.²⁰ The security and sovereignty of a state being the major national interest s every state wants to survive, and the insurance of its organizations and individuals along these lines are the key interests that have results for survival of the state. This depends on the military, resistance, security and monetary approach and diplomatic engagements of a state country. Essential national interests are significantly less open to political control since they are considerably goals by nature, and increasingly a result of need.

Auxiliary interests relate to the resources, success, and economic development of the state. They are just concerned with economic and social growth of state. By the day's end, national interests are about objectives and goals in the global framework; the procedure is the methods by which to acknowledge them through the remote arrangement. The benefits of the state are foundationally connected to the interests of its kin. This is the reason individuals must be included in the electorate framework to pick pioneers who they accept are most appropriate to address their interests. Majority rule government along these lines can't be isolated with national interests just like the general population need to take and the polling station gives individuals that just appropriate to take an interest in the progression of their nation's national advantages. The three nations that are

²⁰ Fine J and Yeo S. 1997. Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Dead end or a fresh start" in A Oyejide, I Elbadui and P.Collier (eds) Regional Integration and Trade Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Framework issues and methodological perspectives 429-474

Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania when they chose to meet up and incorporate they were doing as such with every nation having its interests for doing as such. Do the trick to state that the entire plan to coordinate was at the command of new split far from expansionism. Recollecting that self-assurance, and how that self-confidence fits against the outside world is the thing that underlies national interests in vote based systems, each of these nations needed to make their particular vital interests. Amid this time, the country building was at its helping speed, and each of these countries had its aspirations of receiving the rewards of freedom. Therefore, the political alliance could barely exaggerate country building which was balanced at seeking after specific interests to drive each of the nation²¹

Individual and ideological contrasts encouraged the crumple of the East African Cooperation.²² Though Kenya pulls for an entrepreneur economy, Tanzania decided on a communist way while Uganda settled on a blended monetary promise. These financial approaches were altogether equipped towards guaranteeing that every nation meets its vital intrigue The East African Community is said to have been commanded by Kenya which was seen to be an operator of western colonialism to contain the communist belt that was infringing the locale.²³ Therefore in an offer to keep away from monetary control and misuse Tanzania turned towards the south first by setting up the Tazara railroad line with mineral-rich Zambia and furthermore by concentrating on freedom battles to counter Kenya's predominance. This along these lines implies that every nation was suspicious of the other and each move political, practical, social-social was adapted towards meeting its interests and anything negating that was not plausible.

Kenya's interests in the EAC have for a long time been anchored on taking up the market opportunities for its burgeoning manufacturing companies. Similarly, Tanzania has over the years been apprehensive about completely opening up its borders to EAC member

²¹ 10 Ochwado H, 2004. Rethinking East African Integration from Economic to Political and from State to Civil Society.pg 66-65

²² 11 Nyong'o Anyang" 1990. Regional Integration in Africa; Unfinished agenda. Nairobi Academy Science Publishers

²³ Shaw T.M.1992.International Stratification in Africa Sub-Imperialism in the Southern and Eastern Africa .Journal of Southern Africa Affairs 2(2)

countries in particular Kenya. Of particular interest is that a landlocked country like Uganda has over the years partnered with Kenya so as to continue benefiting from Kenya's imports which would be expensive if routed through Tanzania. It therefore has been very instrumental in fostering peaceful relations with Kenya for its national interests. This shows why president Museveni has been very vocal in opposing the trial of Kenya's president and deputy president in the ICC for crimes against humanity.

The EAC member states each has an economic development goal namely Kenya's Vision 2030, Uganda's Vision 2035, Tanzania's vision 2025, Burundi and Rwanda both aim at Vision 2020. This economic goal serves as the blueprints that the countries use to try and effect proper changes and streamline development within their borders.

Kenya aims at economic prosperity, becoming a major global player and improving the quality of life for its citizens. Kenya is thus ready to commit to any endeavor that is beneficial to its overall goals and ambitions. The EAC program is thus a good platform which Kenya intends to foster complete integration while at the same time, the country wishes to advance its regional wishes as much as possible because of its vision 2030.²⁴

On the other hand, Uganda looks to transform the majority of its society from peasant status to enabling them to lead modern lifestyles. Tanzania banks on its good governance, peace, stability, and unity as a platform to spur economic growth.²⁵ Tanzania gives priority to the investment savings and knowledge based culture. Rwanda wants to attain mid-level income by the year 2020 and its priority areas are infrastructure development, HR management, and integration of the regional economy.²⁶

Burundi is in search of sustained peace and stability that will enable it to attain the global development based on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This include poverty reduction and subsequent elimination, reconstruction and institutional development. The EAC treaty seeks to give all the countries involved a chance at attaining their goals and ambitions based on their own economic strategies. Through the

²⁴ See world Bank Trade Indicators 2009 which ranked Tanzania position 131, Kenya 95, Burundi

²⁵ Salvatore Dominic 2006. International Economics, 8Ed, Willey International Edition, USA,

²⁶ EAC Secretariat 2001. East African community: Challenges and Opportunities-Selected Benefits and Expectations. EAC Secretariat, Arusha, Tanzania

perceived integration, the economies of the region will thus have better bargaining power on the international scene enabling the countries to attract better income.²⁷

3.5 National Interests in the European Union

Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands came together to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) whose purpose is to run the steel industries in the countries involved.²⁸ In addition, the ECSC also prevents Germany from gaining absolute control over the industry thus enabling the other countries to each enjoy the proceeds from the industry hence strengthening all their economy.²⁹ The countries thus share resources such as French sharing in Germany's coal while Belgium, Netherlands, and Italy share the in subsidies that allow them to build their industries.³⁰ Thus, through the engagements.

France once controlled steel prices with the aim of empowering its own local producers with access to cheap steel and this was a violation of the treaty. This meant that the remaining countries try all they can to circumvent the treaty where possible but when they want a particular advantage, they point to the treaty.³¹ These problems spurred the calls for a more integrative society with arbitration protocols. Hence the EEC, EURATOM, and ECSC formed the Europe Parliament, European Commission, and European Council. All organs make it necessary for member states to respect treaties as much as possible.

3.6 National Interests in Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)

The Southern Africa Development Community came to be as a means of strengthening the other countries to escape the economic dependency on South Africa. The conferences to form SADC were held in Tanzania and resulted in SADCC (Southern Africa Development Coordination Corporations. SADCC also aimed at freeing South Africans from the apartheid rule that crippled half the nation while empowering the white race of

²⁷ Mullei A. 2003. Steering East Africa Towards a Customs Union; Suggestions from a Pilot Study (Nairobi: ACEG,) p.26

²⁸ [http://www.eac.int/4th EAC development strategy](http://www.eac.int/4th%20EAC%20development%20strategy)

²⁹ Milward, A.1984. The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951. London, Methuen & co Ltd.

³⁰ Brewer J.D. 2000. Ethnography. Buckingham: Open University Press: p192

³¹ Mitrany David, 1996. A Working Peace System. Chicago quadrangle books.p27

the country. Namibia and Angola also faced similar issues which SADCC aimed to alleviate. The member countries integrated their economies to empower all their citizens towards a better living standard. Economic liberation fostered the way towards civil liberation.³²

One of the key strategies that the SADCC countries used involved empowering Mozambique by purchasing their electricity from Mozambique as opposed to South Africa. Total isolation of South Africa was difficult to attain because of how much South Africa was integrated in to the region's economy. Mozambique imported 18 % from South Africa, Malawi had 29%, while Botswana had 66%. Swaziland and Lesotho on the extreme had over 90% of imports coming from South Africa. Focusing too much on isolating South Africa meant that the region was not as empowered as much as possible because they missed other opportunities.³³ Eventually, South Africa acted in its own interest as it tried to consolidate its integration of the southern region.³⁴

3.7 Managing Economic Disparities in the EAC

Development of trade, political instability, and security forms the main motivation towards integration. The extension of integration extends towards the trade of goods and elimination of economic barriers.³⁵ The disparity regarding how the gains are shared amongst the member states is the main stumbling block towards complete integration. Avoiding the problem need the provision of resources and assigning some of factories and industries to individual countries. The overall comparative advantage allows the countries to assume a semblance of integration

Common duties aim to eliminate the barriers of trade and help in ensuring that the economies are stronger in the individual countries. The EAC common duty seek to ensure that all the five countries such that all member states will access goods and services. The disparities are thus dealt with to a certain extent in the sense that five countries are able to

³² See SADEX Vol. 2, No. 5, p.4-5 16

³³ Reginald J. Harrison, 1974. Europe in Question: Theories of Regional Integration. Wilmar Brothers Ltd, Birkenhead.

³⁴ Haas, Ernest .1964. Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization. Stanford CA, Stanford University press.pg 5

³⁵ Reginald J. Harrison, 1974. Europe in Question: Theories of Regional Integration. Wilmar Brothers Ltd, Birkenhead.

attain a good level benefits. The mistrust for the benefits according to the different countries hamper integration efforts to the extent that the integration efforts degenerate.

EAC members address the disparities in welfare gains and migration issues. A common EAC passport has come to play that means the movement of the citizens in the region is free from the legal barriers.³⁶ This enables holders to conduct businesses within the member states. Part of the provision is that the individuals will not need stamping of the passport. The EAC passport makes ease of immigration and will be supplemented with the single immigration departure as well as an entry card. The harmonization of these processes allow for better management of the work permits amongst the member states.

3.8 Chapter Summary

African states are looking to diplomacy to foster development within their countries. As evidenced the 21st century diplomatic engagements are progressive in nature. Diplomacy has developed a great deal when considering all the underlying factors. As discussed some of the major challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa are lack of regional integration and individual national interests of every state. Across the continent, different economic blocs, based on geopolitical alliances and locations, have been formed to help develop the region in terms of economic integration and attracting better global prices for their products. Some of the notable blocs are SADC and the EAC. 21st century Diplomatic engagement are fostering integration of the regions mimicking EU integration model. For example, the EAC states are looking to introduce common currency, enhance immigration, and reduce trade barriers. Therefore, the diplomatic engagements in the 21st Century are more developed as compared to the diplomatic engagements during the 20th Century.³⁷

The main challenge towards complete integration is the nature of economic competition that each country possesses. Despite being in regional trade bloc, states still try to ensure that their foreign policy take precedence over the trade treaty thus, the implementation of resolutions agreed upon. A good example in the EAC is Tanzania's opposition to

³⁶ Haas, Ernest .1964. Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization. Stanford CA, Stanford University press.pg 5

³⁷ Grundy Kenneth W, Economic patterns in the new Southern African Balance; in G.M. Carter and P O'meara.1979.Southern Africa: The Continuing Crisis. Bloomington: Indiana university press. p 295

integration because of the strength of the Kenyan economy.³⁸ This opposition is leading to break down in diplomatic engagements and sometime, the trade between the two countries breaks down as well. The result is that the entire EAC becomes stagnated in their pursuit for integration. Governance and corruption also offer great barriers to the 21st century diplomatic processes that the state possess.

³⁸ EAC Secretariat 2001. East African community: Challenges and Opportunities-Selected Benefits and Expectations. EAC Secretariat, Arusha, Tanzania.

CHAPTER FOUR: ROLE OF 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN KENYA

4.1 Determinants of Kenya's Diplomatic Relations

The government of the day is key determinant in the diplomatic engagements of Kenya as a state. As we have seen in the 20th century "Moi era "the economic diplomacy of Kenya was mostly with the former colonialist and the common wealth states, while in the "Kibaki era "Kenya adopted a "look east diplomacy "and intensified its economic relations with china.

According to Senarclens and Kazancigil, the key element to which a state can transform goals and interests in to a course of action is through foreign policy. Foreign policy encompasses the wide range of principles, policies, and practices that influence the direction a country takes with relation to other nations while pursuing its national interests. When cooperation is incorporated in to foreign policy, a country can effectively secure it economic, social, and political, sovereignty and national security.³⁹ Diplomacy being a tool of foreign policy is very essential through diplomatic engagement to ensuring that the foreign policy implementation process is effective thus a role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement is

As per Kegley, the geopolitical location of a country tends to influence the overall foreign policy. Natural frontiers, the neighbors and the possible economic activities inform the relation that the country will find conducive. Territorial characteristics such as size of the neighbors, their affluence, and territorial influence all influence own a country behaves.⁴⁰ Kenya finds itself influenced by the manner in which the ethnic communities overlap with international borders, its position along the India Ocean and the size of itself as well as its neighbors.

Kenya's foreign policy is designed to aid the country attain its economic goals and ambitions. The desire to become a regional power means that the country is readily cooperative with its neighbors.⁴¹ Given this fact, it is apparent that the country find itself

³⁹ *ibid*

⁴⁰ Kegley, A. *World Politics*, 11th Ed Rev. London. (2008).

⁴¹ Government of Kenya, *Kenya Foreign Policy*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2009).

with great international relations since its diplomacy must reflect its foreign policy. Foreign Direct Investment continues to come in to the country as the country continues to maintain good relations.

FDI brings in much needed capital from the developed countries in to the African countries. Apart from investment money coming in to the countries, FDI also creates employment opportunities, brings in technological innovation, transfer managerial skills and by extension, it promotes the economic strength of the African countries. Kenya understands very well the value of FDI on the potential economic growth. Therefore, Kenya continuously seeks continued FDI flow which have contributed immensely to the development seen so far in the country. State functions organized to showcase Kenya as a great business hub continue to characterize the diplomatic engagements Kenya has with its international partners. In the event that the country finds that there is a problem with how it is relating for one reason or the other, Kenya makes corrective measures quite fast so as to promote its economic objectives.

Designing foreign policy for a country takes in to consideration both the local players and the international actors. This is because the most appropriate foreign policy strategy is the one that takes care of the country with respect to its international partners. The executive and other leaders of a country influence the overall foreign policy as employed by a company. This is because they are the executive decision makers politically and thus have tremendous influence on the direction of the company. The characteristics and personality of the leaders, their national interests and local ambitions also inform the manner in which policies are made and the subsequent diplomatic relations⁷⁸.

As per Okoth, Kenya's foreign was a product of the British colony prior to 1963 when Kenya became independent. After British rule came to an end in 1963, Kenya thus began formulating its own foreign policies although the resemblance to the one the British left operational. Kenya's identity on its foreign policy gradually became integrated in to system and eventually, the country's full sovereignty, norms, culture, and value began to be reflected on the diplomatic engagements based on the foreign policy.⁴² The country started showing desire for foreign direct investment post-independence with how it

⁴² Kinaro, E.O, Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Kenya. (2006) p. 67.

pursued economic development. The diplomatic interactions were also friendly but in the long run, the country developed a dependency on the Western countries for economic development

Okumu explains that Kenya has traditionally maintained a low profile on contentious issues within the African continent. The lack of aggression makes the country seem neutral but all other countries interrelate well with the country. Hence, Kenya has a high position when it comes to the diplomatic relations of the continent. Maintenance of a low profile amongst the African countries and a rather peaceful sociopolitical climate is advantageous to Kenya when it comes to pursuing its international economic desires. Kenya's diplomacy is powerful because of its continental reputation.⁴³

One of the pillars of Kenya's foreign policy is economic diplomacy directing the focus on economic empowerment and trade with other nations. Vision 2030 forms the blueprint upon which the country would like to elevate its economic status to the levels it desires.⁴⁴ Diplomacy facilitates the Vision 2030 because it promotes collaboration and cooperation with international developed countries.⁴⁵

Ideological conflicts had a role in Kenya's foreign policy as shown by Howell.⁴⁶ He asserts that Kenya's foreign policy rotated between the theory of realism, which he calls conservative, and the method of idealism, which he calls radical. He saw two distinct foreign policies in Kenya; the system of realism operated concerning Kenya's objectives in Eastern Africa while continentally and internationally, Kenya was guided by idealism.⁴⁷ In this approach, national variables were seen to affect Kenya's foreign policy in East Africa only, while systemic variables changed the country's posture on continental and international issues.⁴⁸

Adar advanced a similar argument when he wrote on Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia. He argues that continuity in Kenya's foreign policy could be seen in its

⁴³ . Otubanjo, F. Foreign Policy Analysis. Unpublished Thesis. (1990), p. 27.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 27.

⁴⁵ Ibid , p. 27

⁴⁶ Ibid , p. 27

⁴⁷ Makinda, S.M, —From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics, (Third World Quarterly, 1983), Vol. 5, pp.303-304.

⁴⁸ Cyprine Oduogo, Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations. (Lecture Notes, 2012).

behavior towards Somalia, behavior based on adherence to the doctrine of territorial integrity.⁴⁹ National interest defined Kenya's foreign policy in this case. Adar's study shows that national security issues conditioned Kenya's foreign policy in the region. Kenya appeared vulnerable out of real threats from the republic of Somalia which claimed some parts the North-Eastern province of Kenya. While Adar's study shows how the region was critical to the survival of the new state, the study did not go further to explain how Kenya's foreign policy towards other countries outside Africa was aimed at pre-empting expansionist policies and the spread of irredentist interests. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was closely associated with the issue of territorial.⁵⁰

4.2 The Evolution of Kenya's diplomatic engagement

Colonial administration was inaugurated in Kenya in 1890 and came to an end on 12th December 1963. The colonial state was an overseas extension of metropolitan Britain, run by a small number of British administrators and thus did not lay a strong foundation for the development of a modern African state. Its goals were to maintain law, and order, to foster obedience and loyalty to the colonial authorities and to defend and promote the political and economic interests of the British.

The norms and principles that were propagated at this time were to benefit British interests. Since foreign policy is a country's policy relating to external actors, it is only exercised by a sovereign state. Given this background, it is hard to discuss Kenya's foreign policy during this period. We can only talk of Kenya's foreign policy in the post-independence period.

Kenya, like other African countries that had just acquired independence, joined the international world as an independent African state and at this particular time, its foreign policy was determined by traditional variables.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Howell, J. —Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy, (Journal of Modern African studies, 1968) Vol. 6 (1).

⁵¹ Adar G. K, The significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the Modal determinant of Relations: A case study of Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia 1963-1983 (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994).

The broader guiding principles of Kenya's foreign policy were; vigilant safeguarding of national interests, maintenance of independence for people of Kenya, collaboration to foster and promote African unity, work for international peace and peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states in addition to the policy of good neighborliness.⁵² It is in the spirit of these principles that Kenya joined regional and international organizations, contributed to peacekeeping operations and provided humanitarian support to other countries

Kenya's foreign policy was based on the principle of positive nonalignment. The government asserted that the African socialism the country espoused must not rest on its success in a satellite relationship with any other country or group of countries. The government, therefore, made agreements with the major world powers and received economic and military assistance from them. Positive nonalignment was seen as a means of maintaining the country's political independence and also as an opportunity for economic development.⁵³ This principle, however, did not mean that Kenya had to remain neutral on world issues. In early 1966, Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, said: —We fully commit ourselves to support what we believe to be right and just in international affairs⁵⁴

The fact that Kenya did not have a written foreign policy since independence until February 2015 the first one became formal does not mean that the country lacked a system. The propensity to have foreign policies in written format fuels the misconception that the nation may have lacked a foreign policy. Fundamental principles have always informed the conduct of the country on the international scene.⁵⁵

The basis of post-independence Kenya's foreign policy is found in three documents, the 1960 Kenya National African Union (KANU) constitution and the 1961 and 1963 KANU manifestos . At independence, the KANU government undertook to work with other African leaders to foster closer association of African states by promoting unity and

⁵² Katete D. Orwa, —Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi. In Oyugi W. O., (Ed.), *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁵³ Katete D. Orwa, —Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi. In Oyugi W. O.,

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁵⁵ Kenya African National Union (K A N U) manifesto, 1961 and also 1963

action among the people of Africa. Her relations with other foreign governments would, however, be influenced by the division of the world into two antagonistic blocs, the government rejected this world system and instead adopted the principle of non-alignment in international affairs. At the moment Kenya's Foreign Policy rests upon four interlinked pillars, namely; Economic Diplomacy, Peace Diplomacy, Environmental Diplomacy and Diaspora Diplomacy.

John Howell postulated that secessionist have made a blow to the nationalist processions according to Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) wave of sectionalism as they were keen on regional power as opposed to a centralist form of Government.

Orwa found that in both Kenyatta and Moi's regimes the principles that guided the foreign policy were the same: territorial integrity, national security, good neighborliness, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and non-alignment.⁵⁶ To this extent there was continuity. But continuity in foreign policy is assumed to be as a result of a long historical tradition.

Although it has been argued elsewhere that regime type/change does not matter in Foreign policy, Orwa argues that this cannot be the case for a developing state such as Kenya. Having been independent for only four decades, the country could not be said to have established a tradition of continuity in foreign policy. Regime change in a developing country may mean a significant shift in foreign policy.⁵⁷ However, as much as Kenya may have had a change of government, the political elites have remained the same. Most of them are products of the Kenya National African Union (KANU) party that ushered independence to this country in 1963

Khadiagala and Terrence note that non-alignment provided some meaning to efforts to find a place for Africa outside the Cold War, but as a policy, it was impossible to fully implement, mainly because of economic weakness and —alignment. One foreign policy strategy was to play off the superpowers against each other, but it is arguable whether many states truly could do that. Most countries, such as Kenya, naturally became aligned

⁵⁶ The Kenya African National Union, better known as KANU, is a Kenyan political party that ruled for nearly 40 years after Kenya's independence from British colonial rule in 1963 until its electoral loss in 2002. It was known as Kenya African Union before being renamed in 1960.

⁵⁷ Ochieng, William, *A Modern History of Kenya*, (Evans Brothers Limited, London, 1989), p. 220.

to one or another superpower regarding foreign aid and military assistance. Tanzania was outspokenly nonaligned and socialist, but in reality, it was

Little of the sort

Kenyatta died in 1978 still believing in the above policies. His successor Daniel Arap Moi then came to power as Kenya's second president. The president declared that he would follow Kenyatta's footsteps or Nyayo.⁵⁸ He admired some of Kenyatta's legacy which according to him included love, peace, unity, justice, freedom, and non-interference in domestic affairs and integrity of other states. Regarding foreign policy, therefore, Moi's views came to be similar to those of Kenyatta. He, for example, became weary of.⁵⁹

The handling of foreign policy had a lot of interference through the ministry of foreign affairs.⁶⁰ Moi's policy had not provided an open political environment for the MFA.⁶¹

John Howell who is perhaps the first scholar to undertake a serious look at Kenya's foreign policy in 1963, however, argues that two distinct policies have been guiding

Kenya's actions in the international system. In global terms, he argues that external policy has been characterized by a strong sense of morality and idealism, while in East African affairs, Kenya's policy has been governed by a rather more conservative and legitimist thinking. Economic development and protection of her borders have been a concern to the country. He notes that Kenya's conservatism came to be reflected most forcibly in her display of determined nationalism towards Somalia. The border or territorial issues have also emerged between Kenya and Uganda in the past.⁶²

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was a political party in Kenya. It was founded in 1960 when several leading politicians refused to join Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya African National Union (KANU). It was led by Ronald Ngala. KADU's aim was to defend the interests of the so-called KAMATUSA (an acronym for Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu ethnic groups), against the dominance of the larger Luo and Kikuyu that comprised the majority of KANU's membership.

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ D. Orwa, —Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moil in Oyugi, W. KateteO., *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd.),

⁶² Khadiagala, G.M & Lyons, T. *African Foreign Policies Power and Process*. Westview Press A Member of the Perseus Books Group, 2014), p. 104

The national elections held in 2002 ended presidents Moi's era. Mwai Kibaki coming to power was received with optimism and renewed hopes for a better economy that would improve people's lives. Under his presidency, the ruling coalition promised to focus its efforts on generating economic growth, combating corruption, improving education and rewriting its constitution. This change in leadership also led to the reorientation of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's foreign policy now looked at foreign issues with economic lenses than before. This has been marked by the new —look east policy which is aimed at expanding the country's access to new markets, appropriate and affordable technologies, foreign direct investments and development assistance from China, India and other emerging global economic powers. There are many factors that influence foreign relations, in addition to the role of leadership; there is also the rapid change on the global environment in the 21st Century.⁶³ The rise of non-state actors changes on the global environment in the 21st Century. The rise of non-state actors, combined with many other new emerging issues.⁶⁴ President Kibaki embarked on several bilateral and multilateral initiatives that reopened doors to donor confidence in Kenyan's foreign policy formulation.

Like for the Moi presidency, the introduction of the multi-party system in Kenya was also as a result of external pressure from donor organizations whom he doled out for giver contingency's in which the final products meddled with the inside strategies of the nation subsequently a stream impact to the remote approach conduct amid his rule. According to the current foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign policy rests on three inter-linked pillars: environmental diplomacy, peace diplomacy, and diplomacy. This marks a departure from the traditional emphasis on political issues into strategic concerns that address the current issues in international relations. The orientation toward environmental topics emanates from recognition of Kenya's enormous stake in the management of its resources, those of the region and the world as well as the recognition of the impact of environmental problems like climate change, ozone depletion, ocean and air pollution and resource degradation.

⁶³ Katete, D. Orwa (1994), —Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moill in Oyugi, W. O., (Politics and Administration in East Africa (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994), p. 161.

⁶⁴ Op Cit, Howell (1968) P.23

Kibaki's administration had been keen on expanding the pool of international partners. China was one such available partner. With China's policy of not interfering or taking clear positions on human rights and status of its development. Along these lines, the customary western partners were either being ejected or their effect on the inside running of the administration controlled. This point piercingly associates Kenya's remote strategy choice to the developing nature and structure of the worldwide framework Kibaki's foreign policy shifted to the East. This, among many other similar initiatives by African heads of state, has sparked what many analysts must see as a throw-back to the competition between the U.S and USSR but only this time it is the Chinese (instead of the Russians), who though communist in the political structure have embraced the capitalistic thirst for competition.⁶⁵

President Uhuru Kenyatta's call in his introduction discourse on April 9, 2013, was summed up in one stacked expression of common correspondence. Despite his issue at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, President Kenyatta has clarified his aims to direct Kenya to more prominent freedom at the worldwide conciliatory field. He is both an investigation of reestablished vitality, force, and center in Kenya's outside approach. President Kenyatta's conveyance, deportment, and rhetoric to his associates was the most extreme and intense execution by a Kenyan Head of State on foreign policy. It is abundantly clear that Kenya's foreign policy will henceforth not be the same in substance, formulation, execution and conduct. It shall be driven, articulated and dispensed with vigour, and perhaps devoid of the hitherto subdued elocution of the traditional diplomatic discourse and norms.

Despite Kenya's until now conventional ace western remote arrangement act, President Uhuru Kenyatta has left couple of questions that Kenya looks for an exceptional and sensational new outside strategy engagement with its customary partners; a serious drive for local and mainland collaboration, and won't be held prisoner by chronicled linkages and conventions, be they vital, monetary, military or social ties. Outside strategy develops as per rising outskirts. The development of China and India as financial monsters has introduced new open doors. Managing monetary powerhouses, for example,

⁶⁵ Braude W, *Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from The East African Community*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2008).

China, India, South Korea and Malaysia is set to be one of the new issues in Kenya's remote approach.

The forces of globalization have altered the environment and conduct of International relations. Globalization has cut unit costs and expanded markets. New anchors for Kenya's external relations will have to be identified to deal with the security threats generated by transnational criminal activities like money laundering, human and drug trafficking and international terrorism.⁶⁶

Terrorists have attacked Kenya several times, with the most notable ones occurring on August 7, 1998, November 28, 2002, September 21, 2013, April 2, 2015. As international terrorism evolves into one of the biggest threats to global security, foreign policy has to devise new approaches for harnessing global cooperation to deal with it.

The final authority therefore on foreign policy formulation, conduct and projection lie in the hands of the President. There have been in the past half a century of Kenya's Independence four presidents, namely the late Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki and currently, Uhuru Kenyatta.

4.3 Actors in Kenya's diplomatic engagement

The Foreign policy of a state is the output of that state into the global system. It is a set of guides to choices being made about people, places, and things beyond the boundaries of the state. It includes all that a state chooses to do or not do outside its borders. It links the activities inside the state and the outside world. It puts the state into communication with the external world.⁶⁷ The external world is made up of many actors; individuals, organizations and other states. In this chapter, we discuss the external factors and actors that condition Kenya's foreign policy. Important actors are the international organizations (UN and OAU/AU). Factors include polarity and international terrorism.⁶⁸ This chapter seeks to either prove or disapprove the hypothesis that systemic factors are marginal for Kenya's vital foreign policy.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, *World Politics; The Menu for Choice* (New York: Freeman and Company, 1989), pp. 162-163.

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 162-163.

The lead of remote arrangement in Kenya is a right of the Head of State (President). The Foreign Ministry's duty is that of guidance and execution in an interview with the President. A few people, establishments and associations take an interest in the outside arrangement definition and basic leadership. From this point of view, MFA is just a facilitator, co-organizer and a steward of the nation's outside approach; the different government organizations are integral performers in the direct of remote strategy. On-screen characters in outside strategy are establishments, people or gatherings that impact conduct in the states 'relations. There are different actors in Kenya's foreign policy namely domestic and external actors. The domestic actors include the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and civil society. The external factors include international law, international organizations and multilateral donors together with international public opinion. These actors do influence Kenya's policy behavior. What is worth noting, however, is that the degree of influence of each of these actors varies depending on which institution wields much power than the other and on the personalities, that head them from time to time.

4.3.1 Domestic Actors

In Kenya, and elsewhere, the executive arm of the government is the chief actor in foreign policy-making process and implementation. This arm of the government has the highest say when it comes to matters of foreign policy and what becomes foreign policy.⁶⁹.

The institutional performing artists in Kenya's outside arrangement incorporate the head of state or the administration, parliament, service of remote undertakings, legal and different services like the Ministry of finance, defense, trade, and commerce. In the detailing and direct of outside arrangement, the head of state is the best ambassador since he/she speaks to the state in the global meetings and summits. The head of state accredits diplomatic envoys, signs credentials given to the head of diplomatic missions, and authorizes a delegate to sign a treaty on his /her behalf.

In many states, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy begin and ends with the head of state. The head of state appoints ambassadors who represent him or her in

⁶⁹ Cyprine Oduogo, Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations. (Lecture Notes, 2012).

different states, and all these emissaries report straightforwardly to the head of state making him/her a focal figure in the remote approach plan, direct and usage.⁷⁰

In the foreign policy-making process also, the government of the day has the exclusive authority to manage the foreign affairs of the state subject to the laws made by and the control of the parliament and needs the criticism of parliament as much or as little as it thinks fit. What this means is that the conduct of foreign policy in Kenya is exclusively the responsibility of the Executive and it is accountable to parliament.¹¹⁴ Parliament plays a significant role in the foreign policy. Some of the critical functions of parliament, about foreign policy, involve proposing, deliberating and deciding.⁷¹

Parliament plays a big role in the formation of Kenya's foreign policy. Proposing, deliberations, and decision making of the policies are done in parliament hence the parliament's involvement and effectiveness in the public policy formation. Parliament however can only seek explanations from the governments about what it is doing and why. Also, parliament as a representative organ of the people can only urge and recommend to the executive to meet certain obligations in its foreign policymaking, but the executive is not under any compulsion to respect such recommendations. This means that parliament formulates policies and establishes committees/structures. This includes the foreign relations committee that oversees the implementation of foreign policy.

A part of the members of the official arm of the administration, the legal and lawmaking body likewise influence the outside approach in somehow. The outside strategy choices, for example, approval of essential settlements is authorized by the parliament, which is the delegate of the people.⁷² Along these lines, administrators can be viewed as performing artists as in they decide if a given remote approach is to be sought after.

Judiciary interprets inter-state understandings and additionally enactments managing relations. This encourages the approach producers to comprehend the ramifications of a game-plan going to be followed, thus prompting the settling on of educated choices. A

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Cyprine Oduogo, Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations. (Lecture Notes, 2012).

⁷² The Diplomatic Post, Kenya's New Foreign Policy (2013)

legitimate decision by the law is official, and it goes about as a counseling body for both the official and parliament in the outside arrangement basic leadership process.⁷³

The pastor for remote undertakings goes about as a representative of the state on issues relating to external relations, and for this situation, he/she handles outside ties making him/her an important on-screen character in outside arrangement. His/her service is ordered with the obligation of managing matters identified with the activities of states and non-state performing artists in the universal framework. The service co-ordinates crafted by envoys and heads of missions, it obtains also information which is used in foreign policy decision making.⁷⁴

Kenya has now shifted its foreign policy orientation and the new strategy rests on four interlinked pillars of diplomacy, peace diplomacy, environmental diplomacy and Diaspora diplomacy.

4.3.2 Foreign Actors

The foundation of strategy has to be sure indicated surprising flexibility and a capacity to adjust to change as opposed to wilting endlessly as a few eyewitnesses have proposed. In spite of the fact that it has changed shape to suit new on-screen characters, concerns and innovation, the fundamental component of strategy continue as before, to be specific the determination of universal clashes in a serene way by methods for correspondence, transaction and data gathering. Actors in diplomacy are those entities which can maintain meaningful relations amongst themselves.⁷⁵ In international law, an actor must possess the legal personality, which means that it can act and transact. The foreign actors regarding Kenya 's foreign policy comprise states, international individuals, and international organizations, regional and sub-regional bodies. Though states are the principle actors, inter-state governmental organizations, inter-state non- governmental organizations and international organizations of a universal character are also becoming major actors in Kenya 's foreign policy.⁷⁶ The United Nations Organization is an example of an international organization of a universal character, while inter-state

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Cyprine Oduogo, Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations. (Lecture Notes, 2012).

⁷⁵ The Diplomatic Post, Kenya's New Foreign Policy (2013).

⁷⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014) Kenya.

organizations are such organizations like the African Union (AU), the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The inter-state non-governmental organizations whose activities transcend the borders of more than one state, like the Council of the Red Cross (ICRC) additionally assume a part in Kenya's remote strategy.

At the common level, Kenya's remote game plan obtains an extraordinary arrangement from the AU, the predecessor of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was set up in 1963 with the of propelling the solidarity and solidarity of African States; coordinating and raising their co-operation and attempts to fulfill a predominant life for the society of Africa; guarding their energy, local genuineness and opportunity; demolishing a wide range of government from Africa; progressing worldwide co-operation, giving due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and co-ordinating and fitting people's political, propitiatory, economic, educational, social, prosperity, welfare, intelligent, specific and protection techniques.

At the sub-regional level, a revival of the East African Community (EAC) with a potential market of 143.5 million people will contribute towards building a competitive market and a conducive environment for the flow of investment to the region. Kenya is also a member of other regional inter-state organizations like (COMESA) and (IGAD) in Eastern Africa. Though the capacity for these organizations to act and make their decisions to bear on their members is limited —such organizations nevertheless bring some influence to bear on the conduct of their members domestic and external affairs

The Kenyans in the diaspora are also emerging as formidable actors in Kenya's foreign policy and recognition. The MFA has formulated a Diaspora Policy and by focusing on Kenyans in the Diaspora, the Kenya government intends to tap into its potential to facilitate the country's political, economic and cultural regeneration and development. Kenya is also a signatory to the AU's Constitutive Act (2001), which promotes the participation of African professionals within the continent and in the Diaspora and Kenya's Diaspora diplomacy, will seek to advance this agenda.

Kenya also recognizes ECOSOC as a useful channel for advancing the cultural, economic and social role of the more extensive African Diaspora. Recognizing that the Diaspora has emerged as a potentially important resource for the realization of the country's national development goals, Kenya will creatively explore the various ways and frameworks of effectively promoting, utilizing and enhancing the contribution of this important resource.

Kenya underpins multilateralism through the United Nations and has constantly favored a multilateral approach in standing up to issues on the worldwide stage. Kenya completely subscribes to the sanctions of the United Nations and the African Union and tries to work with similar states in the advancement of another worldwide political and monetary request.

4.4 Future Prospects of Kenya's Diplomatic engagement

President Uhuru Kenyatta propelled the new Kenya Foreign Policy, and also the Diaspora Policy on twentieth January 2015. The new remote strategy archive concentrates more on the local association, exchange, and peace with need being the East Africa Community. The arrangement says that EAC is Kenya's most imperative remote approach vehicle and her significant exchanging and speculation alliance. "Kenya keeps on grasping respective in seeking after its remote approach destinations through the reciprocal exchange, political and social concurrences with different nations," it says.

Discretion can be acknowledged inside the epistemology of the traditional system, or it might incorporate the philosophies of the behavioral upheaval. Whatever the case, in any case, its examination from these viewpoints, has shown a missing connection. This lost relationship is focused on the execution of remote strategy. The execution of outside arrangement is best accomplished where there is a compelling and proficient administration of the political administration, and of remote strategy. Where the organization of these does not exist or is frail, there will relate troubles of the execution of remote arrangement. Since the finish of outside approach creation is implementation, this missing connection has sweeping consequences for the remote arrangement of the nation, since a remote strategy that isn't actualized is in actuality a non-outside arrangement. It is therefore that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be legitimately

staffed with senior and prepared ambassadors who can stand their ground in the field of worldwide relations. In a perfect world, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is effectively associated with Kenya's remote relations matters and it must, in this manner, re-outline its preparation programs and have responsibility for organization of tact. It must have a progression programs precisely created to maintain a strategic distance from a present deficiency of experienced senior officer framework and have the capacity to channel out substitutions for resigning ambassadors. It should likewise hold the ability of resigned prepared ambassadors and make a research organization to prompt both the President and the service on key outside arrangement headings. Linkages must be built up with government services and offices, the general population and private areas, establishments of higher learning, and the general population on the loose. Data is control, and our negotiators should be very much educated speedily and opportune to have the capacity to convey adequately.

Kenya has indicated the ability to be a piece of the African recovery by taking part in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) which plans to enhance the nature of administration in the mainland. The nation was among the initial four African states alongside Ghana, Rwanda, and Mauritius, to acquiesce to the Mechanism in March 2004 in Abuja Nigeria, which is a commonly concurred instrument willfully, agreed to by the Member State of the African Union (AU) as an African self-checking system. Kenya has additionally through the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) been a dynamic member in advancing peace and steadiness in the area. Kenya has for some time been given a role as a hesitant local performing artist. The individuals who see it as

Having a solid economy, however missing political use in its area have scrutinized its local impact. Faultfinders have contended that Kenya takes its signal from its neighbors and embraces provincial engagement methodologies that are a detached question of the geo-vital interests of others. A radical takeoff from Kenya's preservationist way to deal with territorial relations was the attack into Somalia to take up arms against Al-Shabaab; the greatest military adventure that Kenya had attempted since autonomy which demonstrates that Kenya has changed its remote strategy to an all the more ace dynamic approach.

4.5 Chapter Summary

Diplomacy is tool of foreign policy and thus the major role of the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Kenya is enabling of implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and national interests.

Kenya has always had a friendly approach in diplomacy ever since its independence. The foreign policy informs the diplomatic processes and engagements as necessary. Kenya intends to become a middle-income country by the year 2030 as envisioned in Vision 2030. Thus, economic growth is one of the focuses that the country has. The resultant is that the foreign policy aims at attracting as many investors and FDI as possible.

The main tool that the country is using to attain its goals and objectives is diplomacy thus the 21st century diplomatic engagement is very key. The countries foreign policy puts in to consideration the stakeholders, both domestic and foreign. Former executives in the government form the main advisory council. The presidency, county governments, parliament and the cabinet form the National Security Advisory Council whose mandate is to ensure that the country has the best possible chance to pursue its foreign policy and diplomatic engagements.

The country in the 21st century aims at cooperating willingly with international bodies such as the AU, IGAD, OAS, UN and EOCOS in a bid to raise its global influence. Regionally, Kenya is considered the most influential country in EAC because of its reputation. Evidence is in the enactment of the Kenya Foreign Policy and in January 2015 by President Uhuru Kenyatta. The government continuously exploits the opportunities it gets to further its reputation and diplomatic engagements across the entire continent and by extension, on the global stage. All these goals are based on the country's diplomatic strength, geopolitical location, political stability, and economic growth. Thus, the country's diplomatic future is definitely growing and 21st century diplomatic engagement has a role to play in ensuring Kenya implements its foreign policy.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF DATA, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.

5.1 Introduction

The focus of the research was analyzing trends and utilization of the 21st century diplomatic engagements by Kenya as a modern tool to market the country while analyzing the challenges that Kenya faces in its quest for economic diplomacy in East Africa. The basis of the findings are the actual objectives to examine the trends in the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa, to investigate the nature of the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa, to determine the role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya. The instrument used is a semi structured questionnaire and returns as well as the data analysis are given.

5.2. Questionnaire Return Rate

30 questionnaires were administered and 100 percent return rate. The questionnaires were administered in person and retrieved immediately after they were filled.

5.3 Demographic Information of respondents

5.3.1 Age of Respondents

Table 4.2 below shows the age of the respondents. The mean age of the respondents was 47 years and a high number of the respondents were in the age category of 46-50 years at 23.33 percent. This indicated that most of the respondents had years of experience in this field and had served for a long time thus more expertise.

Table 1.1: Age of Respondents

Age Interval	Frequency	Percentage (%)
30-35	5	16.67%
36-40	3	10.00%
41-45	5	16.67%
46-50	7	23.33%
51-55	4	13.33%
56-60	6	20.00%
Total	30	100.00%

Source: Field Data (2017)

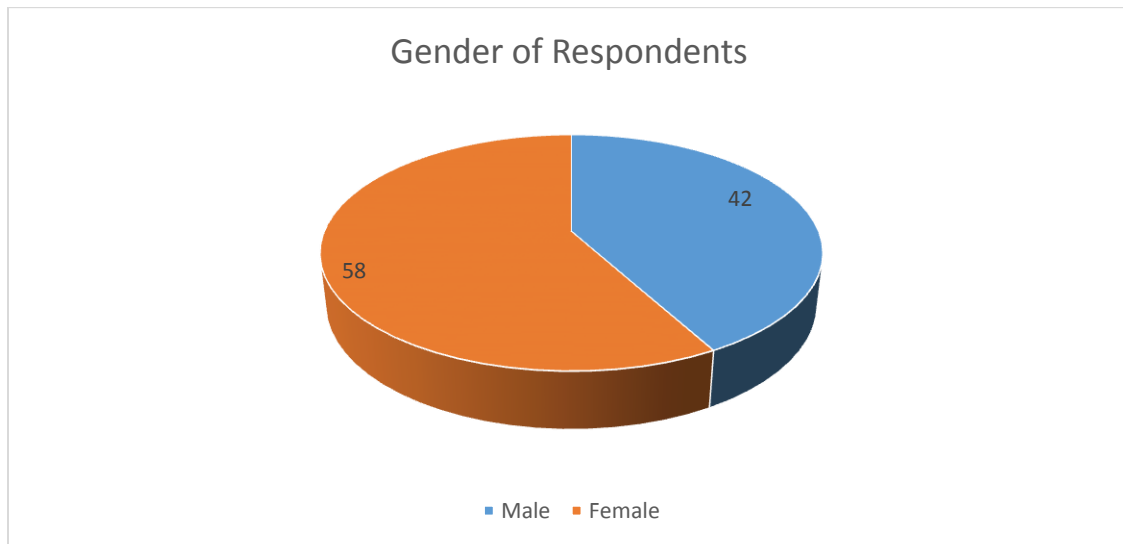
Significance

Most of the respondents were between the ages of 41 and 60 years.

5.3.2. Gender of Respondents

The study established that 58 percent of the respondents were female while 42 percent were male. This was closely balanced and there were no concerns in this area.

Figure 1.1: Gender of Respondents in percentage



Source: Field Data (2017)

5.3.3 Highest Level of Education of Respondents

Respondents with Diploma level of education were 23.33%, Undergraduate were highest with 43.33% and the Post-Graduate level of education were 33.33%. The respondents had good level of education which is beneficial to the research as they easily understood the questions.

Table 1.2: Highest Level of Education

Highest Level of	Frequency	Percentage
Education		
Diploma	7	23.33%
Undergraduate	13	43.33%
Post-Graduate	10	33.33%
Total	30	100.00%

Source: Field Data (2017)

5.4 Kenya's 21st century Diplomatic engagements

According to the respondents 89% of them felt that Kenya has a positive relation within the East African region and Africa in the 21st century. They attribute this to the positive diplomatic engagements that the country has and its economic diplomatic approaches in the 21st century, in that the state has avoided conflict with other states even if it is just a war of words. As a result, Kenya is quite powerful in the economic status of the region. The landlocked countries in the region, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda all use Kenya's port of Mombasa to import items underlining the economic importance of the country in the region.

5.4.1 Interconnection between Kenya's Economy in the 20th century and 21st century.

Kenya's economy is interconnected to all other economies in the region and the world in one way or the other. The respondents noted that the Kenyan economy is influential over the entire bloc owing to the willingness of Kenya to cooperate and through diplomacy foster meaningful relationships with other entities especially the East Asian countries namely China and Japan to achieve its national interests. The EAC has allowed the trading bloc to prosper economically as key to the economic growth of the region. 65% of the respondents felt that the "look east diplomacy" used by Kenya in the 21st century has contributed positively to the state achieving its national interests, China has become a force in Africa focusing on infrastructure developments.

5.5 How Kenya uses 21st century Diplomatic engagements to influence relations with other states.

Respondents cited that Kenya practices diplomacy through the media, Embassies or diplomats and other state and non-state actors. This approach allows the country to influence the countries even in the EAC

Table 1.3: Tactics of Kenya’s Diplomacy

Tactic of the 21 st century Diplomatic engagements	Frequency	Percentage
Embassies or diplomats	15	50.00%
State and non-state actors	9	30.00%
Media	6	20.00%
Total	30	100.00%

Significance

The research showed that state and non-state actors, the media, public diplomacy and diplomats in the embassies play a major role in enhancing diplomatic engagements in the 21st century.

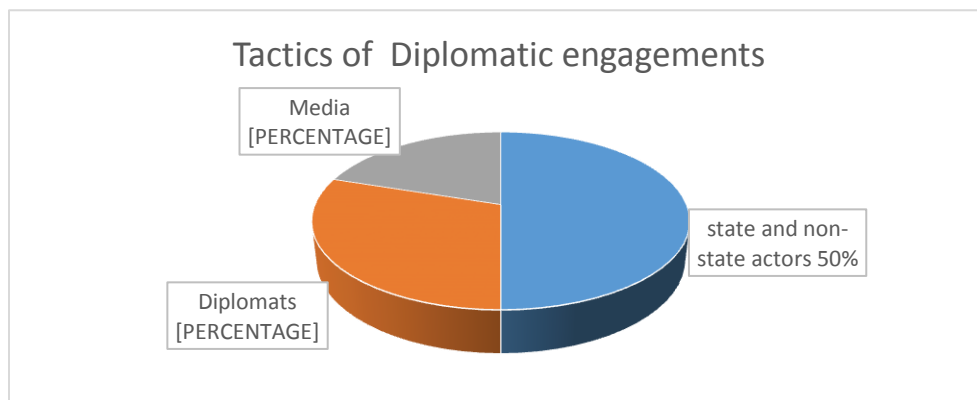


Figure 1.2: Tactics of Kenya’s diplomacy

50% of the respondents stated that Kenya’s diplomacy uses state and non-state actors including the president and ministry of foreign policy to foster economic integration, developments and maintain relations with other states. In economical diplomacy key areas done by Kenya are agricultural, manufacturing of products such as crude vegetable

oil, cement, paper, soap and fertilizers. Kenya does its export promotions through the Export Promotion Council whose mandate is spearheading export promotional activities. The council also provides information to the members of the region and any other business stakeholders in the region.

30% of the respondent's state that the 21st century diplomatic engagements by Kenya are carried out through the diplomats and embassies of Kenya and other states. Their reason was that the Kenyan has is establishing more embassies strategically located in strategic states all over the world, while also Kenya hosts a number of foreign states embassies.

20% of the respondents' state that Kenya uses the media and public diplomacy to push its national interests and promote diplomatic ties. The stakeholders through sports diplomacy, propaganda "twiplomacy" are able to market Kenya and put it on the global map thus enhancing diplomatic engagements that achieve the national goals thus improving the country's economy. The private sector made the most contributions in terms of the promotions through Kenya Association of manufacturers, Kenya National Trading Corporation, Export Processing Zone, and Kenya Private Sector Alliance.

5.5.1 Perception of effectiveness of the Kenyan 21st century diplomatic engagements.

15 % of the respondents said that Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagements were effective.

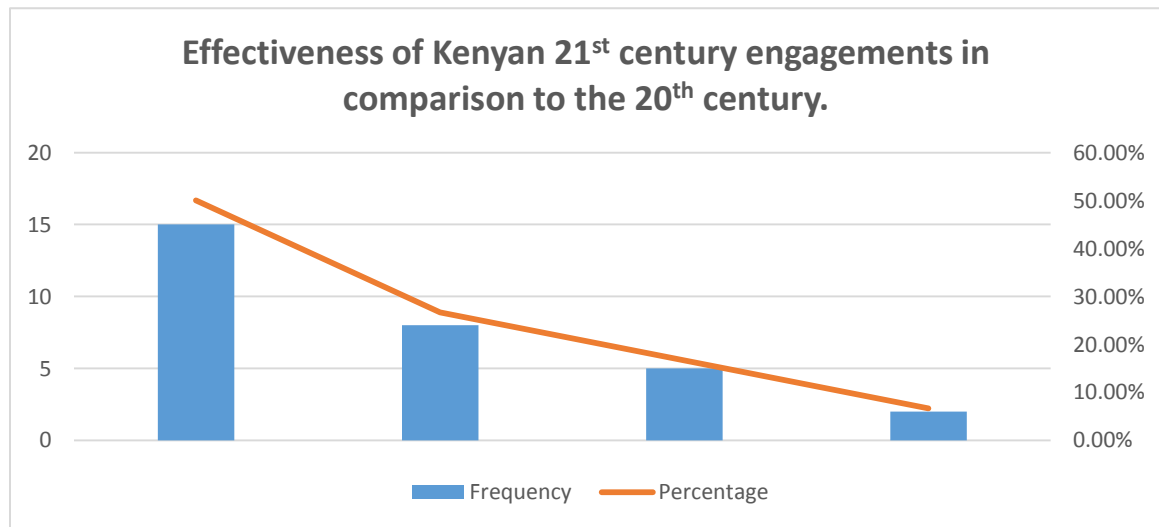
The respondents were asked to give their opinion on the effectiveness of the Kenya's 21st century engagements in comparison with the 20th century diplomatic engagements. 10 of the respondents which was same as 35.7 percent of the respondents responded that the way Kenya conducted its diplomatic matters quality of was superior to those of other countries in Africa, a similar percentage of 35.7, 10 of the respondents felt that the effectiveness was average, 2 of the respondents however felt that the effectiveness was inferior, 6 of the respondents felt it was similar to those of the other countries. It was established that one of the main reasons why Kenyan diplomatic engagement was enhancing its national interests was because of its location, president, "look east diplomacy" and a strong economy siting that Kenya had the most manufacturing companies in the region and produced more manufactured goods compared to the other countries in the EAC. The respondents also observed that Kenyan goods contained the

required international standards of health and safety. Table 1.4 and Figure 1.3 below show the illustration of these responses

Table 1.4: Effectiveness of Kenyan 21st century diplomatic engagements in comparison to the 20th century diplomatic engagements.

Effectiveness	Frequency	Percentage
Very effective	15	50.00%
effective	8	26.67%
Less effective	5	16.67%
Not effective	2	6.67%
Total	30	100.00%

Figure 1.3: Effectiveness of Kenyan 21st century diplomatic engagements in comparison to the 20th century diplomatic engagements.



Significance

50% of the respondents state that Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagement is very effective. While 26.67% think that its effective 16.67% state they it's not as effective thus less effective in while only 6.67% think it is not effective at all.

5.6 Motivating factors behind Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagements.

As per the respondents, they all felt that Kenya's goal was to maintain peace and security within its borders and the region. Geopolitical location favored the country's economy as well as diplomatic relations because it is quite central in the region. Location and good infrastructure influence on the countries to use its ports as the main service. Kenya also seems to utilize its geopolitical location as a good motivation to take the integration of the region much more serious than others. Kenya then saw EAC as ready market for most of its products and services. Thus, by working towards integration, the country is able to exploit the ready market. This also had another motivating factor which was market liberalization. In terms of resources, Kenya is vastly rich and can conduct great level manufacturing and processing given its resources.

Table 1.5: Order of ranking of Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagements motivating factors

Rank	Factor
1	Sovereignty Peace and security
2	Economic gains
3	Trade liberalization in East Africa
4	State power
5	Improved infrastructure
6	Peaceful political environment

5.7. Challenges faced by Kenya in its use of diplomatic engagement.

20 of the respondents feel that the greatest challenge to Kenya's diplomacy is the corruption and poor governance plaguing the country. Border points were cited to be the points where one can experience Kenya's corruption first hand. The governance of the country also was put to question citing the lacking of skilled economic diplomats who would have steered the country's interest in a much better manner. 5 of the respondents stated that it was the lack of economic diplomats which was the greatest challenge. The

remaining 5 stated that Kenya was getting the greatest challenge from the other member states because they also wanted to be economically dominant. Tanzania raised the greatest challenge when it comes to resistance of Kenya's economic superiority.

5.7.1 Corruption and Poor Governance

66.67% of the respondents which is 20 persons stated that the greatest hurdle is the corruption and poor governance and political environment that's has engulfed the country during elections. The corruptions affect the immigration process, issuance of permits and licenses, police and roadblock checks. This made it difficult for the citizens of the other member states to come in to Kenya and conduct business freely. One of the recommendation was that the Government should eliminate corruption, tribalism and poor governance as the same time training and empowering diplomats and the public t large.

5.7.2 Lack of strong economic policies and economic diplomats

16.67% of the respondents said that the country was not well equipped when it comes to economic policies and economic diplomatic skills. As per respondents, this deficiency formed a great barrier that made Kenya's efforts to find it difficult to take root. The policies of trade were stated to be the guiding factors of economic diplomacy which was a good improvement on the system that was in place prior to the Kibaki administration. The economic diplomats would form a good advising and consultation pool that the government could consult easily. The recommendation from the respondent was that the government should introduce courses in the universities and colleges to help fill the gap.

5.7.3 Fear of domination from other countries

The remaining 16.67% of the respondents stated that it is the other countries who are the greatest challenge to Kenya's diplomatic exploits in the region. This is because the other countries, through competition, all want to be the economic hub of the region. Therefore, they all challenge the supremacy of Kenya and its continued growth. The country cited as the greatest inhibitor is Tanzania which openly disagrees with Kenya almost to the extent of breaking down the diplomatic ties.

5.8 Summary of Study Findings

5.8.1 Interconnection between Kenya's 20th century diplomatic engagement and 21st century.

The study established that Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagement focuses to achieve Kenya's national interests in security, peace, stability, sustainable developments and vision 2030. Kenya has in the 21st century diplomatic engagement adopted the look of "look east diplomacy" while at the same time putting itself in the global and African map by supporting its own minister for foreign affairs to become the African Union chairperson. Though coupled with lot of political instability Kenya has seen a lot of growth in the infrastructure and other 2030 pillars in the 2014 foreign policy document. In the mid-20th century Kenya gained independence in 1963. Kenya went through a time of democracy and multiparty struggles still managed to establish diplomatic missions and embassies in other states. Kenya has recently strengthened regional trade within the east Africa block. This establishment was in line with the study objectives earlier anticipated.

5.8.2 How Kenya uses Diplomatic engagement to influence relations with other states.

African Region

Kenya has used diplomatic engagements in the 21st century to influence its relations with other states. It was involved in the South Sudan negotiation talks and actually had a lot of economic diplomacy at that time with South Sudan with Kenyan banks like Equity setting up branches in South Sudan.

In East Africa, the study established that there were three methods employed by the country to achieve its national interests the first one is economic diplomacy, Kenya focuses on promoting its exports within the region through establishment of its businesses in the east African countries e.g. Nakumatt supermarkets, Kenya commercial bank in Burundi. Kenya is known to be one of the economic pillar countries in the region. Second one was through trade diplomacy and third one is through public diplomacy.

5.8.3 Factors motivating Kenya's realization of diplomacy

The study established the main motivating factors behind Kenya's pursuance of diplomacy in East Africa as geo location and availability of ready market. Most of the respondents felt that Kenya's Port of Mombasa connected it to the landlocked countries in the region; Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi thus easing trade within the countries. Other factors included market liberalization in East Africa through the East African Community Common Market Protocol established in 2010, availability of resources, improved infrastructure and finally a peaceful political environment.

5.8.4 Challenges facing Kenya's 21st century diplomatic engagement.

The key challenges established by the study were poor governance and corruption. It was established that the government institutions which deal with licensing, border point checks and other protocol areas were not streamlined and trade was being affected by corrupt officials. Other challenges that respondents felt were a setback to Kenya's diplomacy were; lack of enough skilled economic diplomats, poor infrastructure, lack of strong financial policies and expressed fears of domination from the other countries.

5.9 Chapter summary

From the data collected and evidenced we can conclude that since we used economic diplomacy as our element of measure of the achievements of the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Kenya. Kenya in the 21st century diplomatic engagements has been able to create milestones in terms of developments, infrastructure and public diplomacy. Its relationship with china in the "look east diplomacy" have been of great importance in achieving Kenya's "vision 2030".

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The study set out to explore 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya. Specifically looking at the interconnection between Kenya's diplomatic engagement in the 20th century and in the 21st century, how Kenya uses diplomatic engagement to influence her relations with the other countries in Africa and the world at large, the motivating pillars behind Kenya's economic diplomacy to achieve the national interests. Finally, it sought to find out if there are any challenges faced by the country in its use of diplomatic engagement in Africa and Africa and suggest possible solutions to these challenges. This chapter therefore gives a summary of the findings, the conclusions as postulated by the researcher, the recommendations and suggestions for further areas of study.

6.2 Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, the following can be deducted. First and foremost, that the 21st century diplomatic engagements are an engine that any developing country should employ to drive its national interests. Kenya is maximizing on its diplomatic ties and engagements to achieve its foreign policy goals. Through economic diplomacy Kenya has positioned itself in the regional market for trade thus becoming a regional trade hub. Diplomacy has become the center stage of its African affairs, and by this move, the state is expected to grow and achieve its vision 2030. It can be argued that taking an economic front and managing the negative political environment that face the country during every general election will help the country advance its economic interests not only in Africa but in the world at large.

It can also be concluded from the study that there is a need of Kenya to train and empower diplomats and other state and non-state diplomacy actors to ensure that the state has effective 21st century diplomatic engagements that achieve its national interests in the region. More so Kenya needs to focus on its 21st century economical diplomatic engagements so as to remain as the regions (EAC) economical hub. Tanzania is rising in its industrial products and even has a 2025 strategy to be semi-industrialized, Uganda is

doing the same in its trade policy, and in this case, Kenya ought to be at the forefront in leading economical diplomatic engagements.

Lastly, the researcher also concluded that the involvement of other actors in Kenya's pursuance of diplomacy is an effective strategy adopted by the government in promoting its economic diplomacy. Diplomacy in itself cannot be conducted by the state alone. For its full effectiveness involving third parties ensures that the country is achieving its full potential in the regional and in the world. The researcher, therefore, observed that, the ministries of Foreign Affairs the African Union, private sector and other actors through strong 21st century diplomatic engagements are enhancing strong economic, political and social relations in Africa and the world at large.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study the researcher recommends the following:

There is a need for streamlining the Kenyan policy implementation strategies to curb corruption and improve governance. The country may have excellent diplomatic engagements and trade policies put in place, but when it lacks implementers, the whole process is flawed. The government needs to establish anti-corruption monitoring devices and conduct strict disciplinary action against those found guilty of corruption.

Concerning the trade barriers in the EAC region and Africa as a whole that are detrimental to the 21st century economic diplomatic engagements, the researcher recommends that the governments through the African union need to streamline trade procedures and come up with standard procedures effective 21st century diplomatic engagement's procedures, economic strategies and goals that enhance Africa's economic position in the world and more specifically EAC trade liberalizations will enhance Kenya's economical position.

There is a great need to improve positive gains from media contribution to 21st century diplomatic engagement's that are beneficial to Africa and Kenya in particular. The media is a key factor in diplomacy and diplomatic engagements negative propoganda through digital media and media in general can be damaging to a country political, economic and social goals.

Finally, the researcher recommends that Kenya and Africa as a whole need to use the 21st century diplomatic engagements to build strong economic and social relationships with other states as this will greatly enhance and assist Africa and Kenya to achieve its national and regional interest. Strong positive state relations are an issue the researcher foresees will tamper with the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa.

6.3.1 Recommendations for further areas of Study

Given that the study was carried out in Kenya; the diplomats in the High Commissions being the respondents, this study recommends the need for a comparative study conducted on the ground in Africa with particular concern on the challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagement pattern within the region to find out how diplomatic engagement can greatly contribute to the national interests while consulting the decision makers in the states within Africa and their governments. The researcher feels this will ensure a comparative view of the rest of the states and bring out a wholesome concept of diplomacy in Africa.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENT'S

I am Dorcas Naitore Mirumbi, a student at University of Nairobi, pursuing a Masters Degree in Diplomacy and International Studies. It is towards fulfilling the requirements of the program that I am carrying out a thesis on the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa. A case study of Kenya. The findings of this study will be used to recommend appropriate initiatives. Every piece of information shared will be used for academic purposes. The results of the research will be made available through the publication of a thesis for dissemination of findings.

THANK YOU

PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Please indicate your age group, in years, by ticking in the appropriate box below

Age in years	Please tick here
21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
51 and above	

2. Please tick the appropriate box for your gender

Gender	Please tick here
Male	
Female	

3. Please indicate your marital status by ticking in the appropriate box below

Marital status	Please tick here
Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Separated	
Widow /widower	

4. What is your professional?

5. Please tick the box that best corresponds to your highest level of education achievement

Level of education	Tick
University level	
College level	
Secondary level	
Primary level	
Others	

PART B: CONCEPT OF THE 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA

7. (a) In your own opinion, what do you think of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa is a key contributor to African States achieving their national interests?

Yes [] No []

(b) Please explain why.

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8. What ways do you think the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya

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9. What ways do you think Kenya uses diplomatic engagement to enhance National interests?

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b) Please explain your answer above.

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10. How do you think Africa can improve its diplomatic engagement?

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11. a) What do you think is Africa's greatest challenge in the 21st century diplomatic engagement?

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b) Please explain your response above.

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12. In your opinion what do you think is Kenya's best way of pursuing its diplomatic engagement in the 21st Century.

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13. What do you think are the motivating factors behind 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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14. What are major ways Kenya can improve its 21st Century diplomatic engagement ?

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15. a)What are state policies that govern diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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b) How above mentioned policies have influenced diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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**PART C: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES Of THE 21ST CENTURY
DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: A CASE OF KENYA**

16.a) What are challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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b) Please explain the answer above

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17.In your opinion, what are the impacts on challenges of diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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18.a) In your opinion, do you think that the challenges of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya will affect economic growth?

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b) Please explain your answer above

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19. What are your recommendations to challenges of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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20. In your opinion, what are the solutions to the challenges of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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21. In your opinion what are the opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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22. In which areas would you suggest to strengthen the opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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23. How does a harmonious international tie working relationships promote the opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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24. How necessary are opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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25. In what areas would be strengthened to promote opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

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26. Does the current opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya provide fairness to all people in the country?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you

APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am Dorcas Naitore Mirumbi, a student at University of Nairobi, pursuing a Masters Degree in Diplomacy and International Studies. It is towards fulfilling the requirements of the program that I am carrying out a thesis on 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa. A case study of Kenya. The findings of this study will be used to recommend appropriate initiatives. Every piece of information shared will be used for academic purposes. The results of the research will be made available through the publication of a thesis for dissemination of findings.

THANK YOU

1. Date.....

2. Age.....

3. Sex: Male [] Female []

4. Professional.....

5. What are the trends of the 21st Century diplomatic engagement in Africa?

5. What is the state of the 21st Century diplomatic engagement on regional interest of Africa?

6. What is the role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

7. How successful the nature of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

8. What are the challenges of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

9. What are the opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

10. What are the best approaches to overcome challenges of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

11. What are the best approaches to strengthen the opportunities of 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya?

12. What is your general comment on diplomatic engagements in 21st century in Africa?

Thank You.

APPENDIX III: AUTHORIZATION NACOSTI LETTER



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-7213421,
2241338, 3310571, 2216120
Fax: +254-20-318215, 318249,
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Uhuru House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/17/41608/17777**

Date: **19th September, 2017**

Dorcas Naitore Mirumbi
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The 21st Century Diplomatic engagement in Africa: Case study Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **all Counties** for the period ending **5th September, 2018.**

You are advised to report to **the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, all Counties** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.


GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Principal Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The County Commissioners
All Counties.

The County Directors of Education
All Counties.

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH NACOSTI PERMIT

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MISS. DORCAS NAITORE MIRUMBI
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-60202
Nkubu, has been permitted to conduct
research in *All Counties***

**on the topic: *THE 21ST CENTURY
DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA:
CASE STUDY KENYA***

**for the period ending:
5th September, 2018**

.....
**Applicant's
Signature**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/41608/17777
Date Of Issue : 19th September, 2017
Fee Received :Ksh 1000**



.....
**Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**

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